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PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY  
OF THE  
ABUSES IN ENGLAND  
IN  
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,

A.D. 1583.

---

PART I.

[The Editors alone, and not the Committee of the NEW SHAKSPERE  
SOCIETY, are responsible for the opinions express'd in the Society's  
publications.]





1      2      3      4      5      6      7

Procession of Q. Elizabeth (in a litter borne by 6 Knights) to the Ma

1. Thomas, 1st Lord Howard of Walden. 2. The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, with velvet land. 5. Henry Brooke, 6th Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, with Sword of State. 6. Roger Maudsley. 10. ? Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford; or the bridegroom's brother Thomas. 11. Lord Herbert, Elizabeth. 12. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford. 13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell. 14. Lady Russell, mother of the Bride. (Virtue's print, and G. Scharf in *Archaeol. Journal*, xxiii. 131. The original painting is Lord Il-



8      9      10      11      12      13      14

riage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600.

3. George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wand. 4. George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. 5. Lord Herbert of Cardiff. 6. Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom. 9. Queen Elizabeth. 10. ? Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford; or the bridegroom's brother Thomas. 11. Lord Herbert, Elizabeth. 12. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford. 13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell. 14. Lady Russell, mother of the Bride. (The replica of Mr. Digby, Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, differs in the Queen's right hand and the Bride's feet).



PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY  
OF THE  
ABUSES IN ENGLAND  
IN  
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,  
A.D. 1583.

PART I.

(COLLATED WITH OTHER EDITIONS IN 1583, 1585, AND 1595.)

WITH EXTRACTS FROM STUBBES'S *LIFE OF HIS WIFE*, 1591,  
AND HIS *PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE*, 1592 (1610),  
AND BP. BABINGTON ON THE *TEN COMMANDMENTS*, 1588;  
ALSO  
THE FOURTH BOOK OF THOMAS KIRCHMAIER'S (or NAOGEORGUS'S)  
*REGNUM PAPISMI*, or *POPISH KINGDOME*, (ENGLISHT BY BARNABE GOOGE, 1570,)  
ON POPULAR AND POPISH SUPERSTITIONS IN 1553.

EDITED BY  
FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL,

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TO

Professor Kovalefsky,

THE ENLIGHTEND STUDENT OF ENGLISH SOCIAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMRNT,

PRESSOR OF LAW IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MOSCOW,

ONE OF THE

GENEROUS NATION WHO GAVE THEIR BLOOD AND TREASURE TO FREE BULGARIA,

AND WHO WOULD HAVE

FREED MORE FOLK, HAD NOT SELFISH ENGLISH SHOPMEN STOPT THEM,

T H I S   B O O K

OF AN ENGLISHMAN WHO BELIEVD IN GOD, AND CAR'D FOR CHRISTIANS MORE THAN TURKS,

Es Dedicated

BY ITS EDITOR.



Cut at the back of the Colophon of the 2nd  
(Aug. 1, 1583) and 3rd (1584) editions of  
the *Anatomie*. See p. 60\*, note 2.

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<sup>1</sup> The chapters are not numberd in the 1st edition, and sometimes not divided, as in chap. vii, on Covetousness, p. 114.

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<sup>1</sup> "Since leathern Adam, till this youngest hour," 1596. *Edward III*, II. ii. 12.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Harrison's oken men, &c., Pt. I. p. viii, 337-8.

<sup>2</sup> See the Exeter Regulations about Alehouses in Mr. A. S. Hamilton's *Quarter Sessions*.

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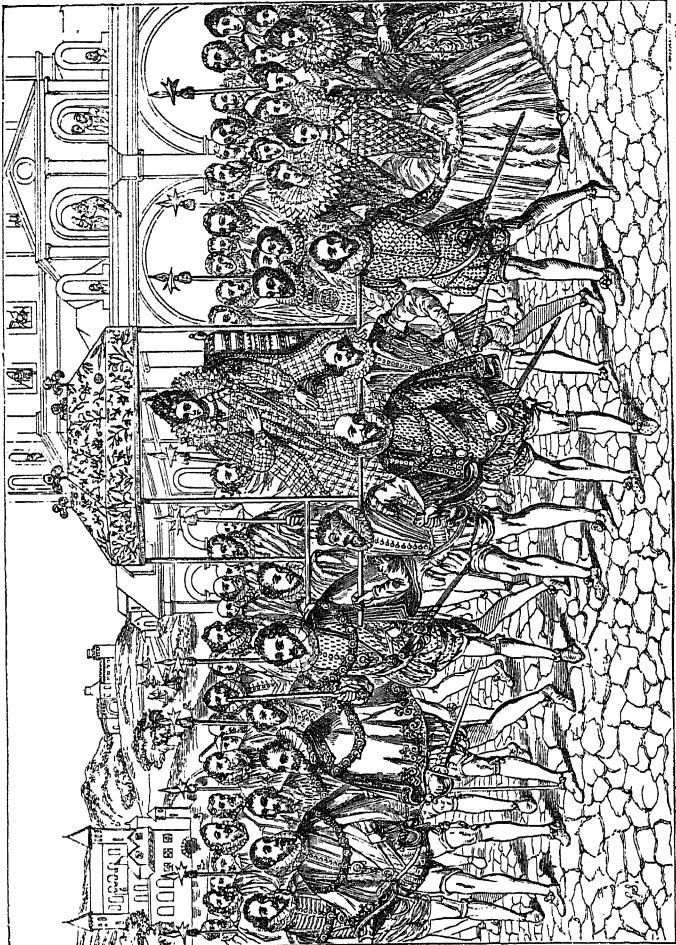
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Procession of Q. Elizabeth (in a litter borne by 6 Knights) to the Marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, at Blackfriars, June 16, 1600.

1. Thomas, 1st Lord Howard of Walden.
  2. The Lord High Admiral, Charles, Earl of Nottingham, with velvet scall cap.
  3. George Carey, 2nd Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain, with white wands.
  4. Roger Manners, Earl of Rutland.
  5. Henry Brooke, 6th Lord Cobham, Warden of the Cinque Ports, with Sword of State.
  6. Edward, 4th Earl of Worcester, father of the bridegroom.
  7. Lord Herbert of Cardiff.
  8. Edward Russell, 3rd Earl of Bedford; or the bridegroom's brother Thomas.
  9. Queen Elizabeth.
  10. Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford.
  11. Lord Herbert, the Bridegroom.
  12. Lady Russell, mother of the Bride.
  13. The Bride, Miss Anne Russell.
  14. Lady Russell, mother of the Bride.
- (Virtue's print, and G. Schäff, in *Archæol. Fœtival.*, xxvii. 137. The original painting (?) by Marc Gerard) is Lord Ilchester's, Mr. Digby's copy, at Sherborne Castle, Dorsetshire, puts the Queen's right hand under her dress, and hides the bride's feet.)





Spinster's Ruff and bare neck; Farthingale (or Crinoline). Miss Anne Russell  
[formerly supposed to be Lady Hunsdon]; from Virtue's print. See  
the Heliogravure, above. *Planché*, i. 187.



Ruff Wings, &c. Queen Elizabeth. *Planché*, i. 246, 435.  
SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND : STUBBES.





Time of James I. The Earl (Carr) and Countess of Somerset (Lady Essex). *Planché*, ii. 230.  
Later fashion of marred women baring the neck.

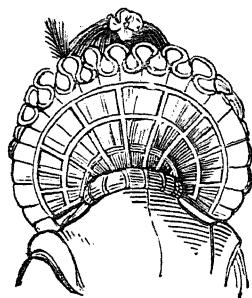


Mask, from a print by P. de Jode; time of James I. *Planché*, i. 366.



Q. Elizabeth : early Portrait, with 'Mary-Queen-of-Scots'-cap.' *Planché*, i. 79.





Ruff 'underproped with Supportasse.  
*Stubbes*, p. 70, foot. *Planché*, i. 443.

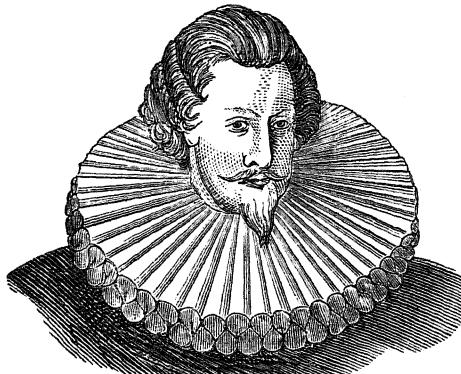


Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline). Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I. *Planché*, i. 187.  
Later Fashion of married Women baring the Neck.





Cap. Earl of Oxford, 1578.  
*Planché*, i. 77.



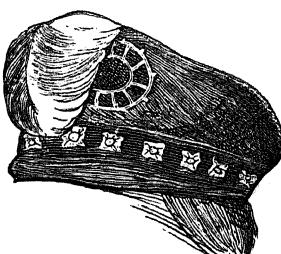
Ruff. Sir William Russell, 1590. *Planché*, i. 436.



Ruff, pointed Doublet, and Netherstocks  
(*Stubbes*, p. 57) ; time of Elizabeth, from  
portrait of Sir William Russell.  
*Planché*, i. 172.



Hat, with Lady's glove in it (gauntlet shown). George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. *Planché*, i. 256.



Cap. Sir Christopher Hatton ; time  
of Elizabeth. *Planché*, i. 77.



## Memorandum:

### ON BALLAD-BROADSIDE ILLUSTRATIONS OF COSTUME AND MANNERS.

BY THE  
R.F.V. J. W. EBSWORTH.

THE history of the woodcuts illustrating the common street-ballads has never yet been systematically undertaken. Mr. William Chappell, our very highest authority on all matters connected with old songs and ballads, their words, music, and publication, has avowedly left the subject of their woodcuts to other students and specialists. It is of sufficient importance to be assigned to one volunteer, who has already made considerable progress in tracing the source from which many of the woodcuts had descended to the hawkers; and his future gift to the Ballad-Society members may prove the interest attached to the search, and the value of several discoveries. Meanwhile here are some Ballad-Society woodcuts chiefly from the Roxburghe and the Bagford Collections, as reproduced under the editorship of Messrs. Wm. Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth. A few words from the latter may accompany the present selection of woodcuts, without borrowing from the *Planché* descriptions.

All the street-ballad cuts, of early, middle, or recent times, fall easily into one of two groups. 1. Those which were engraved expressly for some one particular ballad. 2. Those which had originally belonged to a higher class printed-book, and, after having served the purpose of attracting attention and sale to it, became lessened in value, often mutilated of parts, worm-eaten, and cracked, and in such condition fell into the hands of those literary rag-pickers, the professional publishers of street-ballads for hawkers. There is seldom any practical difficulty found by an expert determining to which of these two classes every woodcut belongs, when it is encountered on a broadside. In general the first class, of ballad-cuts proper, are of much coarser execution, more clumsy in design, and later in costume than the book-illustrations. Of these latter a large number were no doubt the work of French and German artists. A few of these here given belong to known books, still extant, and there are many others in the Roxburghe, Bagford, Wood, and Rawlinson collections which are veritable relics of small quarto volumes of pleasantry, which must always be interesting to students of old literature. Thus the cut marked (A)

## 18\* Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

belonged to Robert Greene's "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," published in 1592. (B) is a mutilated and spoilt illustration from the title-page of Will Kemp's "Nine-Days Wonder," 1600; the figures separated and absurdly misplaced (after each had been elsewhere used singly, and the original intention forgotten): with the bells on Kemp's legs shorn away to disguise their morris-dancer significance. These bells are better seen in the terribly-reduced copy (C) of the morris-dancer receiving his prize-cup and a "modest quencher," that "cheers," if it does no more. The gambling Bordello-scene (D) is an Elizabethan picture of fast-life, that had originally belonged to a small pamphlet. (E) is a very slovenly and inaccurate copy (Planché's) from the wood-cut adorning the title-page of "A Faire Quarrell: written by Thomas Midleton and William Rowley," 1622. This edition is in the present writer's possession, but there was an earlier edition issued in 1617. The cut may have been used before that date, as evidently the two shields on the ground, with armorial-bearings emblazoned, mark some special duel.

The single figure (F) represents Gabriel Harvey, as caricatured offensively by Thomas Nash (as though Harvey had anticipated Alderman Atkins of Civil-War date, in forgetting his manners; even as Hogarth misrepresented Felix when he "trembled"). It is from "Haue with you to Saffron Waldon," 1596, and become a favourite adornment among ballad-prints. There is clever satire embodied in (G), showing how drink develops the latent *animalism* of human beings. The original cut, before it descended to the ballad printer Rich. Harper, was on the title-page of Thomas Heywood's "Philocothonista; or, the Drunkard opened, dissected, and anatomised," 1635. At the Bodleian Library, when engaged on the Bagford-Ballad editing, the present writer found the Maypole-dance (H); with its primitive perspective of street-architecture resembling our modern workmen's cottages, and the clear indication of a prize-wreath for the Queen of the May, with the protecting stumps around the May-pole, and the Tabourer with his pipe, calling the flat-capped 'Prentice-boys and the blithe damsels to a dancing-bout. It is apparently of Charles the First's time, and, to the best of our belief, was never copied before, being used as an extra-illustration of the Ballad-Society's Bagford-Ballads.

The Tavern scene (I), with the "Drawer" waiting, was a favourite illustration of Martin Parker's convivial ballads, three of which it adorns. John Wade's publisher often selected (K), with its cavaliers regaling themselves over the Virginian weed:—

Much meate doth gluttony produce,  
And makes a man a Swine;  
But hee's a temperate-man indeed,  
That with a leafe can dine.

## Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations. 19\*

He needes no napkin for his hande  
His fingers for to wipe ;  
He hath his kitchin in a box,  
His Roast-meate in a pipe. (1641.)

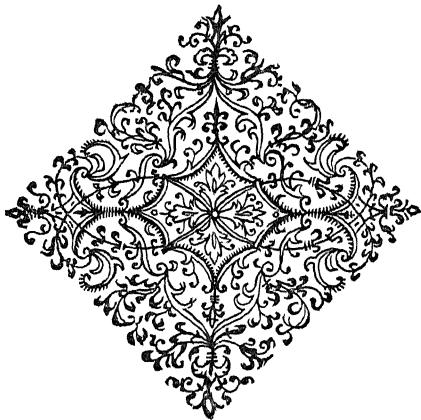
The patient fisherman (L), we believe, appeared in some little precursor of Isaak Walton's "Compleat Angler," and long before his date of 1653. (M) and (N) probably belonged to one story-book, and showed the progress of a love-affair, the garden-scene being a later incident in the tale. To us it seems to be of James the First's time. Most of the other cuts were intended from the first as ballad-illustrations. The Tinker (O) was always a popular, amatory, and reckless character; to whom many old ballads were devoted, and he was always triumphant. The number of representations of Queen Elizabeth (P, Q, and R,) testify to the fondness with which the people regarded "Good Queen Bess," both before and after the Crown had passed to the Stuart family. We have an impression that the picture of a Queen with a veil depending from her head (S) represented "Bloody Mary." It is of rare occurrence, in comparison with those of her more popular sister, Elizabeth. The obtrusively-indelicate exposure of the bosom (T) was a court-fashion of James the First's time, to whose date the woodcut belongs. In Coryat's "Crudities," 1611, both the frontispiece and the illustration of his meeting the Venetian Courtezan shew how this fashion prevailed among the frail sisterhood in other lands. Fuller's "Profane State," an early edition, has a portrait of Joan of Naples, with exactly similar display; probably in that individual case it was a wanton calumny, but it was intended to blacken her character. Many upright people love to believe the worst about women who are fascinating. In an extant portrait of the beautiful and wicked Countess of Somerset, Carr's wife, there is an equal obtrusion of her charms, that ought to be kept secret. See the Bagford Ballads, p. 124, for what Dante writes on the immodesty of the Florentine women: "O dolce frate," etc., *Purgatorio*, canto xxiii. See also "Bagnall's Ballad," beginning, "A Ballet, a Ballet," in *Musarum Deliciae*, 1656. An insufficiency of drapery to cover one part of the body seems generally to have accompanied some superabundance at another; as shown in the hoop-extended robes, with shoulder-lappets, and wire-spread starched-Ruff under the ears (U), in another Court-Lady of James the First: perhaps his Queen Anne, or the Lady Arabella. Even thus, bare shoulders and scanty under-garments are now found in conjunction with long trailing skirts. Going down to dinner, like Goldsmith's Traveller, ladies "drag at each remove a lengthening chain." The feather-fans appear in many of the cuts; and examples meet us (X<sup>1</sup> to X<sup>4</sup>) of the same design being often copied; sometimes by rival publishers, but oftener to suit other-sized spaces, or admit of several

20\*Memorandum on Ballad-broadside Illustrations.

ballads being worked off simultaneously, before stereotyping was understood. The Shepherdess with a crook (Y) affords a specimen of the fantastically Pastoral; her actual costume (compare Y<sup>2</sup>) being whimsical enough to embody the ideal desired. The dashing Cavalier (Z) with three-plumed hat and fair depending Love-locks, often tied with knots of ribbon, belongs to the reign of Charles the First, and adorns ballads of the date 1639. Until shortly after that time the popular representation of a lover was always as an armed horseman :

“ I could not love thee, dear, so much  
Loved I not honour more.”

J. W. EBSWORTH.





Roxburghe Ballad Cuts (Ballad Society). T. Bare Breasts ; Wheel Farthingale (or Crinoline).  
S. Queen Mary. P. Queen Elizabeth. Round Farthingale.





X<sup>1</sup>



R



X<sup>2</sup>

Ruffs, Fans, Chains, Farthingales or Hoops. X<sup>2</sup>. Unmarrid Woman, bare-breasted.





Feathers, Ruffs, Fans, Farthingales or Hoops. V. Probably Queen Anne, of Denmark, with wired Ruff.  
Q. Queen Elizabeth.

SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND : STUBBES.





Women's Feathers, Wired Ruffs, Wheel Farthingales. Men's Bumbasted Breeches,  
Hat-bands, Feathers, &c. t. Elizabeth or James I.





(? Time of James I.)



Women's Ruffs, Farthingales, &c. 4. Men's fringed Boot-tops, &c





? time of Charles I.





D. Gambling in a Brothel. Time of Elizabeth.



E. Bombasted Breeches, time of Elizabeth. *Planche*, i. 57. (Slovenly copy from the title-page of Middleton and Rowley's *Faire Quarrell*, 1617.)





A



C



B

Roxburghe Ballad Cuts. A: from R. Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier, 1592.

B is the famous Clown Kemp's Dance to Norwich 1600, altered from the title-page of his  
*Nine-Days' Wonder*: the Drummer ought to go before Kemp.

C. Morris-dancer, with bells below his knee, going to take a drink.



Z



F



F. Gabriel Harvey, from T. Nashe's *Hauue with you to Saffron Walden*, 1596. The rest probably of the time of James I.





Fishing with an angle (? Dutch). Probably time of James I.



The Jovial Tinker. See Memorandum.





G. Drunkards, from the Title-page of T. Heywood's *Philocothonista*, 1635.

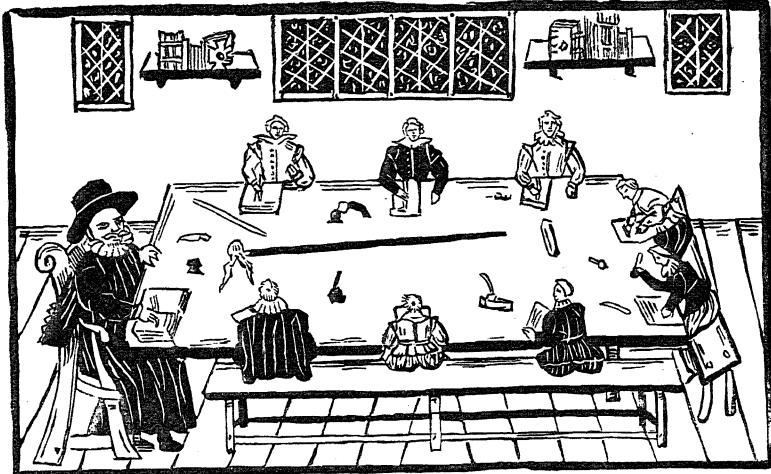


K. Pipes and Ale : final time of Q. Elizabeth or early of James I.  
SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND : STUBBES.

d

31\*





[Probably a Professor or Lecturer at College, with his Students. Note the Dress, Benches, Chair, Bookshelves. J. W. E.]



A Judicial Complaint : with plaintiff on his knees supplicating for redress, and the defendant standing, but losing courage while being admonished. Their inferior size is an indication of being of lowlier station. J. W. E.





I. Tavern-scene. Drawer attending at a revel.



H. May-pole Dance: time of Charles I. See Memorandum.



F O R E W O R D S .<sup>1</sup>

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|--|--|
| § 1. <i>The Anatomie: its 1st and 2nd Parts</i> , p. 35*   | § 6. <i>His 11 known, and 8 extant Works</i> , p. 55*  |
| § 2. <i>T. Nashe's chaff and abuse of Stubbes</i> , p. 36*   | § 7. <i>His Charakter</i> , p. 69*   |
| § 3. <i>Did Stubbes write against real Sins or fancid ones?</i> p. 44*   | § 8. <i>Miscellaneous</i> : p. 71*   |
| § 4. <i>Was he a mere Railer, or did his indignation against Vice and Folly spring from an earnest Heart?</i> p. 49* | <i>Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, Kirchmaier's Popish Superstitions in 1553, the present Edition, &amp;c.</i> |
| § 5. <i>Stubbes, his Wife, and her Family</i> , p. 50*   | <b>APPENDIX: Extracts from Bp. Babington more or less justifying Stubbes</b> , p. 75*                                |

§ 1. As Harrison's *Description of England* is the best work on the general condition of our country during Shakspere's early time, so is Stubbes's *Anatomie* the worthfullest for the special departments of Dress—and its extravagances in men and women,—of Amusements and the excesses they ran into, of the Follies and Naughtinesses of the day. No one can pretend to know Shakspere's England without Stubbes's help, and therefore the *Anatomie* has taken an early place in our Society's Sixth Series, whose purpose is to put before our Members the best pictures attainable of our great poet's time. The First Part only of the book is generally known. The reputation which its slash and life have won for it, has (I have long thought) unfairly darkened the merits of the Second Part, in which Stubbes shows up briefly the Abuses and Corruptions in all classes of Society, Temporality and Spirituality, and describes, one after the other, the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Nichol, of Glasgow, calls this good word a barbarism ! How happy for us, that a little cherub sits up aloft in the Northern wilds to look after the civilization of us Southerners !

36\* § 1. *Contents of the Anatomie*, Part II. § 2. *T. Nashe.*

Country	Landlords
Queen	Tailors
Her Council	Starchers
Shires	Tanners
Judges (delays in law)	Shoemakers
Prisoners, their hard case	Brokers (F. 4, bk.)
Laws	Hospitality, or relief for the poor.
Universities	Beggars
Schoolmasters	Husbandmen
Merchants	Ingratiers or Forestallers
Drapers	Chandlers
Clothiers	Barbers
Goldsmiths	Surgeons and Physicians
Vintners	Astronomers and Astrologers
Butchers	Prognosticators and Almanac-
Grasiers	Makers.
Parks	
Sheepmasters	

The list of subjects will show those who have had a taste of Stubbes in this First Part of his *Anatomie* how valuable the Second Part must be; and tho' the spice of it is not equal to that of the First Part, I mean to print it, as well for its own worth as to complete the work. But as the First Part was evidently written as a complete book, the Second Part being only call'd out by the unwonted success of the First, I have put separate Forewords, Notes, and Index to the First Part, so as to keep it distinct from the Second; and I have not quoted in the Notes, any of the many illustrative passages that are in Part II., where, as the reader has seen, some of the Part-I-subjects are dealt with again.

§ 2. The general view of Stubbes is, that he was a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan, who saw only the dark side of everything,—evil in innocence, sin in mirth, the devil in dancing, and hell in Shakspere's art. In his own time this opinion prevail'd. He was held up to contempt as one of the Mar-Prelate zealots and hypocrites by the sharp-tongued Thomas Nashe, who in 1590 plagiarized Stul bes's title, and kept his own *Anatomie of Absurditie* into sale by following in Stubbes's wake, and yet had in 1589 cut him (and his fellows) up in the style following:—

§ 2. T. Nashe on Stubbes's Dice-playing and Widow. 37\*

(1) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his *Almond for a Parrat*,<sup>1</sup> 1589.

"If they will needes ouerthrowe mee,  
let them goe in hand with the  
exploite, &c.

[on sign. C. 4.]

" **H**olla, holla, brother Martin, you are to hasty: what, Winter is no time to make warres in; you were best stay til summer, & then both our braines wilbe in a better temperature, but I thinke ere that time your witte wilbe welny worn thredbare, and your banquerout inuention, cleane out at the elbowes; then are we well holpen vp with a witnesse, if the aged champion of Warwicke, doe not lay in his shoulders, and support discipline ready to lie in the dust, with some or other demonstration. I can tell you, *Phil. Stu.* is a tall man also for that purpose. What, his Anatomy of Abuses for all that, will serue very fitly for an Antipast, before one of *Egertons*<sup>2</sup> Sermons: I would see the best of your *Trauerses*<sup>3</sup> write such a treatise as he hath done, against short heeld pantoffles. But one thing it is great pitty of him, that being such a good fellow as hee is, hee shoulde speake against dice, so as he doth: neuerthelesse ther is some hope of him, for as I heard not long since, a brother of his, meting him by chance (as theeues meete at the gallows) after many Christian questions of the well-fare of his persecuted brethren, and sistern, askt him when they should haue a game at tables together, "by the grace of God, the next Sabbath," quoth *Phil.*, "and then if it shal so seeme good to his prouidence, haue at you for ames ase and the dise." I forgette to tell you what a stirre he keepes against dumbe ministers, and neuer writes nor talkes of them, but he calleth them minstrels, when his mastershippe in his minority, plaide the Reader in Cheshire, for fve marke a yeaere and a canuas dublet, couenanted besides, that in consideration of that stipend, he make cleane the patrons bootes every time he came to towne. What neede more words to proue him a protestant? did not he behauie himselfe like a true Christian, when he went a wooing for his friend *Clarke*? I warrant you, he saide not 'God sauе you, or God speed you,' with 'good euen, or good morrow,' as our prophane woers are wont, but stopt close to her, with 'peace bee with you,' very demurely, and then told her a long tale, that in-so-much as widowhoode was an vncleane lyfe, and subiect to many temptations, shee

<sup>1</sup> This tract has been attributed also to John Lyly, the author of *Euphues*; but it's surely more like Nashe, and ought to be his.

<sup>2</sup> The 'zealous Puritan and Preacher at the Black Fryers in London,' Stephen Egerton, author of a *Lecture on Gen. xii*, &c. Lon. 1589, 8vo. *Catechizing*, 1594, 8vo, &c. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* (1691), i. 754.

<sup>3</sup> The famous Puritan, Walter Travers, author of 'An Answere to a suppli- catorie Epistle of G. T. for the pretended Catholiques,' 1583, &c. Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* (i. 1691), 741; Cooper, *Ath. Camb.*

38\* § 2. *T. Nashe about Stubbes tempting a Widow.*

might doe well to reconcile her selfe to the Church of God, in the holy ordinance of matrimony. Manye wordes past to this purpose ; but I <sup>1</sup>wotte well the conclusion was this, that since she had hitherto conuerst with none but vnregenerate persons, and was vterly carelesse of the communion of Saints, she would let him, that was a man of God, put a newe spirite into her by carnall copulation, and so engrafte her into the fellowshippe of the faithfull ; to which, that shée might more willingly agree, hee offered her a spicke and spanne new Geneua Bible, that his attendant Italian had brought with him to make vp the bargaine. But for all the Scripture he could alledge, it should not bee ; *Phil. Stu.* was no meate for her tooth. God wote, he could not get a penyworth of leachery on such a pawne as his Bible was ; the man behinde the painted cloth mard all ; and so, O griefe, a good Sabaoths day work was lost. Stand to it *Mar-martin Iunior*, and thou art good inough for ten thousand of them ; tickle me my *Phil.* a little more in the flanke, and make him winche like a resty iade, whereto a dreaming diuine of Cambridge, in a certain priuate Sermon of his, compared the wicked. Saist thou me so, good heart ? then haue at you Maister Compositor, with the construction of *Sunt oculos clari qui cernis sydera tanquam*. If you be remembred, you were once put to your trumpees about it in Wolfes<sup>2</sup> Printing-house, when as you would needes haue *clari* the infinitiue moode of a verbe passiue ; which determined, you went forwards after this order : *Sunt* there are, *oculos eies, qui* the which, *cernis* thou doest see, *clari* to be cleare, *tanquam sydera* as the Stars : Excellent well done of an old Maister of Arte ! yet why may not hee by authority challenge to himselfe, for this one peece of worke, the degrees hee neuer tooke?<sup>3</sup> Learning is a iewel, my maisters ; make much of it ; and *Phil. Stu.* a Gentleman, euery haire of his head ; whom although you doe not regard according as he deserues, yet I warrant you, *Martin* makes more account of him then so, who hath substituted him long since (if the truth were well boulted out) amongst the number of those priuy Martinists which he threatens to place in<sup>4</sup> euery parish. I am more then halfe weary of trotting too and fro in this cursed common wealth, where sinfull simplicitey pufte vppe with pride of singularity, seekes to peruerte the name and methode of

<sup>1</sup> Sign. D. r.

<sup>2</sup> Reginald Wolfe, the Queen's Printer, and planner of *Holinshed's Chronicle*. See Harrison, I. p. iv, and Stow, p. 65\* n. below.

<sup>3</sup> This phrase I take to be the ground of Antony Wood's (or his correspond-ent's) paragraph below, p. 53\* n. Stubbes didn't take a degree ; therefore he was at a University. No trace existed of him at Oxford ; therefore he was at Cambridge, and left before he took his degree. Then, because there was a Justinian Stubbs, M.A., at Glo'ster Hall, Oxford, in 1589 (? entered there in 1583), therefore Phillip Stubbes, after his 7 years' ramble about England, 1576-83, settled at Oxford for a time, at Glo'ster Hall.

<sup>4</sup> Sign. D. r, back.

§ 2. *T. Nashe's Attack on Stubbes and his Anatomie.* 39\*

magistracy. But as the moste of their arguments, are drawn from our graue fathers infirmities, so all their outrageous endeouers haue their offspring from affected vainglory.

(“An Almond for a Parrat / Or Cutbert Curry-knaues / *Almes.* / Fit for the knaue Martin, and the / rest of the impudent Beggers, that / can not be content to stay their stomackes / with a Benefice, but they will needes / breake their fastes with / our Bishops./ *Rimarum sum plenus.*/ Therefore beware (gentle Reader) you / catch not the hicket with laughing./ [Ornament.] Imprinted at a Place, not farre from / a Place, by the Assignes of Signior Some-body, and / are to be sold at his shoppe in Trouble-knaue / Street, at the signe of the / Standish.” [1589].)

(2) NASHE ON STUBBES, in his *Anatomie of Absurditie*, 1590  
(sign. B. ii.).

“I leaue these [Girls and their praisers] in their follie, and hasten to other mens furie, who make the Presse the dunghill whether they carry all the muck of their mellancholike imaginacions, pretending forsooth to anatomize abuses; and stubbe vp sin by the rootes, when as there waste paper beeing wel viewed, seemes fraught with nougat els sauе dogge daies effects, who, wresting places of Scripture against pride, whoredome, couetousnesse, gluttonie, and drunkennesse, extend their inuictuies so farre against the abuse, that almost the things remaines not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse. Speaking of pride, as though they were afraid somebody should cut too large peniworthes out of their cloth: of couetousness, as though in them that Prouerbe had beene verified, *Nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes*: of gluttonie, as though their liuing did lye vpon another mans trencher: of drunkennesse, as though they had beene brought vppe all the dayes of their life with bread and water: and finally of whoredome, as though they had beene Eunuches from theyr<sup>1</sup> cradle, or blind from the howre of their conception. But as the Stage player is nere the happier, because hee represents oft times the persons of mightie men, as of Kings & Emperours, so I account such men neuer the holier, because they place praise in painting foorth other mens imperfections.

These men resemble Trees, which are wont eftsoones to die, if they be fruitfull beyond their wont; euen so they to die in vertue, if they once ouershoote themselues too much wyth inueighing against vice; to be brainesicke in workes if they be too fruitfull in words. And euen as the Vultures slay nothing themselues, but pray vpon *that* which of other is slayne, so these men inueigh against no new vice, which heere to fore by the censures of the learned hath not beene sharply condemned, but teare that, peecemeale wise, which long since by ancient wryters was wounded to the death, so that out

<sup>1</sup> Sign. B. ii. back.

40\* § 2. *T. Nashe's Attack on Stubbes & fellow-Puritans.*

of there forepassed pains, ariseth their Pamphlets, out of their volumes, theyr inuetives. Good God, that those that neuer tasted of any thing sauе the excrements of Artes, whose threddbare knowledge being bought at the second hand, is spotted, blemished, and defaced, through translators rigorous rude dealing, shoulde preferre their sluttered sutes, before other mens glittering gorgious array, should offer them water out of a muddie pit, who haue continually recourse to the Fountaine, or dregs to drink, who haue wine to sell. *At scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciatur alter.* Thy knowledge bootes thee not a button, except another knowes that thou hast this knowledge. Anacharsis was wont to say, that the Athenians vsed money to no other ende but to tell it; euen so these men make no other vse of learning, but to shewe it. But as the Panther smelleth sweetelie but onely to brute beastes, which shee draweth vnto her to theyr destruction, not to men in like maner, so these men seeme learned to none but to Idiots, whom with a coloured shew of zeale, they allure vnto them to their illusion, and not to the learned in like sort. I knowe not howe it delighteth them to put theyr Oare in [an] other mans boate, and their foote in another mans boote, to incurre that prouerbial checke, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, or that oratoricall taunt, *Quam quisque norit artem, in ea se exercitat*: with the Elephant to wade and wallowe in the shallow water, when they woulde sooner sincke then swym in the deepe Riuier, to be conuersant in those Authors which they cannot vnderstande, but by the translatour their Interpreter, to vaunte reading when the sum of their diuinities consists in twopennie Catichismes; and yet their ignoraunt zeale wyl presumptuously presse into the Presse, enquiring most curioshie into euery corner of the Common wealth, correcting that sinne in others, wherwith they are corrupted themselues. To prescribe rules of life, belongeth not to the ruder sorte; to condemne those callings which are approoued by publique authoritie, argueth a proude contempt of the Magistrates superiority. Protogenes knew Apelles by one lyne, neuer otherwise seene, and you may knowe these mens spiritt by theyr speeche, their minds by their meddling, their folly by their phrase. View their workes, and know their vanitie; see the Bookes bearing their name, and smile in thy sleeue at their shame. A small ship in a shallow Riuier, seemes a huge thing, but in the sea a very little vessel; euen so each trifling Pamphlet to the simpler sorte, a most substantiall subiect, whereof the wiser lightly account, and the learned laughing contemne. Therefore more earnestly I agrauate their faulte, because their crime is crept into credit, and their dooinges deemed deuotion, when as purposelie to some mans despight, they bring into act their cholericke motions.

A common practise it is now adaias, which breedes our common calamitie, that the cloake of zeale, shoulde be vnto an hypocrite in steed of a coate of Maile, a pretence of puritie, a pentisse for iniquitie,

<sup>1</sup> Sign. B. iii.

§ 2. *T. Nashe's Attack on Stubbes and the Puritans.* 41\*

a glose of godlines, a couert for all naughtines. When men shall publique make profession of a more inward calling, and shall waxe cold in the workes of charitie, and feruent in malice, liberall in nothing but in lauishe backbyting, holding hospitalitie for an eschewed heresie, and the performance of good workes for Papistrie, may wee not then haue recourse to that caueat of Christ in the Gospell, *Cauete ab<sup>1</sup> hipocritis.* It is not the writhing of the face, the heauing vppe of the eyes to heauen, that shall keepe these men from hauing their portion in hell. Might they be saued by their booke, they haue the Bible alwaies in their bosome, and so had the Pharisies the Lawe embroidered in their garments. Might the name of the Church inseaffe them in the kingdome of Christ, they will include it onely in their couenticles, and bounde it euen in Barnes, which many times they make their meeting place, and will shameleslie face men out, that they are the Church militant heere vpon earth, when as they rather seeme a company of Malecontents, vnworthy to breath on the earth. Might the boast of the spirit pind to their sleeues, make them elect before all other, they will make men beleue, they doe nothing whereto the spirit dooth not perswade them : and what Heretiques were there euer that did not arrogate as much to themselues? These they be that publiquely pretende a more regenerate holines, beeing in their priuate Chambers the expresse imitation of Howligasse.<sup>2</sup> It is too tedious to the Reader to attend the circumstaunce of their seuerall shyftes, the lothsomnesse of their guilefull wiles, the tract path of theyr treacherie: you know them without my discourse, and can describe their hypocrisie, though I be not the Notarie of their iniquitie, Seeing their workes, shun their waies."

(The Anatomie of / Absurditie : / Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender / imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short / description of the seuerall practises of youth, and / sundry follies of our licentious / times. / No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembred / especially of those, who liue more licentiously, or addic-/ted to a more nyce stoycall austertie. / Compiled by T. Nashe. / *Ita diligendi sunt homines, ut eorum non / diligamus errores.* / At London, / Printed by I. Charlewood for Tho-/mas Hacket, and are to be solde at his shop / in Lumberd Street, vnder the signe of /the Popes heade. / *Anno. Dom. 1590. /*)

Gabriel Harvey, in his *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, against Thomas Nashe, thus (pp. 183-4) answers the latter's attack on Stubbes:—

“ It is the destiny of our language, to be pestered with a rable-

<sup>1</sup> Sign. B. iii. back.

<sup>2</sup> A supposd rough practical joker and dirty doer. Wm. Copland printed (in 1548-60) 3 editions of the book recording his doings. For a list of its contents, see my *Captain Cox*, Ballad Soc., p. xlxi-1.

42\* § 2. *Gabriel Harvey's Defence and Praise of Stubbes.*

ment of botchers in Print: but what a shamefull shame it is for him [T. Nashe], that maketh an Idoll of his owne penne, and raiseth-vpp an huge expectation of paper-miracles, (as if Hermes Trismegist were newly risen from the dead, and personally mounted vpon Danters presse<sup>1</sup>), to emprooue himself as ranke a bungler in his mightiest worke of Supererogation, as the starkest Patch-pannell of them all, or the grossest hammer-drudge in a country. He disdaineth Thomas Delone,<sup>2</sup> *Philip Stubbs*, Robert Armin, and the common Pamfletters of London, euen the painfullest Chroniclers tooe; because they stand in his way, hinder his scribbling traffique, obscure his resplendishing Fame, or haue not chronicled him in their Catalogues of the renowned modern Autors, as he meritoriously meriteth, and may peraduenture be remembred hereafter. But may not Thomas Delone, *Philip Stubbs*, Robert Armin, and the rest of those misused persons, more disdainfully disdaine him; because he is so much vayner, so little learneder, so nothing eleganter, than they; and they so much honester, so little obscurer, so nothing contemptibler, than he? Surely, Thomas, it were policy, to boast lesse with Thomas Delone, or to atchieue more with Thomas More. If Vaunting, or craking may make thee singular, thy Art is incomparable, thy Wit superexcellent, thy Learning omnisufficient, thy memory infinite, thy dexterity incomprehensible, thy force horrible, thy other giftes more then admirable; but . . . ”

In the same tract (*Pierces Supererogation*, 1593, pp. 190-1), Gabriel Harvey further praisd Stubbes<sup>3</sup> for his siled and workman-like style:—

“Our late writers are, as they are: and albeit they will not suffer me to ballance them with the honorable Autors of the Romanes, Grecians and Hebrues, yet I will craue no pardon of the highest, to do the simplest no wrong. In Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe; in Heywood, Tusser, and Gowge<sup>4</sup>; in Gascoigne, Churhyard, and Floide<sup>5</sup>; in Ritch, Whetstone, and Munday; in Stanyhurst, Fraunce,

<sup>1</sup> From which came in 1597 the first Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*. J. Danter also enterd a *Titus Andronicus* in 1593.

<sup>2</sup> See the long list of Deloney's ballads, tracts, and books, in Hazlitt. Tho' Deloney might have been calld a pamphleteer, Robert Armin, the actor and play-writer, couldn't.

<sup>3</sup> I assume that he means Phillip Stubbes, and not John Stubbe of the *Gaping Gulf*, 1579 (p. 53\* and 54\* below). The Chroniclers who are coupled with Stubbes above, are praisd here by name, Grafton, Holinshed, Stowe; and certainly Harvey would admire all the hard inkhorn words in the early editions of the *Anatomicie*.

<sup>4</sup> See a bit of Googe's work in the Naogeorgius Appendix, p. 323 below.

<sup>5</sup> Lodowick Lloyd, of *The Pilgrimage of Princes*, &c., was so calld, says Mr. Hazlitt. See the list of his works in Lowndes.

§ 2. Nashe's *Widow-chaff of Stubbes* not to be believd. 43\*

and Watson ; in Kiffin<sup>1</sup>, Warner, and Daniell ; in an hundred such vulgar writers, many things are commendable, diuers things notable, some things excellent. For a polished and garnished stile, few go beyonde Cartwright, and the chiefest of his Confuters, furnished writers : and how few may wage comparison with Reinolds, *Stubbes*, Mulcaster, Norton, Lambert, and the Lord Henry Howarde ? whose seuerall writings, the siluer file of the workeman recommendeth to the plausible interteinment of the daintiest censure.<sup>2</sup>" .

Now I don't want, with Harvey, to call the slashing Tom Nashe "the sonne of a mule, a rawe Grammarien, a brabbling Sophister, a counterfaict cranke, a stale rakehell, a piperly rymer, a stump-worne railer, a dodkin autor" (*ib.* p. 61) ; or to say that his books are all like his *Strange Newes* (1592, against Harvey) : "Railing, railing, railing : bragging, bragging, bragging : and nothing else, but fowle railing vpon railing, and vayne bragging vpon bragging, as rudely, grossely, odiously, filthily, beastly, as euer shamed Print" (*ib.* p. 64), but I do not believe his story about Stubbes and the widow. Nashe reminds me of a little drunken scribbler I once knew, who, when a man offended him, always said 'the fellow 's a drunken clown.' Nash and his loose-living likes, who sneerd at Stubbes and his mates as eunuchs, did, I believe, invent or get hold of any joking tale—like that of the Bible that wasn't a high enough cushion for a willing sister and an endeavouring brother, because the Apocrypha wasn't in it<sup>3</sup> (*Percy Fol., L. & H. Songs*, p. 35),—and stick it on to any Puritan they wanted to chaff. So that it raisd a laugh was all they cared for, and when it had done this, they were satisfied. Nashe's story goes too far. Even if Stubbes had been an Angelo, and the widow an Isabella, the bribe wouldn't have been a Bible. So I reject the

<sup>1</sup> Maurice Kyffin, of the *Blessedness of Brytaine*, 1587, &c.: see Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 322-3.

<sup>2</sup> See the praises of other authors, &c , before and after, p. 190-2 : Southwell, Scot (*Discovery of Witchcraft*), Whitgift, Drant, Dr. Still, &c. On p. 60-1, he calls Nashe "a May-Lord of Primerose-hill, that hath all humours in his liuerie, & can put conscience in a Vices coate." I don't take up space by quoting the chief works of the authors nam'd in the text above, as they are either well known or can be easily found in bibliographical lists.

<sup>3</sup> See too in *Dodsley*, ix. 61-2, the jest about the Puritan lass who yielded only to prevent her lover breaking his oath, as he'd sworn to succeed. The point of the Apocrypha joke was that the Puritans calld the Apocrypha a lot of Popish fables, and refusd to acknowledge it as part of the Bible.

44\* § 3. *Was Elizabethan Dress outrageously absurd?*

widow tale. Nashe, however, is more to be regarded, and is nearer hitting the nail on the head, when he complains of Stubbes extending his “inuetiues so farre against the abuse, that almost the thing remaines not whereof they admitte anie lawfull vse.”

§ 3. But the question is, 1. whether Stubbes was writing against real abuses or not, and 2. whether he wrote from real earnestness, or only hypocrisy. If the excesses he denounces were real, and if his zeal against them was righteous, we shall not judge him harshly because he went a little too far in the words he used, or the sharpness of the curb he'd have liked to put on offenders.

On the first point he deals with, Men's and Women's Dress, I ask whether one single writer of the time can be produc'd, who treats the matter, and is satisfied with his contemporaries' practice? I've never seen or heard of one. But on the contrary, every man whose book you open,—from the catholic Shakspere, who surely liked his cakes and ale, to the sensible cheery Harrison, the odd, and liker of oddities, Tom Coryat,—every single writer condemns the foolery, extravagance and evil of the outrageous garments around him. The Queen and her Council did so (see the fine volume of her Proclamations in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., *an.* 1, 4, 8 (p. 94-6), 16 (p. 155-7), 19 (p. 171-3), 30 (p. 253-7), 39 (p. 343-6, A.D. 1597).<sup>1</sup> And we, by our practice, do it too.

Why also did Stubbes condemn these follies? Not only because he saw with Shakspere that men bore manors on their backs, and sacrifict their inheritances to gratify their stupid pride; not only because he knew, with Harrison, that for this, England's oaks were felled, her country hospitality stopt; but because the follies led to the neglect of the poor—the humble folk that ben Christ's friends, as Chaucer says—who were left to die in the streets like dogs, the dung that rotted, to grow the flowers that adornd the Court

Take the next vices with which Stubbes deals, Whoredom and Adultery, Gluttony and Drunkenness; and on the first pair, contrast Shakspere's Spring Song on the Cuckoo at the end of *Love's*

<sup>1</sup> See *An.* 42, for suppression of Ale-houses, and due observance of Fish-days; and *an.* 43 for prohibiting the carrying of dags (big pistols: *Harrison*, i. 283).

§ 3. *Did Stubbes condemn Whoredom too strongly?* 45\*

*Labours Lost* with Wordsworth's, and judge whether Stubbes had cause to write as he did, or not, and whether we haven't cause to be grateful that he and his fellows did write thus, and set their faces as a flint against the idle wits that treated the soiling of women's purity as a joke, and the debauching of girls as an honourable token of manliness. Thank God, it requires an effort of the imagination to turn from our own state of society—faultful tho' it be—and conceive one in which the so welcome note of the herald of spring, the recaller of youth's 'golden time,' could suggest the idea of cuckoldry to any husband. No longer is it true in England, that

" When Daisies pied, and Violets blew,  
And Cuckow-buds of yellow hew,  
And Ladie-smockes all siluer white,  
Do paint the Medowes with delight,  
The Cuckow then on euerie tree  
Mockes married men ; for thus sings he,  
Cuckow !  
Cuckow, Cuckow ! O worde of feare,  
Vnpleasing to a married eare."

*L. L. Lost*, V. 904-12, Folio I. p. 144, col. 2.

And we have to thank mainly the Puritan party that this old evil is not ours still.

As to the Drunkenness, that is still the great curse of our land. And ask any one who's been among working men, and seen what a drinker's home and wife and children are like, seen the blessed change that teetotalism makes in all ; ask any one who knows what went on in the upper and middle classes as late as my own father's day, my own youth,—the daily debasing of men to worse than brutes ; —ask any one who knows but a little of Elizabethan books ; ask Shakspere, thro' Hamlet or Cassio, whether Stubbes has said one word too stern against that "devil drunkenness" (*Oth.* II. iii. 297), which was in his day, as it is in ours, the blight of our native land.

As to the evils next complain'd of, the enclosure of Commons without due regard to the rights of the poor, the cheating dealers, &c.—what is our Commons-Preservation Society, what are our Co-operative Societies and Stores, but declarations that Stubbes was in the right; that landlords' greed needs check by law, the weakness

46\* § 3. *Stubbes's abuse of Cheating, etc., justified.*

of the poor needs help ; and that the Dealer, standing between the workman and the buyer, to make out of both the most he can for himself, without regard to the welfare of either, is a being who has to be turnd into the agent of worker or buyer, or if possible both, bound to act honestly, and put down all adulteration, extravagant profit, and tricks of trade. As to the evil of letting usurers get the ownership of mortgagees' lands because the money was not paid on the day fixt for its return, our Courts of Equity and our Laws have long since settled that Stubbes was right, and have secured the mortgagee his equity of redemption, and prevented the mortgagor from taking more than his principal and interest. So also our laws have, by later Insolvency and Bankruptcy Acts, declar'd Stubbes right in his denouncing of the old iniquitous power of creditors to keep moneyless debtors in prison just as long as they lik'd, let their heels rot from their buttocks, as Stubbes says, in the foul prisons of the day, and then make dice of their bones.

Swearing has so long ceast to be "good form," that Stubbes's condemnation of it will be acquiest in by all, tho' they may not want swearers now branded with a hot iron, or believe in judgments on em.<sup>1</sup>

We now come to Stubbes's wholesale abuse of the Amusements of his time ; and it is for this that many folk condemn him, that I allow he was "sumwhat too sour," and went beyond the bounds which he had laid down for himself in his Preface. But let the reader recognize how very much there was in the pastimes of the day that deservd the strongest blame, and in how many cases posterity has justified Stubbes's censures. Note first, that the main reason for Stubbes's fierceness was, that all the games and devilry that he complains of so bitterly, were carried on more vigourously on Sunday than any other day. This is the point the whole matter

<sup>1</sup> Years ago I chanced to ask a regular contributor to the *Saturday*—a very high wrangler of my time at Cambridge—what had made the *S. Review* such a success. He said, "Mainly Cook's (the editor's) power of swearing. He swears at everybody so fiercely, from the printer's devil to his best leader-writer or sub-editor, that he makes us all do exactly as he tells us. I never heard such oaths." The like procedure seems to produce contrary effects at the Horse Guards.

§ 3. *Stubbes on Sabbath-breaking. Fairs, etc., now.* 47\*

turns on.<sup>1</sup> Stubbes lookt on the Day as specially holy to his Lord, to be spent “in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil ; in receiuing the sacraments, rightly administred ; in vsing publique and priuate prayer ; in thanks-giving to God for all his benefits ; in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations ; *in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes* ; and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man” (p. 140) ; and instead of this, he saw all the vagabonds and drabs of the country playing the devil’s delight all day long, and all night too. No wonder that he rose in wrath, and curst the whole crew. And who—even among us Sunday League and Sunday-Society-men, goers by train and boat—now wants to have bears baited, or theatres open<sup>2</sup>, on Sundays ; fairs held then, and markets ; the *cancan* danced,<sup>3</sup> or drunken jollifications going on in Church or Churchyard? Who would let sister, daughter, or maid, be out with a mixt company of men and girls in the woods all night (p. 149)? Depend on it, there *were* abuses of the grossest kind in the rough games of Stubbes’s and Shakspere’s day, abuses even justifying the call that they should in public be put down for a time altogether. We know how many of them have been rightly given up since ; and if we care, we may know that there are two sides to great gatherings for amusement now. Two of the occasions on which this has been brought home to me were these. The first time I was saying to a faithful-working curate-friend in a country town in Hampshire, how pleasant all lookt at the fair that morning. “Yes,” he answerd, “I suppose one oughtn’t to grudge the people their gathering ; but our annual crop of bastards ’ll be sown to-night. We had twelve last year, and eleven the year before ; and many of the girls get ruind for life.” The second time, chatting to an easy-going acquaintance about

<sup>1</sup> So in his denouncing of the Church-Ales, p. 150—2, one great grievance is that the Churches lie “like swyn-coates (pig-styes), their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall downe, the roof all bare . . . the booke of God rent, ragged and all betorn, couered in dust,” p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> With *Pink Dominoes* (as describd to me) playd, or even the innocent *Venus and Adonis* acted, with next Sunday’s *Referee* notice that Miss Phoebe Don’s legs were “monuments of managerial perspicacity and plumpness.”

<sup>3</sup> See p. 146. Note too Chaucer on the dangers of Dances, &c., *Cant. T.* C. 65-6.

48\* § 3. *Stubbes right in abusing Bearbaiting, etc.*

our races on Runnymede, at Egham, and saying that I'd seen no harm going on to justify the outcry against them by some folk, he answerd:

"Ah, your people just drive down to the course, and go away when the races are over. But if you want to know when the harm's done, and what it is, come with me to the booths the nights before and after, and then take a turn about the grass, and see what's going on there. I'm not one of the strait-laced lot; but knowing what I do, I don't wonder at people trying to stop the whole affair." Folk who like races and fairs and fun in general, either shut their eyes to the evils attending them, or say it's human nature, and there's no such great harm in it after all; but other men and women exist in the world, who can't take sin and the causes of it like this; they're just forced by their souls to fight against it, and its sources, with word and deed, with all their might; and if they do speak a little too sharply, or hit a little too hard, the self-indulgent do-nothings had at least better keep from abusing or sneering at them.

The justness of Stubbes's argument against hunting, on p. 182, is acknowledgd by our modern hunts paying for the damage they do to farmers' fences and crops; and his plea that 'For pleasure sake only, no man ought to abuse any of the creatures of God,' cannot be answerd, as every one 'll confess who's seen, at the end of his first day's hunt, the tears and distress look of the stag he's followd, or the last tries of the fox to save his life.<sup>1</sup>

In Stubbes's condemnation of cockfighting, gambling, bear-baiting, we all admit that he was right; and on the whole, tho' he would have put me as an inveterate Sabbath-breaker<sup>2</sup>, dancer, and honourer of Shakspere, into one of the hottest corners of his 'Material Hell,' I do not hesitate to ask his readers to believe that the

<sup>1</sup> The only defence is a shirk, and 'You're another:' "You *can* do without meat if you like; at any rate, you'd be better with little of it, and that of the simplest kind. But, solely for your pleasure, to tickle your palate, you have lots of animals needlessly killed; while we hunting men, for our health and refreshment, as well as our pleasure, only give a stag a good sweating, and kill a stinking fox now and then. Who are *you* to find fault with *us*?" (Mr. E. A. Freeman's articles on hunting and Mr. A. Trollope's answer, a few years back, I haven't seen.)

<sup>2</sup> And a backslider from the faith of Stubbes, for one Sunday, after a Sab-batarian parson's sermon, my father's Sunday newspaper, the *Windsor Express*, to his great disgust disappear'd till Monday morning.

#### § 4. *Stubbes didn't rail only, but car'd for the Poor.* 49\*

Abuses he denounc't were real and not fancid ones, cancers in the body of the commonweal, and that his words in denouncing them were not, in most cases, one whit too strong. We pass then to

§ 4. *Was Stubbes a mere railer?* In my early days in London, when one of a body of workers full of Christian-Socialist plans of social reform, helping in district-visiting, ragged schools, working-men's associations, &c., came out some *Latter-Day-Pamphlets*, by a certain prophet of the time, which seemd to me to do nothing but swear generally all round. Everything was wrong, everybody—except the writer—was a fool, niggers should eternally be slaves, and there was no hope for the world except in the coming of some beneficent hog-herd with a tremendous whip to drive the universal swine along the road they ought to go.<sup>1</sup> One night a well-known naval novelist, a disciple of this faith, was at a friend's house, holding forth with his usual fervour, and I ventured to suggest that he should *do* something to try and cure some of the evils he seemd to feel so keenly. I askt him to teach in our ragged school in Little Ormond Yard. On which he took his pipe out of his mouth, took a sip at his —th glass of toddy, and said, 'My dear Sir, I'll see you and your ragged school damnd first! The world 's going to the devil its own way. Let it go !'

Now Phillip Stubbes wouldn't have given a like answer—if I judge him aright—had John Stubbe, or any such man, askt him to lend a hand to any good work near Lincoln's Inn in his day. He'd have gone and done his best at it, tho' he'd no doubt have insisted on dosing the workees with texts and sermons. On his Sundays, he didn't want only to sing psalms and pray ; he'd also collect money for the poor, and do good works (p. 140). He wasn't angry with the rich for their gay clothes and vain show only, but because these led to 'cold charitie to the poore' :

"Do they think that it is lawfull for them to haue millions of sundry sortes of apparell lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iesus Christe die at their doores for wante of clothing?"

<sup>1</sup> If I do injustice to this book, which was a cruel blow to me after the noble *Life of Cromwell*, the *Sartor*, &c., I am sorry. I never opend it after the Parts were bound. But, had that whip then come to my hands, the prophetic back would have been the first laid open by it.

50\* § 4. *Stubbes's care for the Poor, etc.* § 5. *His life.*

—p. 59. “And so [the poore diseased] being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwyse, and thrown in the streats, there they end their dayes most miserably. Truly, Brother, if I had not seen it, I would scarsly haue thought that the like Turkish cruelty had beene vsed in all the World.”—p. 60.

Again and again Stubbes comes back to this, pp. 105, 116, 183, &c. He cares for God’s dumb creatures too<sup>1</sup> (pp. 178, 182). And tho’ we can’t class him with Orlando, who “wil chide no breather in the world but my selfe, against whom I know most fault” (*As You Like It*, III. ii. 297-8), we can honestly refuse to couple him with Jaques, or any of those who merely want to “raile against our mistris the worlde,” and “must have liberty Withall, as large a Charter as the winde, To blow on whom [they] please” (*ib.* II. vii. 47-9).

§ 5. *Stubbes and his Family.* Where he came from, when he was born,<sup>2</sup> where he was taught, and when he died, we don’t

<sup>1</sup> He would, were he living now, certainly join the *Fellowship of Animals’ Friends* that our Vice-Presidents Mr. and Mrs. Cowper-Temple have just founded. And he’d have curst the putting back Christians under Turkish rule in 1878 as heartily as I did; ‘English interests’ doing the Devil’s work.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose he was born about 1555,—the year that Latimer and Ridley were burnt at Oxford (Oct. 16) in bloody Mary’s reign. If Stubbes’s 7-years’ travel about England by or before 1583, is to be taken literally, he probably did not start till he was his own master, and 21. I suppose that he didn’t die till in or after 1610, when an enlارد edition of his *Pathway* was publisht, with 15 new prayers added, perhaps for the first time. That he was a well-read and learned man is plain from his books.

Here’s a suggestion from *The Saturday Review* (Sept. 25, 1869, p. 421, col. 2) as to Stubbes’s Christian name: “Why were there so many Philips in those days?—Philip, Earl of Arundel, to whom this book (Stubbes’s *Anatomie*) is dedicated; Philip, Earl of Pembroke, to whom the Shakespeare folio is inscribed; Philip Sidney and Philip Massinger, who could write books for themselves. Why but because Philip was the name of the ‘father of our Kings to be,’ and was the favourite godpapa with the rank-worshipping mammas of the period. And if the word Philip had been called out at a bearbaiting in the sixteenth century, there would have been as many responses to it as there are nowadays when H’albert is shouted for at a Foresters’ Fête at the Crystal Palace.”

Now, though I can’t pretend to measure the infinite funkeyism of the Victorian or Elizabethan English mother and man, yet I must observe that Philip Massinger was baptizd on Nov. 23, 1583, only five years before the Armada, and Sir Philip Sidney born on Nov. 29, 1554, four years before Elizabeth came to the throne (1558); and if the ‘mammas of the period’ kept up their fancy for the Popish Philip of Spain during all the changes of feeling in this time, the fact will surprise any one who has studied the period with the least care. How Stubbes must have hated his name if he thought he got it from the pet son of the scarlet whore!

## § 5. *Stubbes's Marriage, Wife, and Boy.* 51\*

know.<sup>1</sup> His Marriage-license we have, the Certificates of his son's birth, and his wife's death; his own account of his 4½ years marrid life (below, p. 197-203, 208), and the few words he says of his travels about England, in his *Anatomie*, 1583 (p. 22, below), and *Motive to Good Workes*, 1593, p. 68\*, 69\*, below. Colonel Chester kindly sends me the Marriage License, from the Bishop of London:

"1586, Sep. 6, *Philip Stubbes*, Gentleman, of St. Mary at Hill,<sup>2</sup> London, and Katherine Emmes, spinster, of the same parish, daughter of William Emmes, late of St. Dunstan in the West, London, Cordwainer,<sup>3</sup> deceased—To marry at any church or chapel in the diocese of London."

Mr. Henry Stubbs of Danby, Ballyshannon, sends me the following extracts from the Parish-Registers of Burton-on-Trent, as all that the latter yield:—

"1590. John Stubs<sup>4</sup> filius Philippi baptized the 17 November  
1590. Catherine Stubs buried the 14 day of December."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I say this notwithstanding the passage from Nashe quoted above, p. 37\*, and the extract (evidently bas'd on it) from Ant. Wood that follows, p. 53\*, note. But Nash's bit about the Cheshire readership may have some ground.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Howard, who has searcht the Registers of St. Mary at Hill, reports that there are no Stubbes entries in them.—J. L. C.

<sup>3</sup> Of course you understand that Katherine Emmes's father was something more than a mere "shoemaker," as we now understand the term. His will styles him "Citizen and Cordwainer," i. e. a freeman of London, and member of the Cordwainers' Company. Stubbs in his tract intimates that William Emmes had held high office in his company, which elevates him to the level of the superior tradesmen of the old city.—J. L. C.

<sup>4</sup> 70 years after, a John Stubs, with George Fox and Benjamin Furly, publisht "A Battle-Door for Teachers and Professors to learn Singular and Plural: *You* to *Many*, and *Thou* to *One*: Singular, *One*, *Thou*; Plural, *Many*, *You*. Wherein is shewed forth by Grammar, or Scripture Examples, how several Nations and People have made a distinction between Singular and Plural, &c. London, Printed for Robert Wilson, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Black-Spread-Eagle and Wind-mil in Martins le Grand, 1660. folio." Hazlitt. *Collection and Notes*, p. 166, col. 2.

<sup>5</sup> This is the day of her death, according to Phillip Stubbes. Possibly her fever led to her quick burial, but it looks odd. It was the Vicar, the Rev. C. F. Thornewill, that extracted the above entries in the Burton Registers for Mr. Henry Stubbes, who says, "the Vicar in his letter to me remarked that there was a + against the entry of Baptism of John Stubs, which he did not observe against any other entry; 'and likewise that the entry of Burial had evidently been made at a later date than that of the Burial itself, as it is in different ink from the rest, and is obviously put between the lines, having been forgotten or otherwise omitted at the time.'"

52\* § 5. *Stubbes's Life. His Mother-in-law, Mrs. EMMES.*

All the facts, then, that we know about Philip Stubbes at present are, that he was a Gentleman—either by birth, profession, or both;—a writer, from 1581 to 1610 (?), of pamphlets and books strongly on the Puritan side, well-read in his Bible and holy books; that before 1583 he had spent “seuen winters and more, trauailing from place to place, euen all the Land ouer indifferently” (p. 21, below) about England; that he marrid in the autumn of 1586, a sweet, gentle, pious girl of from 14 to 15, with whom he led a happy peaceful life for nearly 4½ years, expounding texts to her to his heart’s content—a blissful contrast to Milton’s first experiment;—that he lost her on Dec. 14, 1590, from a 6-weeks’ fever caught after she had thoroughly recoverd from bearing ‘a goodly man childe’—baptizd John, on Nov<sup>r</sup> 17;—that he was in ‘lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593;’ and that he probably livd till after the new edition of his *Perfect Pathway to Felicitie* was publisht, with 15 new Prayers, in 1610. Col. Chester writes: “I have again gone carefully over all the Stubbs’ wills in Somerset House from 1550 to 1630, and can find nothing of his parentage. His own will is certainly not here, if he left one, and no letters of administration to his estate were ever taken out.”

Stubbes’s mother-in-law, Mrs. Emmes, is describd by him as “a Dutch woman, both discrete and wise, of singular good grace and modestie . . . both religious and verie zealous” (p. 197), and yet she must have been a very Wife of Bath in the matter of husbands, ‘one down, t’other come on.’ Probably after her third husband’s death, she in 1586 “bestowed her [daughter Katherine by her second husband, William Emmes,] in marriage to one maister Stubbes”—our Phillip—p. 197, below, and Col. Chester kindly sends me the following account of her:—

“The mother of Catherine Stubbes (*née* Emmes) was also named Catherine, and she was first the wife of one Reginald Melchior (or Melcher), whose will, as of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, dated 22 Sept. 1563, she proved 12 Nov. following. Melchior directed his body to be buried in St. Martin’s Church-yard. He merely left small sums to his apprentice and his maid, and the residue of his possessions equally to his wife Catherine and his son Melchior.

“The widow did not grieve long, for on the 8th of November

1563, four days before she proved her husband Melchior's will, a license was granted by the Bishop of London for her marriage with William Emmes, then of St. Sepulchre's, London. They subsequently lived in Fleet Street, St. Dunstan-in-the-West."

"The will of William Emmes, Citizen and Cordwainer of London, is dated 26 Nov. 1583. He bequeathed considerable property in houses, &c. to his wife Catharine, and his children, William, John, *Catherine* [Stubbes's wife], Anne, Susan, and Alice, all under age. The widow Catharine Emmes proved the will 14 Jan. 1583/4.

"Four days later, viz. 18 Jan 1583/4, the Bishop of London granted another license for her to marry Richard Tompkins, of St Mary at Hill, London. She outlived her third husband, for, on the 24th of April, 1591, letters of administration to her estate, as a widow, were granted to her daughter Alice, who was then wife of (blank) Dumper."

(Of course the natural temptation has been yielded to,<sup>1</sup> to make

1 By Antony Wood (or his informant)—whose account of Stubbes (not in his 1st ed.) is printed in inverted commas in Bliss's ed. of the *Ath. Oxon.* i. 645, and is as follows:—"Philip Stubbs or Stubbes, was born of genteel parents, but where, one of his descendants of both his names who is a vintner in London, [Philip Stubbs, a vintner, living in the parish of St. Andrew Undershaft in London (*note*)] known not, nor can he positively affirm whether he received his education in either of the universities or not. Be it known therefore, that he was mostly educated in Cambridge, but having a restless and hot head, left that university, rambled thro' several parts of the nation, and settled for a time in Oxon, particularly, as I conceive, in Gloucester-hall, where a brother or near kinsman called Justinian Stubbs, M[aster] of A[rts] and a civilian, studied, by which name and titles I find him there in the beginning of 1589. This Ph. Stubbs was a most rigid Calvinist, a bitter enemy to popery, and a great corrector of the vices and abuses of his time; and tho' not in sacred orders yet the books he wrote related to divinity and morality, as the titles of them following partly shew." He then gives the titles of (b) the *Two Judgments*, 1581; (c) *View of Vanity* 1582; (e) *Rosary* 1583; (d) *Anatomy* 1583,\* noting 'divers corrections in and additions to it'; (g) *Theatre of the Pope's Monarchy* 1584. oct.; (j) *Perfect Path to Felicity* 1592; (k) *Motive to Good Works* 1593; (?) "Praise and Commendation of Women. Printed in oct. This I have not seen,† and therefore I cannot give you a larger title." (i) "Christial glass for Christian Women. Lond. 1626." He then speaks of Stubbes's wife, and says, "Near of kin, if not brother, or father to this Philip, was Joh. Stubs of Lincolns-inn, gent. a most rigid puritan, author of *A Discovery of a gaping Gulp for England*. Printed 1579, oct."

\* "Ded to Phil. E. of Arundel; black letter, double pages 125. Printed by Ric. Jones. At the back of the last page is a wooden cut of a man in a gown, round bonnet, stooping, and holding a pair of gloves in his left hand. The book penes Mr. Lort of Trin. coll. Cambr., who in May 1772, gave 7s. 6d. for it at Mr. Joseph Hart's auction of books." Cole.

† Nor has any one else that I can hear of.

54\* § 5. *John Stubbe of the Gaping Gulfe, 1579.*

Philip Stubbes, "near of kin, if not father or brother" of the noble Puritan, John Stubbe<sup>1</sup>, (or Stubbes,) who in 1579 (not 1581) wrote against the proposd marriage of Queen Elizabeth with the Popish Duke of Anjou, the French King's brother—"The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the banes, by letting her Majestie see the sin and punishment thereof"; and who had his right hand chopt off with a butcher's knife and mallet<sup>2</sup> for his sensible

<sup>1</sup> See the interesting memoir of him in Cooper's *Ath. Cant.* ii. 111-12.

<sup>2</sup> See Camden's *Annales englisht*, 1625, Bk. III. p. 14-16. His account is the best: "Her Maiestie likewise burned with choller that there was a booke published in print, inueighing sharply against the marriage, as fearing the alteration of Religion, which was intituled '*A gaping gulfe to swallow vp England by a French marriage.*' In this Pamphlet the Priuy Councillors which faoured the Match were taxed of ingratitude to their Prince and Countrey: the Queene, as not understanding well her selfe, by the way of flattery is tauntingly touched: the Duke d'Anjou and his country of France in contumelious tearmes shamefully reviled: the marriage condemned, for the diuersitie of Religions, by poisonous words and passages of Scripture, miserably wrested, would seem to proue that the Daughter of God, being to match with the sonne of Antichrist, it must needs bee the ruine of the Church, and pernicious to the State; neither would Queene Elizabeth bee perswaded that the Author of this booke had any other purpose, but to bring her into hatred with her subiects, and to open a gap to some prodigious innovation. . . .

"Since that, shee begunne to bee the more displeased with Puritans then shee had been before-time, perswading her selfe that such a thing had not passed without their pruitie: and within a few dayes after, Iohn Stubbes of Lincolnes Inne, a zealous professor of Religion, the Author of this Ralatue Pamphlet (whose Sister, Thomas Cartwright the Arch-Puritan had married), William Page the disperser of the copies, and Singleton the Printer, were apprehended; against whom sentence was giuen, that their right hands should be cut off, by a law in the time of Philip and Marie against the Authors of Seditious Writings, and those that disperse them. Some lawyers storming hereat, said the judgement was erroneous, and fetcht from a false obseruation of the time wherein the Statute was made, that it was onely temporarie, and that (Queene Marie dying) it dyed with her. Of the which Lawyers, one Dalton, for his clamorous speeches was committed to prison, and Monson, a Judge of the Common-pleas, was sharply rebuked, and his place taken from him. . . .

"Not long after, [Nov. 3, 1579,\* not 1581, as Stowe says, *Annales*, 1605, p. 1168], vpon a Stage set vp in the Market-place at Westminster, Stubbes and Page had their right hands cut off by the blow of a Butchers knife, with a Mallet strucke through their wrests. The Printer had his Pardon. I can remember that, standing

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\* See "His Wordes upon the Scaffold when he lost his Haund on Tewsdaie, 3 November, 1579." In *Nugae Antiquae*.—Cooper.

## § 6. *Stubbes's Works in the Stationers' Registers.* 55\*

and manly tract. But Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, has a copy of the wills of the righthandless John Stubbs and his father, John Stubbe of Buxton, Norfolk, and in neither of them is there any mention of Philip Stubbes.)

§ 6. *Stubbes's Works.* Of these, eleven have survivd to our day in title,<sup>1</sup> and eight in copies. Of the eleven only six, and of the eight only five, were enterd on the Stationers' Registers, if I can trust my search through the second volume of the (alas !) indexless *Transcript* of Mr. Arber. They are :—

1582-3. An. Eliz. XXV<sup>to</sup>. primo die Martij

Richard Jones.      Licensed vnto him vnder thandes of the Bishop of LONDON and both the wardens. *The Anatome of abuses.* by PHILLIPE STUBBES . . . . . vj<sup>d</sup>  
*Transcript*, ii. 421.

1583. An. Eliz. XXV<sup>to</sup>. Tertio Die Augusti.

John Charlewood/      Receaued of him for his licence to ymprint *The Rosarie of christian Prayers* . . . . . vj<sup>a</sup>/  
*Transcript*, ii. 426.

by *John Stubbes*, so soone as his right hand was off, put off his hat with his left, and cryed aloud, *God save the Queene*. The people round about him stood mute, whether stricken with feare at the first sight of this strange kind of punishment, or for commiseration of the man whom they reputed honest, or out of a secret inward repining they had at this marriage, which they suspected would be dangerous to Religion." Sir Walter Scott and Macaulay have word-painted the scene.

The 8vo mentiond by Antony Wood, *The Praise and Commendation of Women*, is not reckond in the ii, as I doubt the author of *The Anatome*, Part I, which scarified women so, ever having written a 'Praise' of Women in general, tho he did praise his own dead wife. Moreover, we've no record of the *Praise* book being seen by any one; and none of the long list of books on Women in Mr. Hazlitt's *Handbook*, and *Collections and Notes* suits Wood's title except 'to ye Praye of Good women,' ye xxij<sup>th</sup> chapter of ye Proverbis, licenst to John Alde in 1568 (*Arber's Transcript*, i. 378), which is too early for Stubbes. 'The Praise and Dispraise of Women' in 1579 won't of course do.

I don't think—as Mr. Reardon did, Old Sh. Soc. *Papers*, iii. 15; and Mr. Collier, *Bibl. Cat.*, ii. 399—that Gabriel Harvey necessarily meant to include Stubbes in "the common Pamfletters of London" (p. 42\*, l. 9 above), or we might suppose that many of Stubbes's works have been lost. There is no "other" before Harvey's "common," as there ought to be if Mr. Reardon's and Mr. Collier's view were right; and against it, is also Harvey's after praise of Stubbes for his filed lines (p. 43\* above). Harvey meant to distinguish Stubbes from the "common Pamfletters," not confuse him with em.

56\* § 6. Stubb's Works in the Stationers' Registers.

1583. 25 Eliz. Septimo Die Nouembris/  
William wright. Licenced vnto him vnder the wardens handes *The  
second parte of Thanotomye of Abuses*<sup>1</sup>. . . . vj<sup>d</sup>  
*Transcript*, ii. 428.

1591. An. Eliz. 33<sup>o</sup>. xv<sup>to</sup> Junij  
Richard Jones./ Entred for his copie vnder the handes of the Bishop of  
LONDON and the wardens / *A Christall glasse for  
christian women / Conteyninge an excellent discourse of  
the godly life and christian death of mistres KATHERINE  
STUBBES*<sup>2</sup> &c . . . . . vj<sup>d</sup>/  
*Transcript*, ii. 585.

1593. An. Eliz. 35<sup>o</sup>. xiiij<sup>to</sup>. die Octobris/  
Thomas Man./ Entred for his Copie vnder the handes of the Bisshopp  
of LONDON and Master warden Cawood. a booke  
entituled, *A motiue to good woorkes or rather to true  
christianitye &c* . . . . . vj<sup>d</sup>  
*Transcript*, ii. 638.

[Assignment.] 1594. An. 36 Eliz. vltimo Maij  
James Robertes Entred for his copies by order of Court Certens Copies  
whiche were John Charlewoodes / *Salvo Jure Cuius-  
cunque* . . . . . xiiis iiiij<sup>d</sup> C  
*The Rosary of Christian Praiers*  
*Transcript*, ii. 651.

a. But Stubb had begun printing as early at least as 1581, when  
(or earlier) he issued a broadside, with a woodcut, "A fearefull and

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<sup>1</sup> "9 Augusti [1596].  
Thomas Creede Entred for his Copie in full Court holden this Day. These ffyve  
Copies whiche were assigned from William wright to Thomas  
Scarlet, and from Thomas Scarlet to the said Thomas Crede  
ij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>  
. . . Item the second parte of *the Anatome of abuses* called *the  
Displaye of Corruptions.*" *Transcript*, iii. 68.

<sup>2</sup> iij<sup>o</sup> Julij [1596].  
master Whyte  
warden Entred for his Copyes these thinges followinge, viz. *Catheryne  
Stubes*, vj<sup>d</sup> (with *The scole of vertue*, vj<sup>d</sup>; *Twenty Orders of  
Calettes and Drabes*, vj<sup>d</sup> . . . *The ffyve and Twentye orders of  
knaues*, vj<sup>d</sup>) *Transcript*, iii. 187.

Edward White's estate in 'Katherine Stubes' was assignd to Master Pauier  
and John Wright on Dec. 13, 1620 (*Trans. iv. 44*), and Pauier's share was, after  
his death, assignd by his widow to Edward Brewster and Robert Birde (*Trans.  
script*, iv. 164-5).

terrible Example of Gods iuste iudgement executed vpon a lewde Fellow, who vsually accustomed to sweare by Gods Blood: which may be a Cauenat to all the World that they blaspheme not the name of their God by Swearing. [Colophon] Finis. Philip Stubbes. Imprinted at London for W. Wright, and are to be Sold at his shop in the Poultrey.<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by Mr. J. P. Collier in his “*Broadside Black-letter Ballads, printed in the 16th & 17th Centuries*, chiefly in the possession of J. Payne Collier,” 4°, 1868, p. 42—7. This is a ballad of 102 lines (25 verses, and a tag) of 7-measure or 14-syllable couplets, describd by Stubbes at p. 135 below, as telling the awful end of “a certaine yong man dwellyng in Enlocnילshire, in Ailgna, (whose tragicall discourse I my self penned about two yearees agoe, referring you to the said booke for the further declara-tion thereof) who was alwaies a filthie swearer: his common othe was by Gods bloud.”

The story being given at p. 135 below, I quote only a few verses of the ballad from its second edition in the Lambeth Library (sign. B. i. and B. ii.), to show the dogrel it is written in:—

“There is a towne in Lincolneshire, which Bothbie hath to name,  
Just three miles distant from Grantam, a towne of auncient fame.

(4)

Wherein there dwels a Gentleman, the truthe for to decyde,      13  
Who Frauncis Penell called is, this may not be denied.  
It pleased God this Gentleman, into his house did hyre  
A Seruingman t'atende him on, borne in Worstershire.      16

(5)

Which sayd youngman inclyned was, vnto a thing not good,  
As for to sweare by Christ his flesh, and by his precious blood. 18

\*      \*      \*      \*      \*

(12)

He had no sooner spoke these wordes, which I haue shewed to you,  
But that a-pace his heart blood did, foorth of his boody flowe; 46  
For why, out of his fingers endes, his blood did streame full faste;  
So did it foorth at his toes endes, which made them all agaste. 48

\*      \*      \*      \*      \*

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*, p. 410, col. 1, from which, and Hazlitt's *Handbook*, most of the after titles, &c., are given.

58\* § 6. *Stubbes's Second godly Ballad*, in 1581.

(14)

Thus died he, commmitting his soule to the furies fell,  
Which doo possesse th' infernall gulfe and Laberinth of hell. 53  
Than was his body straight interde, although (in trueth) forlorne,  
For whome it had beene better farre, if he had not beene borne." 56  
(Old) *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, iv. 77-9, 1849.

b. Stubbes's second known publication contains his first ballad, with a second like one in 114 long lines, couplets—probably first issued as a broadside too—and prose forewords and hindwords, the latter calld "An admonition to the Christian Readers, inferred vpon the two straunge Stratagems before passed." The whole forms a 4to pamphlet of ten leaves (A & B in fours, C in 2), of which there is a copy in the Lambeth Library, and a reprint by Mr. James Purcell Reardon in the *Papers* of the Old Shakespeare Society, iv. 73-88. The title is:—

"Two wunderfull and / rare Examples. / Of the vndeffered and present / approaching iudgement of the Lord our God: the / one vpon a wicked and pernitious blasphe-/mer of the name of God, and seruaunt / to one Maister Frauncis Pennell, / Gentleman, dwelling at Booth-/bie, in Lincolnshire, three / myles from Grantham./ The other vpon a vvoman, named / Ioane Bowser, dwelling at Donnington, in Lei-/cestershire, to whome the Deuill verie / straungely appeared, as in the dis-/course following, you may / reade. In Iune last. 1581. / VWritten by Phillip Stubbes. / Imprinted at London for/ VViliam VVright, and are to be solde at / his shoppe in the Poultrie: the middle / shoppe in the rowe, adioyning to / Saint Mildreds Church."/"

The story of the second ballad is told in the prose forewords, sign. A, iij, (p. 75-6, Sh. Soc.): how in Donnington, Leicestershire, there

"dwelled a poore man named Iohn Twell, who deceased, owing unto one Oswald Bowcer the summe of fife shilling, which the sayde Oswalde did forgiue the sayde man before named, as he lay vpon his death bedde; but the sayde Oswaldes wife, called Ioane, would in no wise forgiue the sayde Twell as long (she sayde) as she had day to liue. Wherupon, not long after, the Deuill appeared vnto her in the forme of the sayd Twell, deceased, expressing all the lyneamentes of the body of the dead man . . . this euill spirit vttered unto her these speeches, and sayd he had brought her mony from Iohn Twell deceased, and willed her incontinent to disburse the sayd money vnto her husband for his paines. Which she, with

§ 6. *Stubbes on Donnington, in his 2nd Ballad.* 59\*

as couetous a desire, receyued, saying, ‘God thanke you.’ She had no sooner named God, but the money consumed away from betweene her handes, as it were a vapour or smoake, tyll it was all consumed: wherwith the Deuill, giuing her a most fearefull and sore stroke, vanished out of her sight.

“Wherewith her whole body, became as blacke as pitche, replenished all ouer with a most filthy scurfe and other thinges, which was so odious, as heere my pen for modesties sake leaueth to wright . . . her body was most straungely benummed, and her eyes closed vp from the benefite of the light.’ Thus remayning a certaine space, she confessed the hardnesse of her heart, and with great patience thanked God for his iudgementes bestowed on her. Wherevpon, to be breefe, it pleased God, seeing her repentaunce, to reuoke his Iustice, and to restore her vnto her former health, where she remayned, praysing the name of God for his great mercies bestowed upon her.”

At the end of this ballad, Stubbes calls on Donnington to repent, and talks of the love he bears the town, as if he knew it well and had some connection with it.<sup>1</sup> And as his objection to dancing and piping, which he shows in his *Anatomie*, comes out too, I quote a few lines from sign. B. iiiij. back, and C. i. :—

“Therefore, thou Towne of Donington, I read thee to repent 83

\* \* \* \* \*

God hath thee warned now by this, and that in freendly sorte, 87  
To leauue thy whoredome and thy pride, and all thy filthy sporte.

(23)

Abandon, then, out of thy streates, all mirthe and minstrelsie ;  
No Pipers, nor no Dauncers vile, in thee let extant be, 90  
Remember thou thy lately plague, of blayne, of Botche, and Bile  
[boil],

Whereby thy God did scourge thee sore, least synne should thee  
defile.

(24)

O Donington, fall not againe vnto thy vomite old ;  
In filthy, scurrike, bawdie talke, doo not thy selfe vphold ; 94  
Ne yet with vaine and bloody othes, doo not thy selfe imbrew, (p. 86)  
For than the Lord will throwe thee downe amid the Deuils crew 96

\* \* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. John G. Bourn, the Vicar of Castle Donnington near Derby has kindly searcht his Registers for 1550—1600, and finds no Stubbes or Bowcer entry, but one of John Twell (who may have been Stubbes’s man), marrid 5 May 1567; John Twell baptizd 18 June 1583; John Twell son of John Twell, baptizd 1589, died (?) 25 March.

60\* § 6. *Stubbes's View of Vanitie; and Anatomie*, Pt. I.

And now, O gentle Donington, be mindefull yet of me      103  
Who haue with paines contriued this same, for louue I beare to  
thee.

(27)

Requite me not with wrath againe: that were disloyaltie,  
But see that thou accept hereof, as best beseemeth thee;  
And as a pledge of my good will, let this be vnto thee,  
Desiring God, that I thy state, in health and wealth may see."

c. Of Stubbes's third publication, no copy is known. It was "A View of Vanitie, and Allarum to England or Retraut from Sinne, in English Verse by Phil. Stubs. London, by T. Purfoot. 1582. 8vo."

d. His fourth was the famous *Anatomie of Abuses*, enterd in the Stationers' Registers on the 1st of March, and printed on the 1st of May, 1583, 125 leaves, small 8vo,<sup>1</sup> here reprinted. The success of the book was so great that a second edition was "Printed at London, by Richard Jones. 16. August 1583. [Colophon] Perused, auctorised, and allowed, accordyng to the order appoincted in the Queenes Maiesties Iniunctions. At London Printed by Richard Jones dwellyng at the Signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto Holborne Bridge. 1583." small 8vo, 133 leaves, black letter. (*Collation:* ¶, 4 leaves: B—R in eights, R 8 occupied by the colophon and device<sup>2</sup>). Copies are in the Grenville Library in the British Museum (collated for the present edition), in the Bodleian (Malone 526), and at Bridgewater House. In 1584, a third edition<sup>3</sup> of the book was issued, "now newly reuised and recognized, and augmented the third time by the same Author [Quotations].

<sup>1</sup> There are 3 copies of it in the Bodleian,—Crynes 833, Tanner 120, 8°. S. 269. Art. Mr. F. Ouvry has the copies of the 1st and 2nd editions describd by Mr. Collier in his *Bibl. Cat.* ii.

<sup>2</sup> The woodcut on the last page is that of a man in a round cap and long gown, stooping, his arms both stretching to the left, with a glove in his left hand; whereas the woodcut at the end of the 1st edition is of a lady seated, and looking over her right shoulder, with a flower in her hand.

<sup>3</sup> Formerly treated by Mr. Collier, and Mr. Hazlitt after him (and me after them), as 2 editions, the 3rd and 4th. Mr. C. (*Bibl. Cat.* ii. 393) states that "the fourth edition, also dated 1584, is without any specification of the month. We have examined all anterior impressions of the book and their dates, so that we are in a condition to speak positively on the subject." But can one trust him?

## § 6. *Stubbes's 4th Book, the Anatomie*, Part I. 61\*

and Printed at London, by Richard Iones 12 October, 1584, 8° black letter<sup>1</sup>"; this has A—R 4 in eights, says Mr. Hazlitt, the colophon on R 4 repeating the date of the year, but not the month. In 1585 the fourth edition came out, and was still call'd the third<sup>2</sup>: "now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the same Author. . . 1585." (A copy is in the British Museum, and has been collated for the present edition.) Then came a stay for ten years, when the fifth edition (call'd the fourth) was publisht, "Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and inlarged by the same Author. . . Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and Crowne, next aboue S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595." 4to, 76 leaves. Of this edition two copies are in the Bodleian (Malone 527, and Tanner 120) and have been collated for the present book. Mr. Huth also has a copy.

Tho Mr. J. P. Collier has in his reprint of the *Anatomie*, A. 1583 (Introduction), and his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 402, tried to kill Stubbes in 1593 of the plague then raging in London, it is absolutely certain that he revis'd his *Anatomie* for the edition of 1595,<sup>3</sup> and its title-page of that year leaves no doubt that he was not dead when it was issued. Also, if his *Perfect Pathway* of 1610 is not a reprint of an earlier edition, its fresh 15 Prayers were added by Stubbes alive then. The changes made in the *Anatomie* after its first publication were mainly<sup>4</sup> these:—

i. he left out of the 2nd and all after editions, his *Preface to the Reader*, in which he had said that he didn't want to put down all amusements, but only the abuses in them, and had allowd that some kind of Plays, dancing in private, and gaming that wasn't

<sup>1</sup> "A perfect copy in the original vellum wrapper has been recently discovered," Mr. Hazlitt tells me (Aug. 8, 1879), and is in the possession of Mr. A. Wallis, 88, Friar Gate, Derby, Editor of the *Derby Mercury*. Mr. Pyne has the imperfect copy mentiond in Mr. Hazlitt's *Collections and Notes*.

<sup>2</sup> The late Mr. Turnbull reprinted this, with a short Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> See notes, p. iii, viii, ix, 50, 52, 53, &c., &c.

<sup>4</sup> In F he left out his Latin verses, p. xiv, A. D.'s commendatory poem, p. xvii, and his own verses on 'The Avthor and his Booke,' p. xix-xx, below; in B, &c., he put in a poem by "C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations," p. xv-xvi, below.

62\* § 6. *Changes in the 2nd and 6th eds. of the Anatomie.*

gambling, were innocent. He evidently wrote, and perhaps printed, this Preface before he wrote all his book, and then saw that it was more or less inconsistent with the book itself, which denounst Plays, &c., so fiercely, and calld out loudly for their abolition.

2. he put in the story at p. 71—3 of the Devil setting the Antwerp woman's ruff, and wringing her neck for it; the bit in p. 79 note, about Looking-glasses being the Devil's bellows; the 2½ pages, p. 87—9, on the bad way in which women spend their days and meet their paramours in Gardens in the suburbs; the bit on p. 99 against allowing whoredom for a fine; the stories in 111—13 of the Devil burning up the 7 Swabian drunkards, and on 113—14 of the awful end of the 2 Dutch drunkards; the new chapter, of 7 pages in our text, on *Create Swearyng in Ailgna*, p. 129—136, and the instance of the English Jew who fell into a privy on his Sabbath, and died there rather than 'break or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth,' p. 139. Some fresh sidenotes were added in B 1583, E 1585, and F 1595 (or the uncollated edition of 1584): see p. 41, 53, 62, 63, 81, 82, 83, 87, 103, 111—14, 122, 130—6, &c.; and some fresh chapter-headings. The worth of the *Anatomie* is too well known to need any dwelling-on by me, and so are the strength and raciness of Stubbes's words—the ruffs that go flip-flap in the wind, and lie on men's shoulders like the dish-clout of a slut (p. 51), the women who are 'puppits or maumets of rags and cloutes compact together' (p. 75), the boys who care for nothing, so that they have 'their pretie pussie to huggle withall' (p. 97), the usurer, 'thou Deuill, for I dare not call thee a man' (p. 127), the dancers, 'what kissing and bussing, what smouching and slabbering one another' (p. 155), the minstrels who pipe up a dance to the devil (p. 172), the football players, when two charge one, 'to hit him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a hundred such murdering deuiees' (p. 184), the 'vgglesome monsters and Deuills' (p. 188), &c., &c.

Another change that Stubbes made in his 1595 edition (our F) was of his earlier inkhorn terms into simpler ones. Here are a few instances taken at random:—

A. tractation  
F. discourse .

27 | A. preparaunce  
F. great preparation

72

§ 6. *Changes of inkhorn words used in the 1583 ed. A. 63\**

A. momentaine	115	A. introite	154
F. momentary		F. entrance	
A. acuate 128	128	A. instinction [on-pricking] 157	
F. whette		F. instinct	
A. implicate	129	A. preter time	157
F. entangled		F. former ages	
A. denegars of (the faithe)	134	A. quauemire or splash 159, 168	
F. reprobates concerning		F. quagmire or puddle	
A. abdicate (themselves)	134	A. obtused	161
F. abandon		F. dulled	
A. evacuate	136	A. babish	161
F. haue discended		F. wanton	
A. God his (left at 189)	142	A. distinkted	165
F. Gods		F. distinct <sup>1</sup>	
A. exordium	145, 154	A. victimats and holocaustes 168	
F. original		F. and oblations	
A. proclue	146	A. Hethenicall	168, 177
F. prone		F. Heathnish	
A. alllections	146, 155	A. auditorie	169
F. enticements		F. hearers	
A. instinction	148	A. fucate	174
F. instinct		F. counterfeit	
A. exterior action	152	A. promulgat	176
F. outward show		F. published	
A. templaries & oratories	152	A. vendicate . . commend-	
F. temples and churches		ations	177
A. saturitie	153	F. challenge . . rewards	
F. fulnesse		A. adnull	178
A. determinat	153	F. annull	
F. prefixed		A. prostrated	181
A. circumvalled	153, 162	F. humbled	
F. compassed about		A. preiudicing	182
A. concions	154	F. annoying	
F. preachings		A. consummate	183, 191
		F. ended	

But he has left *amarulent*, 147; *alatrate*, 149; *conculcate*, 183, &c.; and in one case he has turned the simpler *trinkets* of A, 82, to *supellectiles* in E and F: probably more of like kind occur. In F, too, Stubbes gave up his absurd way in A of spelling certain

<sup>1</sup> ‘Distinkted’ is left in F. 156.

64\* § 6. *Stubbes's Rosarie, Anatomie II, against Papists.*

proper names backwards : *Ailgnæ*, for Anglia, England ; *Eþrautna* (71), for Antwerp ; *Lewedirb* (100), for Bridewell ; *Munidnol* (59), for Londinum, London ; *Ainatirb* (21), for Britannia ; *Ratsurb* (100), for Brustar ; *Enlocnilshire* (135), for Lincolnshire ; *Notelgnoc* for Congleton (136), &c. *Erichssehcshire* for Cheshire (135) he had given up in E (1585) or before.

e. Stubbes's fifth book was "The Rosarie of Christian Praiers and Meditations for diuers Purposes, and at diuers Times, as well of the day as of the Night, by Phill. Stubbes. Lond. by Iohn Charlewood, 1583, 18mo." It was enterd in the Stationers' Register on Aug. 3, 1583, and assignd to James Roberts on May 31, 1594, but no copy is now known.

f. Stubbes's sixth book was the "The / Second part / of the Anatomie of / Abuses, conteining The display / of Corruptions, with a perfect de-/scription of such imperfections, blemi-/shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-/rie degree, require reformation for feare / of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon/ the people and countrie, without / speedie repentance and con/uersion vnto God : made/ dialogwise by Phil-/ip Stubbes. / Except your righteousnes exceed . . . . London, Printed by Ro[ger] W[ard] for William Wright,/ and are to be sold at his shop ioining / to S. Mildreds Church in the/ Poultre, being the mid-/dle shop in the rowe." [1583]. A—P in eights: a little 8vo of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $3\frac{5}{8}$ ths broad, 2 copies at Lambeth, 1 in the Grenville Library, Brit. Mus., 1 in the Bodleian, &c. As I've already given the list of this book's subjects (p. 36\*), and mean to print it for the Society, I need say no more about it now. It was enterd in the Stationers' Registers in Nov. 7, 1583.

In the 1583 edition of Foxe's *Martyrs* ('Ecclesiastical History . . . . Actes and Monumentes,' &c.), the following eight lines of Stubbes's, on the Papist Bloodsuckers or Leeches, appeard at the end of the commendatory Poems, sign. ¶ iiiij. They are not in the edition of 1570, but are repeated in that of 1596:—

"In sanguisugas Papistas,  
Philippus Stubbes.

Q Vi sacrum Christi satagit conuellere verbum,  
Vulnificum contrà calcitrat hic stimulum,

## § 6. *Stubbes's Popes Monarchie, & Parry's Treason.* 65\*

Florida quæ nimio compresse est pondere palma,  
Fortius exurgit viribus aucta suis.  
Auricomansque crocus quo calcatur magis, exit  
Hoc magis, excrescit, floret, eo<sup>que</sup> magis.  
Sic Εὐαγγελιον quantumvis turba papalis  
Conspuat, exurat, crescit, vbique tamen.  
Finis."

g. Of the seventh book: "The Theatre of the Popes Monarchie. by Phil. Stubbes. Lond. for Henry Carre. 1584. 8vo," no copy is known.

h. His eighth, a 4to tract of 4 leaves, is represented by copies in the Lambeth and Huth Libraries, and was reprinted (with a few changes) by Mr. Reardon in the Old Shakespeare Society's *Papers*, iii. 17—21:

"The / Intended Trea-/son, of Doctor Parrie:/ and his Com-  
plices, A-/gainst the Queenes moste / Excellent Maiestie./ With a  
Letter sent from the Pope / to the same effect./ Imprinted at  
London / for Henry Car, / and are to be solde / in Paules Church-  
yard at the Signe / of the Blazing Starre. /" (1585.)

This little tract must have been written between Febr. 25, 1585, when Stubbes says that Parry "was conuaied from the Tower of London to Westminster Hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided," and March 2, when he was hangd.<sup>1</sup> The object of the tract was to state Parry's crime, to print the Pope's letter to him—"written by the Cardinall of Como"—encouraging him to his crime, and granting him plenary indulgence and remission of all his sins, and to make Englishmen hate the Pope and papists:—

"One Doctor Parrie, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, being (though beyond his deserts) very deer vnto her maiestie, and wel liked of, was by her grace sent ouer Seas in very waightie affaires, which he wel atchiuing, returned home, and no doubt was bountefully rewarded of her grace for his seruice and paines sustained: within a while after, this Doctor Parrie, vnwoorthy the name of a doctor or of a Christian, conspired the death of her maiestie, hauing

<sup>1</sup> And, as Stowe says in his *Annales* (1605), p. 1180, "The 2. day of Marche [1584—5] Willian Parry was drawne from the Tower through the city of London to Westminster, and there in the palace court, hanged, bowelled, and quartered for high treason, as may appeare by a booke extant, intituled 'A true and plaine declaration of the horrible treasons practised by W. Parry' &c. & I have set downe the same booke in the continuance of Reine Woolfe's Chronicle" [call'd by us, Holinshed's, ed. 1587, vol. ii. p. 1382—95].

66\* § 6. *Stubbes's Parry's Treason, & Life of his Wife.*

receiued his fees of the Pope (as it should seem) for the same. For the accomplishing of which moste hainous fact, he, with another, determined to kill her maestie, sometimes with a Dag,<sup>1</sup> sometimes with a Poynado or dagger, sometime with one thing, and sometimes with an other. Wel, this platforme being laid, and he hauing promised the Pope to performe the thing, one of his conspirators, through the goodnes of God, disclosed the same; which doon, both he and the said archtraitor Parrie were both apprehended and committed, and vpon the 25 of Februarie the said Parrie was conuaied from the Tower of London to Westminster hall, where he was arraigned according to the lawe in that case prouided sign. A. ij. (p. 18). . . .

"What good subiect, now, knowing the Pope and papists to be the instruments of all mischeef, of blood and of treason, wil not abhor and detest the one & y<sup>e</sup> other? (A. ij. back, p. 20). . . . take this for a Maxime, that all papists are traitors in their harts, how soever otherwise they beare the world in hand (p. 20) . . . blood, treason, rebellion, insurrections, commotions, mutenies, murther, and the like, are the badges and cognizance of them, and of that wicked generation; and let vs look for it, they wil be prickes vnto our eyes, whips unto our backs, and kniues to cut our throts withall, if time would serue them, which I pray God neuer doo" (sign. A. iiiij.—p. 21).

i. Stubbes's ninth book was his *Life of his Wife*, or *Christal Glasse for Christian Women*, 1591, enterd on the Stationers' Registers on June 15, 1591. Mr. Henry Pyne has been kind enough to lend me his unique copy of the first edition.<sup>2</sup> From it the part in which Stubbes describes his wife and her relation to him, is printed below, p. 195—208, the doctrinal part being left out. That Stubbes lov'd his young wife, and did his duty by her, is clear. The picture of the stern grave husband and the sweet girl-wife looking up to him, never contraryng him, but gently persuading, ilistening to his exposition of Holy Writ, is surely one grateful to the mind, notwithstanding its dark background of hard religionism.

j. Stubbes's tenth book is also in part reprinted below, p. 209.

"A perfect Pathway / to Felicitie,/ Conteining godly / Meditations, and prai-/ers, fit for all times, and / necessarie to be prac-/tized of all good / Christians./ Imprinted at Lon-/don by Richard Yardly / for Humfrey Lownes" / 1592./. My copy, believd to be

<sup>1</sup> Pistole: F. A Pistoll; a great (horsemans) Dag . . Pistolet; m. A Pistolet; a Dag, or little Pistoll—1611. Cotgrave.

<sup>2</sup> The 2nd edition, 1592, is in the Huth Collection. The tract was printed as late as 1658. Of that edition I have a copy.

## § 6. *Stubbes's Pathway, and Motive to good Workes.* 67\*

unique, is imperfect. It is a little squarish book, much cut down, of 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. high, by 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  broad, every page having a printed border. Collation: ¶ in 8, and A to P in 8s; no doubt the last three leaves, and perhaps ¶ 1 too, were blank. The Contents of it are printed below, p. 210 and p. 212, the titles of the missing Prayers being given from the only other edition known to me, that of 1610, the only known copy of which the late Mr. Henry Huth, with his never-failing friendship, lent me. This 1610 edition has 15 more Prayers than that of 1592—their titles are given at the foot of p. 212,—and I suppose that Stubbes livd till 1610 to write them. The 20 pages of Prayers, &c., reprinted below, are from the 1610 edition, as the 1592 one did not turn up till after my pages were cast. I chose those Prayers which interested me most—not forgetting that on p. 220-1 below, which mentions ‘those fleas and gnats’ that in bed did bite the skin of Stubbes, as their fellows must have done that of Shakspere. These Prayers convincit me that their writer was a pure-minded earnest man, not only a bitter railer. Taking them with the other works, I cannot but feel a real respect for Stubbes: and all who wish to understand him should read them.

¶. Of the eleventh and last known work of Stubbes, only one copy seems to have been lately extant, and that belongd to Mr. J. P. Collier, but has (he says) been stolen from him. He thus describes it in his *Bibliographical Catalogue*, ii. 400-1:—

“A Motive to good Workes. Or rather, to true Christianitie indeede. Wherin by the waie is shewed, how farre wee are behinde, not onely our forefathers in good workes, but also many other creatures in the endes of our creation: with the difference betwixt the pretended good workes of the Antichristian Papist, and the good workes of the Christian Protestant.—By Phillip Stubbes, Gentleman.—Matthew. 5. verse 16. Let your light so shine, &c.—London, Printed for Thomas Man, dwelling in Pater Noster rowe, at the signe of the Talbot. 1593. 8vo. 114 leaves.

“In quoting the sacred text, which the author chose as the motto of his book, it is singular that he, or his printer, should have left out so important a word as ‘good’ before ‘workes.’

“This is the only copy of the book that we ever met with: Lowndes originally mentioned it, and the short title is given in the new edition, p. 2539; but in both it is erroneously dated 1592: it is entirely prose.

68\* § 6. *Stubbes's 11th booke*, A Motive to good Workes.

"Stubbes, in his dedication, tells Cuthbert Buckle, Lord Mayor of London for the year, that 'he took his gelding about the Annunciation of S. Mary last past', and made a journey, which lasted about three months, into various parts of the kingdom, partly for pleasure, and partly to avoid the infection of the then raging plague. As he subscribes it 'from my lodging by Cheapside, 8 of November, 1593' we may conclude that by that date the virulence of the disorder had considerably abated. He complains that he every where found the country fertile and beautiful, but the people utterly unworthy of it —a deplorable deficiency of good workes, and a lamentable decay of hospitals, almshouses, churches, schools, &c. His object in writing his book is therefore evident, and in a brief address 'to the courteous Reader' he apologises for the unadorned plainness of his style :—'I have not desired to be curious, neither to affect fied phrases, culled or picked sentences, nor yet loftie, haughtie or farre fetched epithetes.'

"Considering the purpose for which the author travelled, we might reasonably expect some minute and interesting details of what he saw in the country nearly three centuries ago; but we have little beyond general invective and pious lamentation over the prevailing vices, until we arrive at p. 184, where remarks are made upon the facility with which a license was obtained for a worthless or immoral book, while permission to publish a religious or meritorious work was long delayed. As this is a point which he had touched upon in his '*Anatomy of Abuses* [p. 185, below]' we transcribe only a few sentences: he says—

'I cannot a lyttle mervayle that our grave and reverend Bishops, and other inferiour magistrates and officers, to whom the oversight and charge of such things are committed, will either license (which I trust they do not, for I wyll hope better of them) or in anie sorte tollerate such railing libels and slanderous pamphlets as have beeene of late published in print, one man against another, to the great dishonour of God, corruption of good manners, breach of charitie, and in a worde to the just offence and scandal of all good Christians. And truly, to speake my conscience freely, I thinke there cannot a greater mischiefe be suffered in a common wealth, than for one man to write against another, and to publish it in print to the viewe of the world.'

"In this passage we can scarcely fail to observe an allusion to the very personal controversy about this date so vigorously carried on, through the medium of the press, between Nash and Harvey. The Martin-marprelate feud was also then at its height, and Stubbes, as a zealous Puritan, sincerely sympathised with his pen-persecuted brethren.<sup>2</sup> He proceeds:—

<sup>1</sup> 25 March, 1593.

<sup>2</sup> And had a direct personal feeling about it besides: see Nashe's attacks on him, p. 37\*—41\* above. But it is surely to Stubbes's credit that (so far as we know) he didn't, like Gatriel Harvey, answer Nashe's personal railing by personal railing, as he could easily have done, but protested against the practice. It's a height of virtue which I have not yet reacht.

## § 6. *Stubbes's Motive*, 1593. § 7. *His Character*. 69\*

'I wis, the noble science of printing was not given us to that end, being indeede one of the chiefest blessings that God hath given to the sons of men heere uppon earth. For is not this the next<sup>1</sup> way to broach rancor, hatred, malice, emulacion, envie and the like amongst men? Nay, is not this the next<sup>1</sup> way to make bloudshed and murther, to rayse up mutenies, insurrections, commotions and rebellions in a Christian commonwealth? and therefore I would wish both the bookees and the authors of them to be utterly suppressed for ever, the one by fire, and the other by the halter or gallows, if nothing else will serve. But what should I say? I cannot but lament the corruption of our time, for (alas) now adayes it is growen to be a hard matter to get a good booke licensed without staying, peradventure, a quarter of a yeare for it; yea, sometimes two or three yeaeres before he can have it allowed, and in the end happily rejected too; so that that which many a good man hath studyed sore for, and traveyled long in, perchance all the dayes of his life, shall be buried in silence, and smothered up in forgetfulness, and never see the light; whilst in the meane tyme other bookees, full of all filthines, scurrilitie, baudry, dissolutenes, cosonage, conyatching and the lyke (which all call for vengeance from heaven) are either quickly licensed, or at least easily tollerate, without all denyall or contradiction whatsoever.'

"At all events Stubbes had not much reason to complain of delay: he collected his materials in the summer of 1593, wrote his book on his return in November, and published it, duly registered [Oct. 14] and licensed, before the end of the year.

"He is especially vehement on the neglected and ruinous state of the churches in the country and does not spare the Roman Catholics and Jesuits for their many attempts on the Queen's life, enumerating Parry (about whom he had himself written), Somerville, Arden, Throckmorton and Babington as among the principal offenders."<sup>2</sup>

§ 7. *Stubbes's Character*. On Sunday, July 17, 1575, and the Tuesday after, the Coventry folk, led by the great Captain Cox, playd before Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth, their Hock-Tuesday Play, of how the English men and women drove out the Danes, A.D. 1012. They had been wont to act the play yearly in their city, but it had been "of late laid dooun, they knu no cauz why, unless it wear by the zeal of certain theyr Preacherz: *men very commendabl for their behauour and learning, & sweet in their sermons, but sumwhat too sour in preaching awey their pastime.*"<sup>3</sup> Now something of this kind may, I think, fairly be said of Stubbes. Tho his

<sup>1</sup> *next* is the contraction of 'nighest,' as *hext* of 'highest.'

<sup>2</sup> On p. 402, Mr. Collier, besides trying to take a dozen or more years off Stubbes's life by making him die of the plague in 1593, thinks "It is rather singular that in the [*Motive to Good Workes*, 1593] Stubs says nothing of the death of his wife which had occurred on the 14th December preceding," or 1592. But 1590 was the year of Katherine Stubbes's death: see p. 195 below.

<sup>3</sup> *Captain Cox* or Laneham's Letter, p. 27 of my edition for the Ballad Society. Who'll give us £35, to issue it for the New Shakspere Society?

*Anatomie* can't be calld a 'sweet' book, yet his purpose in writing it was a righteous one :—

" Wherefore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in discouering their abuses, and laying open their inormities, that they, seeing the greeuousnes of their maladies, and daunger of theyr diseases, may in time seeke to the true Phisition and expert Chirurgion of their soules, Christ Jesus, of whome onelie commeth all health and grace, and so eternally be saued." p. 26 below.

And tho' he cut out in after editions, the moderate and sensible *Preface to the Reader*,<sup>1</sup> p. x—xiii below, which he wrote to his first edition, yet there stands his declaration of his meaning in the book, that it was the abuse, not the use, of amusements that he condemnd : " take away the abuses, the thinges in themselues are not euill ; being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurres vnto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused ; yet, because of the abuses, I am not so strict that I wold have the things themselues remooued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because it is abused, vtterly to be taken away." p. xii ; see too p. x.

And granting that Stubbes went beyond this limit in the body of his book, yet one knows that the evils he was denouncing were real sores in the common weal, and one sees how easily he, believing that the Day of Doom was close at hand (p. 187), would be led to speak, maybe too sharply, of the ridiculous petty vanities and fooleries that were going on daily and hourly around him. There *was* something better for English men and women to do in Shakspere's days than dress themselves like 'a dog in a doublet,' and paint themselves like harlots ; and if Stubbes while calling on

<sup>1</sup> I attach no value whatever to Mr. Collier's suggestion that Stubbes withdrew his Preface on account of the issue of 'a public order . . . forbidding the profanation of Sunday by the representation of plays and interludes.' Why should this make him withdraw his moderate Preface, and yet make him maintain his fierce attack on Sunday plays in the after part of his book ? And I suppose that the following paragraph is due to that imagination of Mr. Collier's which gave us his versions of the Alleyn letters (*Audelay and Harman*, E. E. T. S. xxv), Blackfriars petitions, &c : " We can readily believe that, *considering the offence it had given at Court and elsewhere*, he [Stubbes] was glad also to omit what he had said, in the first instance, on the subject of indecency and extravagance in dress." *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 394. The denouncings are made fiercer, if anything, in the 2nd edition ; the Preface is withdrawn only because it weaken'd the attack in the text.

## § 8. Queen Elizabeth's Procession in 1600. 71\*

them to do this better thing, also calld them idiots, and all the hard names he could lay his tongue to, let us hold that he was right in his main purpose, if he errd somewhat in his way of carrying it out.

And if we read his meditations and prayers, and give him credit—as we surely may—for trying to do and be, from dawn till sleep came upon him, what he askt others to pray to do and be, in their daily life, I do not think we shall deny to Philip Stubbes a pure spirit, an earnest soul, a longing to be one with God, and fit himself and the world around him for the habitation of the Holy One, in whom he with his whole heart believd.

§. 8 *Miscellaneous.* a. *The illustrations.* As Stubbes writes so much about the dress of his period, I thought our members—the foreign and colonial ones especially—would like to have some authentic reproductions of trustworthy specimens of that dress: hence our héliogravure (by M. Dujardin) of Virtue's large engraving of Queen Elizabeth's Herbert Procession in 1600, from Lord Ilchester's picture, and the other cuts from Planché's late work on Costume. For the Ballad cuts that follow the above, I cannot claim equal authority; but as they could be had for the price of the casts of them, they were added, and Mr Ebsworth has been so kind as to write an interesting *Memorandum* on them.

The cause of Elizabeth's Procession was her going to the marriage of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell. A short notice of the event is given, says Mr. G. Scharf (*Archæol. Journal*, xxiii, 231), in the *Sidney Papers*, ii, 203:—

“Rowland White to Sir Robert Sidney, June 23, 1600:—

“This day se'night her Majesty was at Blackfriars to grace the marriage of Lord Harbert and his wife. The bride met the Queen at the water-side, where my Lord Cobham had prouided a lectica,<sup>1</sup> made like a litter, whereon she was carried to my Lady Russell's by six knights. Her Majesty dined there, and at night went through Dr. Puddins (Sir Wm. Paddy's house) who gave the Queen a fanne to my Lord Cobham's, where she supped . . . Her Majesty upon Tuesday came backe againe to the court.”

p. 137: “It may be observed, with reference to the costume of the Queen, that the wide-spreading, radiating ruff, open in front so as to show the neck, appears to be a peculiarity of the Queens latest

<sup>1</sup> *Littera*, a horselytter, *Lectica*. 1591. R. Perciuale. Spanish Dict.

72\* § 8. *Q. Elizabeth's Procession. Stubbes Extracts.*

years. The open neck was more particularly reserved for unmarried ladies. It does not appear either in pictures or on coins of this reign bearing dates earlier than 1601.<sup>1</sup> Most of the portraits of the Queen, on the coinage especially, exhibit her wearing a small ruff, carried completely round and supported by a high stiff band or collar belonging to the dress, such as was worn during the reign of her predecessor. In this picture, however, a second minor ruff also appears, passing immediately under the chin, and corresponds exactly with a small frill in Lord Salisbury's curious portrait, exhibiting the robe embroidered with eyes and ears. No. 267 of the Kensington Portrait Exhibition."

"All the noblemen's cloaks are black satin, and of the short Spanish cut. All legs are remarkably thin. The shoes are uniformly white, with ties of the same colour on the instep. All the courtiers, with the exception of the Earl of Cumberland, wear full-spreading lace-ruffs." *Scharf*, p. 143. The bride is in white.

As to the house in the background, the antiquary whose loss we all so lament, Mr. J. G. Nichols, said (*Arch. Journal*, xxiii, 302) that he

" . . . did not attribute much reality to the landscape in the background, except that it *may* give a general idea of the detached buildings then existing in the fields and gardens on the Surrey side of the river. . He regarded the grand house immediately behind the figures as the mansion of Lord Cobham, in which the Queen was entertained, notwithstanding that the procession is represented as already passing it by. This house, after the attainder of Lord Cobham in 1603, passed to Lord Hunsdon, and then acquired the name of Hunsdon House,—whence the confusion with the Queen's visit to Hunsdon House in Hertfordshire. . . . Inquiry being made where the house stood, Mr. Nichols replied that he believed very near the site of the famous Blackfriars Theatre (shown in the map by Playhouse Yard), in which Shakspeare was a partner: subsequently occupied by the Kings Printing-office, and now by that of the *Times* newspaper in Printing-house Square."

b. *The Extracts from Stubbes's other works* are added to enable the reader to judge Stubbes's character better than the *Anatomie* alone allows them to do, and for the picture of his girl wife,—a bride at between 14 and 15, dead between 18 and 19,—and their marrid life. Her doctrinal belief I have left out.

The Extracts from Bp. Babington are given, to show how a grave Churchman in high place in Elizabeth's reign spoke of the social

<sup>1</sup> But in 1598, when Hentzner saw Elizabeth at Greenwich, "Her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies have it, till they marry." *Harrison*, I. lxxvi.

§ 8. *Naogeorgus's Popular Superstitions. This Book.* 73\*

ills of which Stubbes complains, so that the reader may judge, from them and the other extracts in the Notes, how little or how much Stubbes exaggerates. That I could have three- or four-folded the testimony borne by these extracts, and those in the Notes, every student of the literature of the time knows.

c. The Fourth Book of Kirchmaier's (or Naogeorgus's) *Regnum Papismi*, as englisch by Barnabe Googe in 1570, is reprinted here, because it deals with many of the superstitious customs against which Stubbes writes, and also because I believe many of our members must have often desird with me, to see the whole of the Book in which the passages occur that have so often informd and interested them in *Brand (Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, ed. Hazlitt). This fourth Book of Kirchmaier's easily lifts out of *The Popish Kingdome*, the rest of which, tho' it abuses the Papists, isn't lighted by nearly so much of the church- and folk-lore that make the fourth Book of such worth to us now.

d. *The present Edition* of the *Anatomie* (Part I) is the second reprint of Stubbes's first edition of May 1, 1583, Mr. J. Payne Collier's reprint in 1869 (with a few mistakes) being the first. As above noted, p. 61, note 2, the late Mr. W. D. Turnbull<sup>1</sup> re-edited in 1836, Stubbes's fourth edition of 1585, wrongly calld the third. That the worth of the book deservd more reprints, is clear; but as Harrison's *Description of England* was never reprinted separately,<sup>2</sup> till our Society did part of it in 1877-8, we cannot wonder at the fewness of the *Anatomie's* reprints.

Stubbes having so added to and changd this first edition, I thought it would be more interesting to print the text in its first state, and show all the changes in it, rather than to reprint the last edition of 1595, and note the earlier states of that. The only difficulty was, how to deal with the chapter on Swearing, and the other long additions of the second edition: I decided to put them in the text, between brackets, and with notes saying that they were insertions. Of no copy of the edition of 1584 (then considerd two

<sup>1</sup> See Canon Simmons's note on him in *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*, Early English Text Society, 1879, p. lxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Hy. Ellis of course included it in his reprint of *Holinshed*.

74\* *Thanks to Helpers. Asking for Notes.*

editions, p. 60\* above, note 3) could I hear, and so I couldn't get it collated. For the copying and collations of the text I have to thank our helpers, Mr. George Parker and Miss Smith; for a great part of the Index, Mr. Sidney J. Herrtage and Mr. H. K. Deighton; for some aid in the Notes, Mr. W. G. Stone; for their details of Stubb's family, Col. Chester and Mr. Henry Stubb; for leave to have the englisch *Naogeorgus* out of the Cambridge University Library, Mr. Bradshaw, our great Chaucerian; for his Memorandum on the wood-cuts, Mr. Ebsworth—king, with Mr. Chappell, over Ballad-land;—for tidings of editions, Mr. W. C. Hazlitt; and for information about their paintings of Q. Elizabeth's Procession, Lord Ilchester and Mr. Digby.

For any further tidings about Stubb or his lost books, I shall be greatly obliged, for use in my edition of *The Anatomie*, Part II.

3 St. George's Sq., N.W., July 20, 1879.

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p. 52\*. Mr. Henry Stubb says: "I have had the Eltham Registers examined, and they contain a great number of Stubb entries of the branch from which I am descended, from 1584 to 1650, and among them some Philips, but none whom I can identify as the Author."

p. 66\*. *Life of Wife*.—Besides the witness that its many editions afford to the wide-spreadness of Stubb's 'Life of his Wife,' we have other testimony in plays, &c., as for instance, in William Cartwright's *The Ordinary*, probably written in 1634, printed in 1651, Vicar Catchmey says—

"I shall live to see thee  
Stand in a playhouse door with thy long box,  
Thy half-crown library, and cry small books :  
'Buy a good godly sermon, gentlemen,'—  
'A judgment shown upon a host of drunkards' :  
'A pill to purge out popery' :  
'The life and death of Katherine Stubb,'"

in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xii. 272. And, as the note there says, 'Richard Brome, in his play of *The Antipodes*, act iii, sc. 2. [acted 1638, printed 1640] mentions this book in the following manner:—

"A booke of the godly *life and death*  
*Of Mistress Katherine Stubs*, which I have turn'd  
Into sweet meetre, for the vertuous youth,  
To woe an ancient lady widow with."

\* Again, Bishop Corbet, in his *Iter Boreale*, [? 1647] says—

"—And in some barn have cited many an author,  
*Kate Stubb*, Anne Ascue, or the Ladies daughter."

## APPENDIX TO FOREWORDS.

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### EXTRACTS FROM BP. BABINGTON ON THE *TEN COMMANDMENTS*, A.D. 1588.

Dress, p. 75*	Idleness in Youth, p. 86*
Charms, Gaming, and Cursing, p. 78*	Idle Festing and Scoffing, p. 87*
Spending of Sunday, p. 78*	Amusements allowable, but not Gaming for Money, p. 88*
Parents' Neglect of Children, p. 82*	Dicing: its evils ( <i>Chaucer on</i> ), p. 89*
And setting them a bad Example, p. 82*	Oppressing the Weak. Taking Bribes, p. 91*
Children's Neglect of Parents, p. 82*	Covetousness. Lawyers. Unfit Parsons, p. 92*
Stage-Plays and Players, p. 83*	Prittle-prattle: evils of it, p. 93*
Dancing: its Evils, p. 83*	
Wanton Looks and Books, p. 84*	
Liveries and Retainers, p. 86*	

#### *Bp. Babington on Dress.*

p. 11. "Apparell againe is another of the raging desires of *Apparell*. many. Euen a worlde it is to see howe all, as dead, doe tast no sinne in it, but spend, and spare not, what possible may be gotten to bestowe on it; yet what beginning had it? Was it not then inuented, when man had sinned, grieouslie offended his God, and cast himselfe away both bodie and soule? Seeing them in our integritie it was not vsed, but after sinne, bestowed on man to hide his shame withall, what may it euer beate into vs, but our rebellion against the Lorde, our sinne and cursed disobedience? Howe should the sight of it and vse of it humble vs, and not puffe vs vp,<sup>1</sup> seeing it plainly tellethe vs, we are not as we were

<sup>1</sup> *Dress, advantages of.*—"Fastidious Brisk. Why, assure you, signior, rich apparel has strange virtues: it makes him that hath it without means, esteemed for an excellent wit: he that enjoys it with means, puts the world in remembrance of his means: it helps the deformities of nature, and gives lustre to her beauties; makes continual holiday where it shines; sets the wits of ladies at work, that otherwise would be idle; furnisheth your two-shilling ordinary; takes possession of your stage at your new play; and enricheth your oars, as scorning to go with your scull." 1598-1601. B. Jonson. *Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii. Works, i. 94. See too

"*Macilente.* I was admiring mine own outside here,  
To think what privilege and palm it bears  
Here in the court! Be a man ne'er so vile,  
In wit, in judgment, manners, or what else;  
If he can purchase but a silken cover,  
He shall not only pass, but pass regarded:  
Whereas, let him be poor and meanly clad,

when no apparell was worne, and yet no shame thereby? Were it not monstrous pride, if a redeemed prisoner conditionally, that he should euer weare an halter, should waxe proude of his halter? Mans apparell is the badge of a sinner, yea of a condemned and cursed sinner, & therefore the pride of it and delight in it, no doubt very monstrous before the Lorde, and hatefull. If euery silken sute and gorgeous gowne in Englannde shrowded vnder it a sauied soule, and a sanctified bodie in the sight of God, O, happie then England of all the nations vnder heauen. But if vnder such garded garments, may, and doeth lodge a body and soule abhorred of the Lorde, that in the day of wrath shall finde no fauour: then is it not apparell, that ought to be sought after, but in the day of iudgement how we may be sauied."

p. 308. "As for filthines, foolish talking, iesting, and such like, they are thinges vncomearie for a Christian. Againe, vnchast bookees and wanton writynges, who knoweth not howe they tickle to vncleannes? and therfore both they and the reading of them forbidden in this lawe. Sixty, too much showe in apparel, painting, tricking and trimming of our selues aboue conueniencie: it is a daungerous allurer of lust, and therefore forbidden.

*Que.* I could wish yet a little larger speach of apparell, because I see it is one of the wormes that wasteth at this day the common wealth, that decaiyeth hous-keeping, that maketh strait the hande of the master to his seruant, and the Lord to his tenant,<sup>1</sup> and a thing, to

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Though ne'er so richly parted \*, you shall have  
A fellow that knows nothing but his beef,  
Or how to rince his clammy guts in beer,  
Will take him by the shoulders or the throat,  
And kick him down the stairs. Such is the state  
Of virtue in bad clothes!"

*ib. p. 108, col. 1.*

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Lupton gives us the grasping landlord's remorse in hell, in—"A Dreme of the Devil and Dives, most terrible and fearefull to the seruaunts of Satan, but right comfortable and acceptable to the chyldren of God &c.—Imprinted at London by John Chailewood for Henrie Car." (B. L. 8vo. 60 leaves, 1584. A copy at Lambeth.)

"Then, said Dives, wo woorth these rackete rentes, and unreasonable fines that shall purchase such a kingdome! I would to God I might chaunge my estate of that kingdome with the most vilest and basest cottage on the earth. When they came hyther, they will crie out and say, Wo woorth the time that ever we rackett our tenants, or tooke such fines to impoverishe them! wo woorth the tyme that ever wee were so greedie of money, and wo woorth the tyme that ever we consumed the same in gluttonous and excessive fare, in proude and sumptuous apparell, in playing of Dice, Cardes, or other games, and other worldly vanities! Wo woorth the tyme that we made our Sonnes ritch by making Tenaunts poore! But cursed be the time that we have made our Sonnes Lordes and Gentlemen on the earth, with the everlasting damnation of our owne bodies and soules in Hell! That proverbe may be truelie verified in us, which is *Happie is that childe whose Father goeth to the Devill.* This will be theyr song when they come hither, but then they shall be without remedy, as I am." Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 498.

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\* Endowd with parts or talents, learned, &c.

conclude, that the deere children of God cannot ouercome themselues in."

<sup>1</sup> Apparel: (a) Women imitating men's dress: (b) Men's absurd Dress. *Andrew Boorde's Cut of the naked Englishman*, p. 249, below.

"For as man is Gods ape, striuing to make artificiall flowers, birdes, &c. like to the natural: So for the same reason are women, Mens *Shee Apes*, for they will not bee behind them the breth of a Taylors yard (which is nothing to speake of) in anie new-fangled vpstart fashion. If men get vp French standing collers, women will haue the French standing collar too: if Dublets with little thick skirts, (so short that none are able to sit vpon them), womens foreparts are thick skirted too: by surfetting vpon which kinde of phantasticall *Apishnesse*, in a short time they fall into the disease of pride: Pride is infectious, and breedes prodigalitie: Prodigalitie, after it has runne a little, closes vp and festers, and then turnes to *Beggrie*. Wittie was that Painter therefore, that when hee had limned, one of every Nation in their proper attyres, and beeing at his wittes endes howe to drawe an *Englishman*, At the last (to giue him a quippe for his follie in apparell) drewe him starke naked, with Sheeres in his hand, and cloth on his arme, because none could cut out his fashions but himselfe (see p. 249, below).

"For an English-mans suite is like a traitors bodie that hath beene hanged, drawne, and quartered, and is set vp in seueral places: his Codpeece is in *Denmarke*, the collor of his Dubble[t], and the belly in *France*: the wing and narrowe sleeve in *Italy*; the short waste hangs ouer a *Dutch* Botchers stall in *Vtrich*: his huge floppes [slops] speaks *Spanish*: *Polonia* giues him the Boates: the blocke for his heade alters faster than the Feltmaker can fitte him, and thereupon we are called in scorne *Blockheads*. And thus we that mocke euerie Nation, for keeping one fashion, yet steale patches from euerie one of them, to peece out our pride, are now laughing-stocks to them, because their cut so scurilie becomes vs."

1606. T. Decker. *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 36—7.

*Women. Tight waists.* — "I haue seene some swallow gravell, ashes, coales, dust, tallow, candles, and for the nonce, labour and toyle themselves to spoile their stomacke, only to get a pale-bleake colour. To become slender in wast, and to have a straight spagnolized body, what pinching, what girding, what cingling, will they not indure; Yea sometimes with yron-plates, with whale-bones and other such trash, that their very skin, and quicke flesh is eaten in and consumed to the bones: Whereby they sometimes worke their owne death." 1603. J. Florio. *Montaigne's Essays* (ed. 1632), p. 133. [in French, 1580.]

The following sketch of a fop with a toothpick in his mouth and a flower in his ear (compare the picture in the Natl. Portrait Gallery) is from—"Laugh and lie downe: or *The worldes Folly*." (Printed at London for Jeffrey Chorlton, and are to be sold at his shop, at the great North dore of saint Paules.) 1605. 4to. B. L.

"The next was a nimble witted and glib-toung'd fellow, who, having in his youth spent his wits in the Arte of love, was now become the jest of wit; for his looks weere so demure, his words so in print, his graces so in order, and his conceites so in tune, that he was—yea, iwis, so was he, and that he was such a gentleman for a Jester, that the Lady Folly could never be better fitted for her entertainement of all straungers. The picktooth in the mouth, the flower in the

*Charms, Gaming, and Cursing.*

p. 158-9. "For sorcerie and witchcraft, charming and coniuring, am I able to say I haue as earnestlie abhorred them as I ought, and euerie way so absteyned from them as I shoulde? Nay hath not rather ease *Charming.* beene sought in paine of mee by these meanes, or at least wished if I coulde haue gotten them? . . . Let it be wel weied of anie Cristian heart that feareth God indeede, and carefullie seeketh the credite of his name, howe often vnreruentlie in sporting *Gaming.* and playing, in shooting & bowling, in dising & carding, we vse his name, howe the phrase of scripture wil rowle out of our *Scripture phrase.* mouthes in iesting and light conferences, howe fearefully we vse *Banning.* him in cursing & banning our bretheren, and surely he shall see no smal guilt touching this commandement in euerie one of vs."

Here is Babington's contrast of the way in which the Papists punish breaches of God's laws—swearing, &c.—and of their own:—

p. 119. "Who so breaketh these, an Heretike hee is, a runneaway from the Church: cite him and summon him, excommunicate him and imprison him, burne him and hang him, yea, away with such a one, for *Reade the L. Cobham's last examination in the begin-ning of it.* he is not worthie to liue upon the earth. But if he blasphemeth the name of the Lord by horrible swearing, if he offendeth most grieuously in pride, in wrath, in gluttonie, and couetousnesse, if he be a drunken alestake, a ticktack tauerner, keepe a whore or two in his owne house, and moe abroade at bord with other men, with a number such like greeuous offences, what doe they? Either he is not punished at all, & most commonly so, or if he be, it is a little penance of their owne inuenting, by belly or purse, or to say a certaine of prayers, to visit such an image in pilgrimage, &c."

*Sabbath-breaking: the Spending of Sunday.*

p. 189-191. "If the sanctification of this day consist greatly in labouring to knowe the Lorde by the preaching of his worde, howe shall they safely passe the curse of God for the breache hereof, who with benummed soules, parched, paddled, senselesse, and euery way most hardened hearts, either lie and sleepe on the one side idle, or tossing the alepot with their neighbours, suffer this day to passe without any instruction, and like dumbe dogges hold their peace, no way discharging the dutie of a true minister, and one that tendereth the glory of God, his owne, & his peoples soules? . . . Againe, if to sanctifie the Sabaoth, be to consecrate it to holy vses, such as haue beene named, is it possible for vs to escape the reuenginge hande of the eternall God, if he, content in mercie with one day in the 7. we denie him that also, and dedicate it

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eare, the brush upon the beard, the kisse of the hand, the stoupe of the head, the leere of the eye, and what not that was unneedfull, but he had so perfecte at his fingers endes, that every she was 'my faire Ladye,' and scarce a Knight but was 'Noble Sir': the tobacco pipe was at hand, when Trinidad was not forgotten, and then a tale of a roasted horse to make an asse laugh for lacke of witte: why, all thinges so well agreeede togither, that at this square table of people, or table of square people, this man (made by rule) could not be spared for a great somme." *Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. p. 452-3.*

## *Appx. Bearbaiting on Sundays, attacht & defended. 79\**

to drunckenes, to feasting and surfetting, &c. Nowe in y<sup>e</sup> name of the God of heauen, and of Iesus Christ his son, who shall come to iudge the quick & the dead at the latter day, I require it of al that euer shall reade these words, that, as they wil awnswere me before the face of God & all his Aungels at the sounde of the last trump, they better wey [Spending] whether carding, dising, & tabling, bowling, & cocking, stage *Sunday*] plaies and summer games, whether gadding to this ale or *that*,<sup>1</sup> to this bearbaiting<sup>2</sup> & that bulbaiting, with a number such, be exercises commanded of God for the sabaoth day or no. O hart al frosen & void of

<sup>1</sup> See *Harrison*, Part I, p. 32: he speaks of Ales, &c., as lessend in number.

<sup>2</sup> *The sweet and comfortable recreation of Beare-bayting.*

In Haslewood's account "of the London Theatres; No. IX, The Bear Garden," in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1816, vol. 86, Part I, p. 205,\* he says that "The Author of a tract in manuscript in the Museum,† written about this period [1606], having censured the players for the indirect attacks made by them upon the Nobility, under borrowed names of foreign Dukes and feigned persons, defends this diversion as needful for the common people, and that it should be exhibited upon festivals. 'I cannot (he says) see howe that sweet and comfortable recreation of beare-bayting (beinge, to our rude and inferiour vulgar, that which Circensis Venatio was among the Romans) maye welbe forborne, seeinge like will to like, as it is in the black proverbe, and therfore conclude that our active spiritts and fine pregnant witts, with pleasant and ingenious playes would be intertayned, and the scumme of the people (evene vpon the festivall daies) to the Bancke-side drayned . . . To retorne, where exception is taken to bear-bayting on festivall daies, I saye, vpon those, hell is broake loose, and it is good pollicye to drawe all the devylls (if it be possible) into one place, to keepe them from being easely tempted (for *pares cum paribus facillime congregantur, penè dixisse copulantur*, for one devill easely tempteth another,) and vnlawfull attemptinge ells where. *Bestiis indulgendum est infime plebi*; the poore slaves have bene helde in harde to labour att the working daies, and would be gladd to have a little recreation on the holye dayes, which our commiserant Lord ordyned in part (as I conceive) for the reste of them, and all brutes in generall, whome the insatiable covetousnes of man wold contynually, without intermission, be hurrying in traveile and laboure, and partly for solace and refection to the droylinge servant. Nowe beawse the rude multitude dothe not knowe well howe to vse libertye (and some they muste and will have), therefore, that they themselves may devise none madder, whereof mischief maye aryse to the weale publique of the popplar citties, let them vse *the sweete pastime of beare-baytinge*, and other suche publique exercises (thoughe on the festivall dayes), a God's name, that we may knowe what they doe, and wheare to fynd them if neede be. And [in] generall, all manner of pastimes are to be permitted att customary tyme to a peaceable people for there solace and comfort, as his Majestie in those moste judicious and admirable preceptes and direccions to the Prince‡ hathe verye choisely noated and prescribed."

\* Mr. W. G. Stone gives me the reference.

† I can't identify the MS by the Class Catalogue, nor can the keeper of the MSS. tell me which it is. We've tried a few likely ones.

‡ *James I's Book of Sports.*

80\* *Appx. Bp. Babington against Sabbath-Breaking.*

the feeling of the mercie of thy God, *that hauing euery day in 6. euery hour in euery day, & euery minute in every hour, so tasted of the sweet grace of thy God in Christ, as that without it thou hadst perished euery minute, yet canst not tel howe possibly to passe ouer one day to his praise, vnlesse one halfe of it be spent in carding & bowling.* Awake, awake, in Jesus Christ admonished, awake ! & seeing al the weeke long, y<sup>e</sup> Lord of heauen doth defend & feede thee, comfort & blesse thee, & is contented but in one day especially to be regarded, vow with thy self in request of strength to keepe it, that to the Lord y<sup>t</sup> one day shall be consecrated of thee, & obserued according to his will."

p. 199-205. "Haue we spent the Sabaoth in godly conference & meditation, powring out thanks from a feeling soule for y<sup>e</sup> Lords goodnes euer to vs, & namely the weeke passed ? Haue we visited or thought vpon the sick, sore, diseased, imprisoned, banished, or any way suffring for a good cause, & to our power comforted them? Haue we studied how either to procure or continue or increase amongst our selues, or our neighbours, the meanes of saluation, as y<sup>e</sup> preaching of the word, & such like? O beloued, we haue not, we haue not, we know it & must needs confesse it, if there be any trueth in vs. Too much haue we neglected all these ; yea, euen diuorse of them, it is greatly to bee feared, haue little or neuer at all troubled our heads : but for their contraries, in most ful measure we haue wallowed in them, and with greedinesse euer accomplished them. Where is the minister whose negligence hath not made his people to pollute the Sabaoth ? Where is the people whose consciences awaked may not iustly condemne them for ungodly gadding [Churchales, on this day to Churchales, to weddings, to drinkings, to ban- stage plays, kets, to fairs, & markets, to stage plaies, to bearebaytings, & bearbaitings.] summer games,<sup>1</sup> and such like? Where is that master that hath had a

<sup>1</sup> *Dancing and Minstrelsy on Sundays.*—See Mr. Collier's account, in *Bibl. Cat.* i. 489-492, of Thomas Lovell's 'Dialogue between Custom and Veritie, concerning the use and abuse of Dauncing and Minstrelsie, 1581, a book written to prevent the desecration of the Sabbath by' "heathenish dauncing and vain minstrelsie." Custom defends these practises ; Verity condemns them, especially 'the horrible immorality of kissing at the end of a dance, as we know was then usual (*Henry VIII*, Act I, sc. 4)."

While men with maides in wanton  
daunce unseemly oft doo turn,  
Their harts blinde Cupid oft doth cause  
with Venus games to burn . . . .

If that his mate doo seem to like the  
game that he would have,  
He trips her toe, and clicks her cheek,  
to show what he doth crave.

For Thomas Deloney's advice in 1607 how to woo and win a wench, see Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 215.

Arthur Golding, the great engisher of classical books in Shakspere's day, also complains of the Sabbath-breaking that went on. In his little book on the earthquake \* probably alluded to by Shakspere, through the Nurse's mouth, in *Romeo and Juliet*, he says :—

\* "A discourse upon the Earthquake that hapned through this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendom, the sixt of April. 1580. betweene the hours of five and six in the Evening. Written by Arthur Golding, Gentleman.—At London, Imprinted by Henry Binneman, dwelling in Thamis streate nere Baynards castle," small 8vo. B. L.

conscience to restraine his seruants from this impietie, or the seruant againe that hath either brideled himselfe for ye Lords cause, or else wel accepted his master or mistres restraint being made vnto him, and which hath not rather burst out into vngodly & disobedient speeches, murmurring *that* because he hath wrought all the weeke, therfore he should haue libertie to do what he list on ye Sabaoth, not considering *that* this commandement bindeth not only ye master himselfe to honor God on this day, but to see to his family so much as he can, *that* they also do it. Nay I would to God y<sup>e</sup> masters in many places were not ringleaders to their owne & al other mens people, to prophane this Sabaoth of the Lord, and that euen such maisters as in respect of their calling, office and credite in the countrey, should farre otherwise doe. When doeth a gentleman (to name no higher estates) appoint a shooting, a bowling, a [Cocking] cocking, or a drunken swearing ale, for the helpe as they say of some poore one, but vpon the Sabaoth? And if he be at ye Church in the forenoon, for the after noone it is no matter, he hath beene verie liberall to God in giuing him so much. What day in the week vsually doeth he giue so euill an example of vnmeasurable sotting in bed, as on the Sabaoth? But O filthie sauour that ariseth out of this lothsome chanell, thus raked vp into the nostrels of the Lorde! I spare to speake, I shame to see, I rew to knowe, what I fully knowe against our soules in this respect. . . . What should I say of the second end of the institution of the Sabaoth, namely for the rest of seruant & cattell? But euen in an word, woe to the man whom God shall iudge according to his guiltinessse herein. For it is too vsual with al estates to be a meanes to robbe their seruautes of the blessing due to the keepers of this law, and to pull vpon them the plague for the contrarie, by making them ride and run, post and away, vpon euerie occasion that commeth in their heads, when in truth, if they would but euen look into it, the matter may be done wel without such hast. . . . Wherin or howe crucifie we the fleshe more on this day than any other, bridle the frowarde desires of the heart, restrayne our owne nature, and doe the will of God more on this day than any other? Alas, our owne consciences crie vnto us, we doe nothing lesse: wee drinke, wee eate, wee surfet, wee sware, we play, [Sunday we daunce, we whore, we walke and talke idly, vainely, amusements.] vncleanely and vngodilily: these are our workes on ye Sabaoth more commonly than any day in the weeke else; and if this bee to resemble a spirituall rest, then in deede wee doe it, not otherwise. . . . A thousand times & a thousand he might with great right haue destroyed vs either amongst our pottes, or in our daunces, or idle in our beds, asking vs if that were to halow his Sabaoth, or to honour his name to swill [Drinking and to bibble, to leape, to walowe and tumble in bed, till it on Sundays.] bee noone, with such like."

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"The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the hearing of Gods word to the reformation of our lyves, for the administration and receyving of the Sacramentes to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behovefull for bodye or soule at Gods hands by Prayer, for the mynding of his benefites, and to yelde praise and thankes unto him for the same, and, finally, for the speciaill occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnescessarie consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed."—Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* ii. 315—16.

82\* *Appx. Bp. Babington on Parents' want of Duty.*

*Parents to blame for bringing up children badly.*

p. 221-2. "For too much it is of parents neglected, & yet are they grieved, if of their children they be not reuerenced: and howsoeuer many there bee, that in these daies are carefull ynough to procure vnto their children knowledge of Artes, of Countries, and of any thing that in worldly sort may make them mightie, famous, and spoken of: yet is the grounde of all verie fearefully neglected, namely, to settle in them the true feare of the God of Israell, deliuered and taught in his worde. Yea, it is euen accounted by father and child not so needfull or beseeming for a gentleman, to the great exasperating of the Lordes wrath against them and their seede. Humilitie also and shamefastnes are taken from youth in these daies, euen by their parents and their teachers; and where it hath euer beene held, that blushing in measure, modestie, and silence haue been commendable tokens in young yeeres, nowe is it a shame to be ashamed at any time, blushing is want of countenance and bringing vp, silence is ignoraunce, modestie is too much maidenlinesse; and in short, nowe vertue is vice, and vice very comely and gallant behauisour. So times are changed to and fro, and chaunging times haue chaunged vs too. But of this thus farre."

*Children's want of Reverence to Parents. Parents' setting bad Examples to their Children.*

p. 247-251. "What shoulde I name, what shoulde I feare to name, so will it wring vs all, the mocking of our Parentes? Where is that childe that hath carefully couered to his power, and euer borne withall in him selfe, the wantes or infirmities whatsoeuer of his Parents? No, no, the Lord hath not onelie something against vs in this behalfe, but euen great and greeuous hath beene our fault, and still it remaineth in manie of vs. Wee laugh to see our Parentes shame, we smile at their wants, wee publishe their infirmities, we disdaine their ignoraunce, wee loath their age, and in manie a thing to our owne confusion, if the Lorde giue not an amending repentance, we bewray a robbed hart of *that* true reuerence which ought to bee in children to their parentes. Alas if God iudge vs for our obedience, where are we? what wites wil erecteth a kingdome in vs? Howe cleave wee to our selues in all matters, and thinke our owne direction best? Howe despise wee the counsell of our friendes, and cast behinde vs their experience? Euerie sonne and euerie daughter would rule their mariage wholie themselues. And euen in euerie action, alas, what disobedience sheweth it selfe in vs vnto our parentes. . . . Are we parents? . . . What life haue wee ledde before our children too breed and continue these duties in them? Hath it beene holy, graue, and modest, and so remayneth, as neere as we can, seeking to hide from the eyes of their witlesse heades, such wantes as we knowe our selues subiect vnto? No no, but carelessly and loosely, euen in every place, parentes bewray neglect of religion: they will goe to the Churches or good exercises when they list, and that verie rarely; they shewe no regarde of the dutie of Christians, they carie no grauitie in their doinges, no modestie often in their behauisour, but liue most dissolutely and often incontinently; they sweare fearefully without regarde, speake prophaneley, not respecting the frailtie of the youth that heareth them; father and mother let vnkinde speeches passe from them one towards an other in the presence of their children, to the great impairing of their credite

with them, carelesse, God knowes, of their bringing vp, and too full of foolish pitie when they should correct them. . . . The very vnnaturall and vnkinde dealing of Parentes with their children in their youth, denying them releefe, and comfortable helpe, maketh them often (though it should not) when they haue attayned to anie estate, to deale as vndutifully with their needie Parentes againe.'

*Stage-Plays and Players.* (See too p. 85\*.)

p. 316-318. "These prophane & wanton stage playes or interludes: what an occasion they are of adulterie and vncleanenesse, by gesture, by speech, by conueyances, and deuices to attaine to so vngodly desires, the world knoweth with too much hurt by long experience. Vanities they are if we make the best of them; and the Prophet prayeth to haue his eies turned away by the Lorde from beholding such matter: Euill wordes corrupt good manners, and they haue abundance. There is in them euer manie dangerous sightes, and wee must abstaine from al appearance of euill. They corrupt the eies with alluring gestures: the eyes, the heart: and the heart, the bodie, till al be horrible before the Lord. *Histrionicis gestibus inguinantur omnia:* (sayth Chrysostome) These players behauour polluteth all thinges. And of their playes he saith, they are the feasts of Sathan, the inuentions of the deuill, & Councils haue decreeed verie sharply against them, and polluted bodies by these filthie occasions haue on their death beddes confessed the daunger of them, lamented their owne foule and greeuous faulles, and left their warning for euer with vs to beware of them. But I referre you to them, that vpon good knowledge of the abominations of them, haue written largely & wel against them. If they be dangerous on the day time, more daungerous on the night certaintly: if on a stage, & in open courtes, much more in chambers and priuate houses. For there are manie roumes beside that where the play is, & peraduenture the strangenes of the place & lacke of light to guide them, causeth errour in their way, more than good Christians should in their houses suffer."

*Psal. 119.*

*1. Cor. 15.*

*2. Thes. 5. 22.*

*Dancing, the Evils of it.* (See too, p. 85\*.)

p. 318-321. "Que. What else?

"Ans. Dancing againe is in the number of vaine pastimes, [Dancing.] and the allurements to vncleannessse, as much experience hath too wel proued. The scriptures checke it, the fathers mislike it, the counsels haue condemned it, & the profe of Gods iudgements vpon it biddeth vs beware. *Instrumenta luxuria tympana & tripudia,* sayth one, the inticers to lust are pipinges and dancinges. *Laquei sunt & scandala, non solum saltatoribus, sed spectatoribus.* They are snares and offences not onely to the actors, but also to y<sup>e</sup> beholders. Job noteth it as an olde practise of the deuil to occupy men withall, & as an ancient exercise of the wicked, that they should daunce. Upon which wordes a godly writer sayeth: that from the tabret and the flute, which in *Calu. serm 8o.* themselves are not vnlawfull, they come to dauncing, *vpon Job.* which is the chiefest mischiefe of all. For there is alway (sayth he) such vnchast behauour in dauncing, that of it selfe, and as they abuse it, (to speake the trueth in the worde) it is nothing else, but an incitemet to whoredome. In the gospel the spirite of God noteth it *Math. 14.* in a wicked woman as an immodest thing, & of a damnable

*Job. 21. 11.*

*Catu. serm 8o.*

*vpon Job.*

84\* Appx. Bp. Babington on the Evils of Dancing.

effect in her wicked father Herode, to dance. And such as interpret the place are not afraide of these words, that it was *meretricie lasciuiae Martor. ex. turpis nota nubilis puellæ saltatio*. That is, that for her *Catu.* to dance, beeing a maide for yeares mariageable, was a note of whorish wantonnesse. For whosoeuer (saith he) hath a care of honest grauitie, he euer condemneth dancing, and especially in a maide. Againe hee calleth it *spectaculum familiæ Regia probrosum*. A dis honorable sight in a kings house: with manie speaches moe of mislike. Sirac, a wise man, and of great experiance, biddeth a man not to vse the companie of a woman, that is a singer and a dauncer, neither to heare her, least hee bee taken with her craftinesse. The Ambros. de. godlie Fathers, as I saide, mislike it. For *saltatio ad virgin. lib. 3 adulteras, non ad pudicas pertinet*, saith one of them: Dauncing belongeth to adulterous, and not to honest women. A sharpe Chryst. Math. speeche: Yet was this graue father not afraide to speake hom. 48. it. *Saltatio barathrum diaboli*, sayth an other: dauncing is in Genes. the deuils hell. And we heare speeche of Jacobs mariage Theophilact (saith he) in the scripture, but not a worde of anie dauncing in Mar. 6. that was at it. *Mira collusio* sayth another, *saltat diabolus per puellam*: It is a strange iugling, when wee thinke the maide doth daunce, and it is not so, but the deuill in her, or by her. The councells haue condemned it, as others haue at large shewed. And verie Tullie could say, an honest man would not dance in an open place for a great patrimonie. For the iudgementes of God vpon this vaine pastime, it is An. 1505. strange which Pantaleon noteth out of Crantzius, that in Col. becke, a towne in Germanie, certaine light persons hopping, and dauncing in the Churchyearde of S. Magnus, beeing by the minister admonished to cease, and not ceasing, did for a long time (not able to stay) runne rounde about, and at last fell all downe dead.<sup>1</sup> But because others haue so largelie writ against this vanitie, I say no more of it at this time, but wish vs to consider that it is an inticement often to adulterie, and therefore in this commaundement forbidden. And as for anie dauncing that wee reade of in the scriptures to haue beene vsed of the godly, we must vnderstande, that their dancing was euer a sober modest motion, with some song vsually to Gods praise, and men by themselues, women by themselves. Which nothing will warrant our custome and guise in these daies.

Que. Are there yet anie moe allurementes?

Ans. There are yet many mo. But I may not in this sort stande vpon them. Gluttonie & drunkennesse, with houses of open Ezek. 16. whoredome, youre booke nameth and proofes for them. Idle- 1. Cor. 7. 39. nesse also is an other meanes, the vowe of chastitie, the Deut. 22. deniall of seconde marriages, the going of men in womens apparell, and women in mans apparell, with a number such."

*Temptations to Unchastity: Wanton Looks and Books, Dress,  
Plays, Dancing.*

p. 348-350. "The meanes and allurementes either to the actuall offence, or the thought condemned in this commaundement as we haue

<sup>1</sup> Robert Manning of Brunne cites this instance too, in his *Handlyng Synne*, A.D. 1303. See my edition, p. 279-286. He makes the sacrilegious Carollers or Dauncers go on hopping for ever after.

heard before, are many and diuerse. Sometimes the eyes disorderly wander, and beeing not checked by a Christian conscience that feareth to give them libertie too long, they become the occasions both of thoughtes and actes, wicked and damnable. Sometimes behauour vnchast and unseemely. Sometimes speeche wanton and light, stir the hart vp to conceiue that thing, and the wicked fleshe to perfourme it fully, which God and nature abhorre as filthie. The dalyng tattles of these courting dayes, the lasciuious songes made by loose mindes, and the wanton greetinges in euerie place nowe vsed, alas what thoughtes procure they, neuer liked of the Lorde, that I may say no worse? Bookes written by vnreformed heartes, and continually redde to the greefe of God, are they no occasions to fraile flesh, both in thought and deede to offend against this law: God knoweth, and experience teacheth such soules as tast of Christ, that verie deadly poysone vnder a false delight, doth this way creepe into vs. An vnchast looke makes an vnchast heart, and a rousing tongue beyonde the listes of godlinesse ere euer we well knowe what we doe. So subtil is the sinne that this way creepeth into our soules. Apparell is next, a most fearefull allurement to the breache of this commaundement both in thought and deede, if God once in mercie would open our eyes. So are these stage playes,<sup>[Stage Plays.]</sup> and most horrible spectacles, so is our dauncing, which at this day is vsed, so is drunckenesse, gluttonie and idlenessse, with a number such like, as can witnesse eche one in the world that will weigh them."

P. 351-354. "Light behauour and alluring daliace is *Behaviour.* euerie where accompted comelie bouldnesse, and good *Speech.* bringing vp: discoursing speeche to a vaine ende, we count a quality commendable in vs, and the want of it we esteeme simplicitie, wheresoever we see it. And therefore by bookes to such endes set out, we endeavour to attaine vnto it, and hauing once polluttred our speech (for I will neuer call it polishing) we are neuer better than when we haue company to bestowe our tales and greetinges vpon. Our apparell, in matter, to our power we make sumptuous, and in forme, *Apparell.* to allure the eye asmuch as wee can. If this be true, in the name of Christ let vs better thinke of it than we haue done. These are allurementes to sinful lust, and this lawe of God forbiddeth not onely both act and thought, but euen euerie allurement to either of them. What should I speake of stage plaies and dauncing? Can we say in trueth before the maiestie of God that we carefullie abstaine from these thinges, because they tickle vs vp either more or lesse to the breach of this commaundement? Alas we cannot a number of vs. But we runne to the one *Playes.* continually to our cost, when we will not be drawen to better *Dauncing.* exercises that are offered freely, we sucke in the venom of them with great delight, and practise the speeches and conveyances of loue which there we see and learne. The other wee vse with especiall pleasure, *Gluttonie and drunckenesse.* and God being witnesse to many an one, they wish the fruite of their dauncing to be this, euen the fall of them selues and others into the breach of this lawe. What should I say of gluttonie and idlenessse? Doe they not make vs sinne? Good Lord, giue vs eyes to see, and hearts to weigh the occasions of our fall. The spirite of God hath sayde that these pricked up the flesh of the filthy Sodomites to that height of sinne; and yet we can imagine they will cause no sinne at all in vs against this lawe. And therefore professing the gospell and integritie of life, yet dare we so pamper, so stiffe, & cramme this rebelling

flesh, as if we were gods that could suffer no temptation: we dare gull in wine and hote drinke continually, beeing peraduenture both strong and young, and euerie way needing rather pulling downe, than setting vp. We dare solace our selues in soft beddes too long for our constitutions, and all the day after betake our selues to nothing whereabout the minde might walke, and so escape impure conceptes."

*The giving of Liveries to Retainers and Serving-men, &c.*

*Liveries are often meanes and couers of* p. 378-9. "And I wil yet adde one thing ouer vnto all these, which must needes be included in this head of oppression, because it is a common and a dangerous cloake of the same, to wit, lyueries of Prince or subiectes, noble men, gentlemen, or whosoeuer. Which if they maintaine and beare out the vniust & wrongfull dealings of any man with y<sup>e</sup> knowledge of the Lord, not only the deede doer, but the giuer of that cloth and cote whatsoeuer he be, standeth giltie of that oppression before almighty God. The consideration whereof being so true and sure, should iustly cause in al estats, that deale their cloth to others, a more vigilant eye & eare to see & heare the conuersation of their folowers, & a restraining hand of such countenance, credite or couer to them (all worldly reasons set apart) when so euer they shall vnderstande the same to be abused. For why should any earthly respect euer stande so great in mens eies, as *that* for it they dare take vpon them the guilt of other mens sins, & spoyleyng oppression? But alas great is the vnfeelingnesse of many mens harts in this matter in these dayes. Either Pope, profite, or pollicie, doe make vs deale our cloth too liberally, and regard our mens behauisour too negligentlie. But a worde is ynough."

p. 428. "What shoulde I say of that cloake and couer and cause of *Liveries*, much oppression, the cloth and liueries of Superiours? Am I the giuer or the taker? If I bee the giuer, haue I neuer boulstred my cognisance out to doe the thing that God forbiddeth? Haue I hearkned about to see and learne howe they vse the credit that is giuen them? God knowes wee haue little neede to be charged with other mens sinnes, as no doubt such a maister shall with such a mans offences. For we shall never be able to beare in our selues the burden of our owne. Am I the taker? what then saith my conscience? haue I sought it and sued for it for affection, and true duetie in my heart to him that gaue it? Doe I weare it, and wishe to weare it, to haue my heart knownen to him or her the better, whom with heart and hande, bodie and goods, power and might till my death, in right I honour and serue, and wishe and will doe euer? Or rather a false faith seeketh a faire shewe, and a powling hande of manie a seelie weake wretch seeketh a strength to establish my wickednesse, and a backer to beare on my foule oppressions?"

*Neglect of honest Work in Youth. (The Grasshopper and the Ant.)*

p. 382-385. "There was a litle title tattle, when time was, they say, betwixt the grashopper and the pismire, and we may laugh at it, & yet looke better about vs as admonished by it. The grashopper hauing passed the summer ouer merily, as her custome is, singing and tuning the notes of a thoughtlesse minde vnder euerie leafe, at last when winter came on, beganne to shake, and to goe to bedde with an emptie bellie

manie a night, to the great weakening of her liuely limmes, and the quite marring of all her musicke. To steale, shee refuseth of her honest nature; and to begge, shee is ashamed, for feare to be mocked. Yet neede maketh the olde wife trotte, they say; and modestie in this hungrie creature must yeelde to necessitie. To it therefore shee goeth, and hauing a wealthie neighbour not farre off, that had laboured sore all summer, and layde vppe much good vitaile, to her she commeth, and crauth some succour at her hande. Who by and by demaunded of her what shee did all summer? "Alas (sayeth the grashopper) I sung, and little remembred this change." "Did you so (sayth the Ant) in deede did you sing all summer? Nowe trust me, for mee, you shall daunce all winter, for I liue by my labour, and I will never maintaine idleness in anie." Thus receiuied slouth a checke, when it looked for helpe; and wee, warned by it, may learne this morall, to labour least we lacke. *Optimum obsonium senectute labor,* (sayth one) They are good refreshinges in our age, the wel-bestowed trauelles of our youth. Yeares passe, and strength fayles; gette nothing in youth, and haue nothing in age. But O carelesse heartes of ours, and headie will,<sup>2</sup> who can perswade this, or beate it into the heades of young men, and maydes, of seruantes, and such as are comming on? No, no, we will hoppe and daunce, tipple and drinke, basket and reuell, what connsell soever is giuen vs to the contrarie, with that little we haue, and sing care away. And a little gaie apparel on the backe, is worth much money in the chest. But wise is he whome other mens harmes can cause to take heede. Sicknesse may come, and euerie maister will not keepe a sickle seruant; a mayme may fall to vs, and wee then may heare it, I haue no wages vntesse you could worke, many thinges may happen, and a mans owne is his owne, and great is gods blessing to faithfull labour, as trulie his plagues are not litle or rare to idleness and slouth. . . .<sup>3</sup> Wherefore it is not ynoch to make vs guiltlesse of this commaundement to say, we get that we haue by labour, but it must be good labour (sayth Paule) iust labour, and lawefull labour. The which distinction ouerthroweth al maintaynance gotten by massing, by iugling, by charming, by playing interludes, by fiddling and piping vppe and downe the countrey, by caryng about beares and apes, by telling of fortunes, and such like trades, mentioned in the statute of this lande, touching vagabundes. For though they be labours, and make them sweate often, some of them, yet want they warrant in the worde to prooue them good, and lawefull labours. And therefore subiect to the penaltie of this lawe before God."

*Idle Jesting and Scoffing.*

p. 396-7. "Vnto this heade is referred all vngodlie counsell, whatsoeuer, and all leawde vanitie, or babishe seruilite to make men delight more in vs, and lesse in the feare of God. Is it not lamentable to see, that a popish, or an atheisticall Spirite shall doe more hurt at a table, or such like place with one peeuiish iest, and girding skoffe in the heartes of the hearers, than twentie good men can recouer with much good counsell? And yet what say we? O, hee is a merie greeke, a pleasaunt companion, and in faith a good fellowe.<sup>4</sup> Hee cannot flatter, his words must be

<sup>1</sup> p. 383.

<sup>2</sup> p. 384.

<sup>3</sup> p. 385.

<sup>4</sup> 'Good men' fighting, &c.—"howe dare these sinfull, braulynge, quarelling, disquiet, hatefull, and furious fighters, take vpon them to be called *good men*

88\* *Appx. Bp. Babington on lawfule Amusements.*

borne, and soe foorth. But marke marke what effect this mirth hath in us, and whereto it tendeth. And if it increase our knowledge, increase our zeale, and increase good graces in vs, then like it, and spare not, and cheerish such an one. But if it poyson the profite of the worde vnto vs, decay our diligence, and liking of good exercises, and decrease all that I haue named, then know him for a thiefe, though his handes be true, for he stealeth our soules from the liuing God, & both bodie and soule from eternall life."

*Amusements in Moderation are justifiable. What Games are allowable. Gaming for money is not. The Evils of Gaming.*

p. 399-400. "Concerning then playing and gaming in generall, diuers you shall finde both in writing and speaking verie straite, who hardlie will bee perswaded to allowe vnto Christians almost anie plaie at all. For, say they, wee must giue accompt in the day of iudgement o feuerie action, of euerie idle worde, and of euerie iote of time, howe wee haue bestowed it, and therefore we shoulde not play."

p. 400-408. "The meaning of these our brethren no doubt is good, and willingly would drawe vs to greater dutie to our God. And these reasons of theirs ought to haue this effect in vs, euen to abridge that excesse which al may see in our playing and our sportes, and to bring vs home to a greater strictnesse of life in heeding what we should. But to cut vs off from all recreation by any play (be it without offence of anie spoken) indeede they cannot. For wee are men, and no Angels, and as men in this worlde wee must walke our course, subiect to dulnesse, and wearinesse, euen in good thinges, and wee must refreshe that feeble weakenesse of ours by lawful and allowed comforts. Which

Zach. 8. 5  
Exod. 13.  
2 Sam. 18.  
Leuit. 23.  
*The appointing of festiuall dyes.* I so tearme, because I am assured that the worde of God condemneth not all our play, and the corrupt constitution of our bodies, together with the dulnesse of our minds, require some play. Sparing in truth is the worde in giuing, because well knewe the Lorde wee woulde not bee sparing in taking libertie for to play. Yet is it plaine inough. Notwithstanding fitly may it bee saide of play, as he saide of studying philosophie, *Philosophandum paucis*: Wee must play but little.

But nowe the seconde steppe is more harde than this, namelie to knowe what games wee maie vse, and at what wee may play. Wherein not purposing anie set and curious treatise, I aunswere briefly, that of those manie and differing kindes of sportes, that are deuised and vsed in euerie place, I condemne none, which make for the quickening of bodie or minde, which serue to actiuicie, and prepare men for better seruice an other daye, vnlesse they haue ioyned to them any vngodlinessse, or are by Lawe of that particular place forbidden: no, not Cardes or Tables in all respectes, and to euerie person at all times, and in all places: Neuerthelesse I am fullie assured, and doe willinglie affirme, that they ought not of Christians professing the Gospel to bee so much vsed as they are. . . . Let vs therefore rather enter to consider an other poynt, which is

And what witlesse woodcocks are they, that cals them *good men*, because *Stoute fighters* they fight lustily, sticke to it stoutely, and would mayme and kill *are not good men.* desperatly: neuer regarding their cause nor their quarrel." 1580.

T. Lupton. *Sivqila*, p. 53.

harder than this, nameleie, whether wee shoulde play for monie or no. And first I reason thus : If it bee lawefull to plaie for monie, then is it lawefull to winne monie in this sort, and the monie lawefullie possessed : But this seconde is false, therefore the former also. That the seconde is false, the ende and first inuention of plaie proueth, which, as euerie one canne well witnesse, was neuer inuenta to this ende, but onelie to refresh either body or mind ; and corruption afterward brought in mony, as we see dayly before our eyes. . . . Thirdlie, I reason from the multitude of miserable creatures, that are the same fleshe that wee are, and yet pitifullie crie for want of succour : from the multitude of godlie and Christian vses, to employ that which wee maie spare yppon, and even from the want of manie necessaries for our selues, that it is not lawefull nor tollerable to play for monie. For is it not lamentable, and most fearefull, that anie Christian man shoulde carie about in his conscience daie and night a witnesse, that this seuen yeares hee hath not giuen seuen shillings to the naked, needie, and comfortlesse members of Jesus Christ, and yet hee hath lost at vayne playe, in a vayne manner, twentie times as much ? Can a man bee so dull, as to thinke this thing will neuer pricke him, or neuer haue a just rewarde of punishment at Gods handes ? Is it not lamentable, that a man can see no Christian vse to giue of hys abundaunce to, but thinke all that euer hee can get, litle inough to consume in playe ? Are wee exempted out of the number of them that are bounde to workes of loue, and deedes of mercie, so that wee neede to doe none of these, and yet shall bee sauad too ? Naile, is it not woorderfull, and a thing that heauen and earth are ashamed of, and even all the creatures in both of them stande astonished at, to consider, that a man shoulde not eyther doe the former dueties, or him selfe haue eyther anie good apparell to weare, anie bookees to benifite his soule by, no not so much as a Bible or a prayer booke, anie meate at home for his wife and Children, anie wages to paie hys Seruauntes, or his other debtes, or a number moe such necessaries, and yet think hys playing, yea his costlie playing, lawefull, and not to bee spoken agaynst ? Is it I say, possible, that euer a Christian man, that thinkes hee hath Gods spirite, shoulde thus haue his conscience seared vp ? Truelie, for myne owne part, I professe I haue stooide in my hearte amazed at it, and I beseech the Lorde to drive awaie from vs such grosse securiti. For else as we liue, wee shall knowe wee haue deceyued our selues, and others ; wee were neuer anie thing lesse, than Christians. These dueties therefore due to others, so manie, and great, and these wants of necessaries for our selues, improue<sup>1</sup> our playing for monie."

*Dicing, the Evils of it. Chaucer and Sir T. Elyot.*

p. 411-417. "The Poet layeth it downe amongst the Cankers that consume men and make them beggers, Disease, Wine, and Women. What shoulde I say ? Take anie booke in hande of an heathen man, and it is a woorder, if you finde not some thing against dysing. Nowe come from heathens to Christians, and see even as great misliking. Austen beginneth and is not afraide to say plainly, *Aleam De ciuit. Dei. inuenit Daemon*, The deuill first found out the game of *In praeceptorio*. dising. Lyra, detesting it, seeketh to make other men doe *lib. 4.* as much by diuers reasons. It coueteth (sayth hee) an other mans

<sup>1</sup> Lat. *improbo*, disapprove, blame, condemn.

90\* *Appx. Bp. Babington, Chaucer, &c., against Dicing.*

goods greatly, it is a mightie meanes of deceite, it passeth vsurie, it causeth lying, swearing, brawling, and manie idle wordes, it is an offence to the godly, it breaketh the lawes, it misspendeth the time, and what not? Olde CHAUCER so long agoe set his sentence downe against this exercise,<sup>1</sup> and spares not to display the vertues of it in this maner :

Dising, <sup>2</sup> (saith he) is verie mother of leasinges,	[ <sup>2</sup> Hasard]
And of deceite and cursed forswearings.	
Blaspemie of God, manslaughter, and waste also,	
Of battaile, naughtinesse, and other mo. <sup>3</sup> [ <sup>3</sup> Of catel, and of time, and forthermo]	
It is reprofe and contrarie to honour,	
For to be hould a common disesour. <sup>4</sup>	[ <sup>4</sup> hasardour]
And euer the higher he is in estate,	
The more he is houlden desolate.	
If thou a Prince dost vse <sup>5</sup> hazardie	[ <sup>5</sup> If that a Prynce / vseth]
In all[e] gouernance and pollicie	600
He is, by a <sup>6</sup> common opinion	[ <sup>6</sup> as by]
Houlden lesse <sup>7</sup> in reputation.	602
Lordes might finde other manner of <sup>8</sup> play,	[ <sup>7</sup> Yholde the lesse]
Honest inough to driue the day away.	627
	[ <sup>8</sup> fynden other maner]
	628

But of all other speeches, me thinkes it is a maruelous saying of Sir Thomas Eliot, and ought verie greatly to moue vs, who affirmeth that if a man heare one to be a diser, and knoweth him not, by and by he iudgeth him to be a light and vaine person, and of no credite or accompt. . . . Last of all, peruse the Statutes of this our owne countrie, and I beseech you marke the liking they haue shewed of dising. In the twelfth yeare of Richarde the seconde all vnlawefull games were forbidden, and by name Dising generallie. In the 21. yeare of Henrie the fourth, disers taken were imprisoned sixe dayes. And if anie heade Magistrate, as Maior, or Sheriffe, made not diligent search for them, they forfeited fortie shillings: If a Constable were negligent, hee lost sixe shillings and eight pence. In the seventeenth yere of Edward the fourth, they that kept dicing houses were to haue three yeares imprisonment and 20. pounds fine. Players at dice in those houses, two yeares imprisonment and ten pounds fine. In the eleventh yeare of Henrie the seventh, Dicers shoulde be openlie set in the stockes by the space of one whole day, and the house keepers that suffered him to play, forfeit a noble, and be bounde to their good behauour. In the 33. yeare of Henrie the eight, Dicing houses forfeitted fortie shillings euerie time, & disers vi. s. viii. d. and bound in recognisance neuer to play againe. And yet more may you see in Pultons abridgement.<sup>9</sup> Now it is woorderfull that notwithstanding all this, yet so foule a thing shoulde seeme so faire, and that a man shoulde not thinke himselfe vsed as a gentleman or almost as a man, vnesesse hee may haue libertie in this loosenesse, and the large reine to so great an euill. And yet wee be Christians, and that of the better sort too, or you doe vs wrong. The heathen hated it, and we hatch it vp in euerie house, and yet we be Christians. The godly writ against it, wee waite for it, and yet we be Christians. The counsels haue condemned it in the spirite of Christ, and christian lawes haue most sharply punished it: wee day and night vse it, and cannot be reaued of it, and

<sup>1</sup> In the *Pardoners Tale*, Group C, l. 589-628; Six-text, p. 321-2. A few of the Ellesmere MS. readings are in the margin above.

<sup>2</sup> Of the Statutes.

*Appx. Bp. Babington on Oppression of the Weak.* 91\*

yet we be Christians. But alas, alas! the day of vnderstanding, or the day of damnation for our ignoraunce, shall teach vs an other thing. We sweare, we lie, we reuile, and wee runne into the fieldes with murthering mindes (for such anger is murther) moued by play, and yet we will not leaue it. And if I doe not thus in shewe, yet inwardly I frette, I chafe, I gnash with my teethe, and teare the Cardes, burne the Dice, throw away the Tables, and such like, and yet I am religious. The Lorde forbiddeth all appearaunce of euill, all occasions of sinne, and *i. Thes 5.* yet wee are the Lordes, and doe neither. The Lorde saith, 'If thy right hande cause thee to offend, or thy right eye, cut it off, plucke it out, and cast it away'; wee will bee the Lordes, and not restrayne a litle play, that, mine owne soule being witnesse, most greeuouslie maketh mee offendre. Fie, fie, what deadnesse is this? Where is either loue of God, or feare in vs? Loue makes vs burne with desire to doe well, feare makes vs shake, to thinke of anie sinne: we continually sinne in our greedie gaming, and yet we be godlie. But this either makes vs see it, or we will neuer (I feare) see the mischeefe of playing, and by name of Dising. The Lorde for Christ his sake awake vs, and so I end."

*Oppression of Servants and the Weak. Taking of Bribes.*

p. 425-428. "Who seeth not, who knoweth not, that all *Oppression.* oppression of my brother in his goods is contrarie to that loue that I ought to beare to him and his goods? And how stande wee in this matter? Haue wee never detained the poore seruautes wages, and *Of seruantes.* wrecked our anger vppon him to his harme further than a mercifull heart shoulde haue doone? Haue wee not taken euen the flower of his youth, the strength of his yeares, and the verie iuice and sappe of hys bodie to serue our turnes withall, and then either turned him off vnrewarded,<sup>1</sup> or taken from him, or diminished without cause, other than our

<sup>1</sup> "Nay, thou hast yet *Another Cruelty* gnawing in thy bosome; *Against want of provision for those that dye in the fields.* for what hope is there that thou shouldst haue pitty ouer others, when thou art vnmercifull to thy self! Looke ouer thy walls into thy Orchards and Gardens, and thou shalt see thy seruants and apprentices sent out cunningly by their Masters at noone day vpon deadly errands; when they perceiue that the *Armed Man* hath struck them, yea, euen when they see they haue tokens deliuiered them from heauen to hasten thither, then send they them forth to walke vpon their graues, and to gather the flowers themselves that shall stick their own Herse. And this thy Inhabitants do, because they are loth and ashamed to haue a writing ouer their dores, to tell that God hath bin there; they had rather all their enemies in the world put them to trouble, then that he should visit them.

"Looke againe ouer the walls into thy Fields, and thou shalt heare poore and forsaken wretches lye groaning in ditches, and trauailing to seeke out Death vpon thy common hye wayes. Hauing found him, he there throwes downe their infected carcases, towards which, all that passe by, looke, but (till common shame, and common necessity compell,) none step in to give them buriall. Thou setst vp posts to whip them when they are aliue: Set vp an Hospital to comfort them being sick, or purchase ground for them to dwell in when they be well, and that is, when they be dead." 1606. T. Decker. *Seven Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 48.

owne couetousnesse, the reward that our auncestour gaue to his seruice before? If wee haue doone it, alas it is a great oppression, a great wrong, and it standeth not with that loue that I am charged withall *Widow and fatherlesse*. . . . Haue wee not hurt the desolate Widowe, the fatherlesse childe, or anie whose might was lesse than ours to beare off the hardnes of our handes? Haue we not lift vp our force against them when we sawe wee might haue helped them in the gate? If we haue, what can we say why *Job. 31, 32.* we shuld not rot in peeces for it, & our armes bee broken from the bones, as Job wished to him in such a case? Haue wee neuer respected the person more of one than an other in cause of iustice, a strong meanes to drawe vs to oppression? Haue wee neuer suffered *Bribes.* these handes to feele the weight of a bribers gift<sup>1</sup> to drawe vs to oppression? O spare not to spie your sinne euen to the full if you haue offended, and yet accuse not your selues if you dare boast of innocencie. Happie were our countrie, and a thousande comfortes were it to euerie one of vs, if the dulnesse of our heartes in these deadlie sinnen pulled not vppon vs the often offending in them, and then such sinne, such wrath againe from heauen aboue, as is most due vnto it. Alas, wee see not, neither euer will bee made to see, what loue by this lawe wee owe to all men in their goods; but we robbe them, we spoyle them, and wee take giftes to do it, and yet we be no theeuers."

#### *Covetousness. Lawyiers. Giving Church-livings to bad Parsons.*

p. 431-5. "Wee boldlie looke of euerie mans commodities. As we goe and ride, wee streight way couet, and that which is worse, presentlie we deuise to obtain our will to the impairing of our brothers wealth, and the fearefull breaking of this commandement. And woulde God the rage of our lust were not sometime so vehement, as that missing to get what it greedelie seeketh, it casteth vs downe sicke in our bed, or causeth vs to hurt him who hindereth our wishe, as wee see fell out in Achab to Naboth for his vinearde. But of this hereafter more againe in the tenth commandement. For the tongue, alas what shoulde I saie, I will neuer bid you enquire whether you bee guiltie or no. For whither shoulde a man flie in these dayes from flatterie, or where may we liue and not light of false forgers seeking by filed phrase to bleere the eyes of such as least suspect them. . . . Let them ioyne hereunto, *Lawyieres.* whose calling is such a true viewe of the drift and successe of their pleas, whether they haue not often indeuored with their tongues, and often also obtayned by their speach, the wrongfull alienation of mens right from them to other men. And is not this a theft? Might not he euen aswell haue robbed him with his handes, as to be a meanes by speach of wrong perswasion that others doe it? But alas, what wordes can I vse, or anie man else this day aliu, to make men feele, that neither golden gaine, nor anie regarde to be named whatsoeuer, shoulde make them speake vntruely against the good estate of their brethren in anie causes? Surely, if this will nothing moue, that it is in nature theft which in name they so abbore, I will assay no further. . . . Are we al cleare of that theft of theftes committed in conueying of the Church livinges to our owne vse from them that ought to haue them and doe the dutie for them, to the dishonour of God, the ruine of the Church, and the fearefull casting away of manie a soule into the pitte of hell for

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bacon's case, &c.

*Appx. Bp. Babington on Unfit Parsons, Tittle-Tattle. 93\**

want of knowledge?<sup>1</sup> . . . Shall the Lorde crie woe vpon woe, wrath vpon wrath, vengeance vpon vengeance, to the carelesse shephearde that feede themselues, and not the flocke ; and shall he so quietly passee them ouer, that put in, and place such dumbe dogges, and vnable drones to doe anie duetie for their owne lucre ? Is it a token of loue to feede his sheepe, to feede his lambes ; and is it not a want of loue both to God and his lambes, to put in, for my gaine, such a drie nurse as can giue no milke nor feede at all, except it be with follie, and a fowle example of drinking, swearing, carding, tabling, bowling, sleeping, and such like?"

*Prittle-prattle and Tittle-tattle, the Evils of em.*

p. 481-2. "For the seconde which was telling of tales, wee haue heard it before shewed, and our owne knowledge both assure vs it is a branch of the breach of this commandement, which shall burne both bodie and soule in the fire of hell. And yet see, do we feare it, or flie it? Alas we knowe I am sure of it, we haue beeene too too secure in this point, and our securitie not seeing and weighing the wickednesse of the vice hath stayned both heart and tongue horriblie. Looke about the worlde and veiwe the generall course of all. Feareth anie man to discredite his neighbour priuily, and to whisper vpon hearesay or his owne imagination what tendeth to the blemish of his name whom he speakest of? Feareth any woman when shee hath mette with her gossippe to tittle tattle, to the slander of an other, this thing and that thing, which yet hath no certaintie, and which full loth she would haue saide of her selfe vpon like conjectures? No no we see too much the cursed course of lawlesse tongues in euerie place, though the Lorde in mercie giueth some consciences, and a thousandes times I begge that we woulde see our sinne, confesse our sinne, and rippe vp our guilt in this respect. Why shoulde wee be so dull and without feeling? If it be a vertue thus to prattle and prattle of euerie bodie, vncertaine tales, but most certaine discredites, then prooue it so, and vse it : but if it bee a branch of false witnesse, that doth truly witnesse gods wrath to hang ouer vs for it, good Lorde, shall we still be polluted with it?"

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[*Tea Gowns* in 1878.—See *The World* article, reprinted in *The Royal Exchange*, Nov. 9, 1878, a number sent out as an advertisement. (I, of course, see nothing of the set of folk referrd to in it.)

"It is not so very long ago that the appearance in the drawing room or in any other place where she was visible to the naked eye of the male sex, of a lady loosely wrapped in her dressing gown, would have been an impossibility. But the world moves rapidly in this last quarter of the nineteenth century ; and ladies, who a few years ago would have considered the idea appalling, calmly array themselves in the glorified dressing robe known as a 'tea gown,' and proceed to display themselves to the eyes of their admirers. . . . It is absolutely useless and utterly ridiculous ; but this is not the worst that may be said about it. It is, to

<sup>1</sup> See *Harrison*, Part I., p. 21, 26-27.

all intents and purposes, a *déshabillé*; and so great is the force of association, that the conversation is exceedingly apt, nay almost certain, to become *déshabillé* as well. The gentlemen, in houses where tea gowns prevail, relieve themselves of their shooting attire, and reappear very frequently in gorgeous smoking suits; there is an ease and *sans facon* about the whole proceeding that favours laxity of discourse, and advantage is generally taken of the latitude afforded. It is easier to take three strides forward than half a step backwards; consequently, when the company reassembles at dinner, the point of departure for the conversation is several degrees nearer to the doubtful borderland of *hasardé* allusions and *double entendres* than it would have been without the antecedent symposium *en négligé*. . . . Old-fashioned prudery has long been thrown aside in the eager desire for more admirers of such becoming raiment; the tea gowns have descended to the drawing-room and the hall, and have become more marvellous and more *voyant* in the transit. With the graceful *négligé* toilet there has come in a habit of lounging, which is certainly of most doubtful grace. Hands are not unfrequently to be seen clasped above or behind the head, thus often liberally exhibiting the arm by the falling back of the loose sleeve; feet and ankles are lavishly displayed as dainty slippers are rested on the fender; more ardent spirits recline in ostentatious repose on various sofas. It is considered the thing to suit the action to the attire, and exhibit in it the supremacy of ease. Any quiet spirits in the party generally disappear; they feel themselves as out of place among the stray remarks and *hasardé* stories, as their quiet morning dresses are among the pink and blue and other rainbow-hued tea gowns, with their lavish cascades of lace, and bewitching caps to match. They disappear; and when they again meet their friends at dinner-time, are apt to be somewhat astonished to find how much ceremony has been thrown to the winds in their brief absence, and on how much more familiar a footing their friends are than when they parted from them two or three hours before.

" . . . It will be doubtless said, tea gowns are far less objectionable than the extremely *décolleté* dresses of which such grievous complaint has been made during the last two seasons. But two wrongs do not make a right; and besides, objectionable as too *décolleté* dresses may be, they are still, by a fiction of society—that unwritten law which is of such infinitely greater force than all the statutes in the judicial archives—considered to constitute the fullest toilette, the greatest possible pitch of *grande tenue*; and owing to this belief they are by no manner of means so provocative of laxity of conversation as the moral dressing gown and slippers of the tea-gown."]

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For the loan of the following cut I have to thank Captain Harold Dillon. His uncle, at Ditchley, Oxfordshire, has a picture of one of the brothers of Sir Henry Lee, K.G., in the time of Elizabeth, with a Rose in his ear, like the fop on p. 78\* note, above: the Rose is just stuck like a pen is, between the hair and the ear, showing the flower in front. The dandies must have carrid their heads very steadily, to have kept the flower from falling out. Perchance it had a woman's hair-pin to hold it in.

*Irish Costumes. The 1584 edition of the Anatomie.* 95\*



Irish Costumes in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, from MS.

*Edel-vrouwe*  
Noblewoman

*Burgher-vrouwe*  
Citizen's wife

*Wilde Irische*  
Wild Irish

p. 60\*. *The 1584 edition of the Anatomie.*—Since I wrote the Forewords, Mr. Wallis has been kind enough to lend me his perfect copy of the 3rd (or 4th, or 3rd and 4th as Mr. Hazlitt and I now suppose) edition of the *Anatomie*, of '12 October 1584.' I have tested it in different places chosen at haphazard with the collations of the other editions given at the foot of the original text below, and have found that all of the few important changes there noted as due to E. 1585, had been made before in this (C-D.) edition of 12 Oct., 1584. Out of 58 passages tested (counting the sidenotes singly, would make em full 70) only 4 show small differences. It is clear, then, that Stubbes revisd the 1584 edition more largely than that of 1585, though not so largely as the second of 1583 (August 1) and his last of 1595. The results of my testing follow:—

C-D. has all E.'s readings, p. iii.—2, 3-3, 11-11.  
p. iv.—6-6, 7, 9, 12, 13.

96\* *Collation of the 1584 edition of the Anatomie.*

**Pages**  
viii/6.—2, 4, 6–6 *differs, having both A. and B.'s reading, and E.'s:*  
‘a Lamp of light vnto the world, a mirrour of’: has 7, 9, 14, 18, 19,  
20, 21–21, 22, 23, 24.  
ix.—I—I not in (as not in E.); 6, 11, 12, 13.  
x.—Preface left out; as in B., E., F.  
xiv.—9. xvi—Greek motto. xvii—3. xix—2.  
30.—8–8. 36.—13 *differs, having both A. and B. and E.:* ‘peltes  
felles & skins’ (E. peltes & skins).  
38.—6. 39.—2, ‘more’ not in C.-D. (as not in E.).  
40.—7. 41.—3, 4, 10–10 not in C.-D. (as not in E.), 12–12. 68.—7.  
70, 71, 72.—has E.'s sidenotes on Starche, A fearfull example,  
Women's lubricious mindes, and 2 on the Deuil; as well as E.'s headline,  
72 foot. *But keeps A. and B.'s 'Epraunna,' p. 71, against E.'s  
'Antwarpe.'*  
79 note.—has the ‘Deuil's bellowes’ sidenote.  
82.—8. 87.—has E.'s ‘Handbaskets’ headline, on back, and ‘great  
paynes’ side-note, &c.  
96.—17. 97.—4 §, 9 ‘the’ not in (as not in E.).  
111–114.—has all the side-notes and headlines markt E. F., and the  
top sidenote on 113 markt F.  
117, notes 1, 2.—has, like E., ‘Lawyers ruffling in.’  
129–136.—has all the side-notes markt E. F., and all B.'s headlines.  
139.—6, 10 ‘very’ not in (as not in E.). 152.—9–9.  
186–190.—has the side-notes of E., F.; *but* on p. 188 ‘A materiall  
Hell,’ like F., *against E.'s 'Materiall.'* 191.—4, 5.

Mr. Wallis, too, thinks “that the other edition of 1584 exists only in imagination.” He adds: “It may interest you to know that my ‘Stubbes’ has never been ‘in the market.’ It came from the library at Brookfield Hall, in this county, at its dispersal on the death of my father’s cousin, Miss Hannah Wright, some dozen or fifteen years ago. These Wrights were descended from the Dr. Wright, M.D., F.R.S., at the sale of whose books (in 1787) the ‘first folio’ brought £10.<sup>1</sup> He was a Derby man, and closely related to our family.<sup>2</sup> I was told of a quantity (the word applies here) of such books—*Horresco referens!*—being taken from a loft over the stables, and used for fire-lighting and other base purposes by the grooms.”

The title and colophon are given on the opposite leaf. The cut at the back of the colophon is that of the stooping robed man of B.

<sup>1</sup> Lot 1960. Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies, *first folio edition, bound in Russia leather with gilt leaves.* 1623. £10.

<sup>2</sup> 1390. The Anatomie of Abuses, made Dialogue-wise by Phillip Stubbes, *bl. letter.* 1583.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Derby Mercury*, Oct. 26th, 1786:—“On Saturday the 14th inst. died at his house in Charles Street, Grosvenor Square, London, Richard Wright, M.D., F.R.S., late one of the physicians of St. George's Hospital; only son of the late Mr. Wright, surgeon, of this town (Derby). His remains were brought here yesterday, and interred in the family vault in St. Michael's Church.”

# The Anatomie of Abuses:

Containing

A Discouerie, or brief Summarie of such Notable Vices and Corruptions, as nowe raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the Worlde: but (especially) in the Countrey of AILGNA: Together, with most fearefull Examples of Gods Judgementes, executed vpon the wicked for the same, as well in AILGNA of late, as in other places, elsewhere.

*Very godly, to be read of all true Christians, euery where: but most chiefly, to be regarded in England*

Made Dialogue-wise by PHILLIP STVBS.

And now newly revised recognized, and augmented the third time by the same Author.

MATH. 3. Ver. 2.

Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

Lvke. 13. Ver. 5.

I say vnto you, except you repent you shall all perish.

¶ Printed at London, by Richard  
Jones 12. October. 1584.

Perufed, auctorised, and al-  
lowed, accordyng to the order  
appointed in the Quee-  
nes Maiesties  
*Iniuncti-*  
*ons.*



At London  
*Printed by Richard Jones: dwellyng*  
*at the Signe of the Rose*  
*and the Crowne, neere*  
*vnto Holborne*  
*Bridge.*

1584.



PHILIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY  
OF THE  
ABUSES IN ENGLAND  
IN  
SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH,  
A.D. 1583.

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PART I.

[Collations for the title-page of May 1, 1583, opposite.]

- <sup>1—1</sup> description F (1595).  
<sup>2</sup> corruptions E (1585); enormities F (1595).      <sup>3</sup> now *om.*, F.  
    <sup>4</sup> Christian *not in* B (1 Aug. 1583), *or* F.  
<sup>5—5</sup> the countrie of E; this Realme of F.      <sup>6</sup> verie *not in* B.  
<sup>7</sup> England F.      <sup>8</sup> Gods heauie F.      <sup>9</sup> inflicted F.  
<sup>10</sup> euerie where *not in* B.      <sup>11</sup> chiefly E.  
<sup>12</sup> Gent., *added in* F.  
<sup>13—13</sup> And now newly reuised recognized and augmented the third time by the  
same Author. E (1585); Now, the fourth time, newly corrected and inlarged by  
the same Author F (1595).      <sup>14—14</sup> omitted F.  
<sup>15</sup> saith Christ *not in* E.  
<sup>16</sup> Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, at the sign of the Rose and  
Crowne, next aboue S. Andrewes Church in Holborne. 1595. F.  
<sup>17</sup> 16. August *in* B, *not in* E.      <sup>18</sup> 1585 *in* E.

Series VI. No. 4. 1. 2.

# The Anatomie of Abusess:

## Contayning<sup>1</sup>

A <sup>1</sup>DISCOVERIE, OR BRIEFE

Summarie,<sup>1</sup> of such Notable Vices and Imperfections,<sup>2</sup> as now<sup>3</sup> raigne in many Christian<sup>4</sup> Countreyes of the Worlde: but (especiallie) in <sup>5</sup>a verie<sup>6</sup> famous ILANDE called<sup>5</sup> AILGNA<sup>7</sup>: Together, with most fearefull Examples of Gods<sup>8</sup> Iudgements, executed<sup>9</sup> vpon the wicked for the fame, aswell in AILGNA<sup>7</sup> of late, as in other places elsewhere.

**Exerie Godly, to be read of all true Christians,  
euerie where<sup>10</sup>; but most needfull,<sup>11</sup> to  
be regarded in ENGLANDE.**

Made dialogue-wise by Phyllip Stubbcs.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Seene and allowed, according to order.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>14</sup> MATH. 3. ver. 2. Repent, for the kingdome of God is at hande.

LVC. 13. ver. 5. I say vnto you (faith Christ)<sup>15</sup> except you repent, you shall all perish.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>16</sup> ¶ Printed at London, by Richard Jones. 1. Maij.<sup>17</sup> 1583.<sup>18</sup>

[<sup>1</sup> The collations are on the opposite page.]





To the <sup>1</sup>Right Hono-  
rable,<sup>2</sup> Phillip Earle of Arundell: Phillip  
Stubbes wisheth helth of body & soule,<sup>1</sup> fauour  
of God, increaſe of Godly honour, re-  
ward of laudable vertue, and eter-  
nall felicitie,<sup>3</sup> in the Heauens,<sup>3</sup>  
by<sup>4</sup> IESVS Christ.

<sup>5</sup> NOBILITAS Patriæ DECVS.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>6</sup> HE Lord our God (right honorable)<sup>6</sup> hauing by the power of his word, created Heauen and Earth, with all <sup>7</sup>thinges what foever, for the comfort<sup>7</sup> and vſe of Man, the laſt of all other (euen the ſixt daye)<sup>8</sup> made Man, after his owne ſimilitude and likeneſſe,<sup>9</sup> that<sup>10</sup> in him he might be glorified aboue all other Creatures. And therfore, wheras in making of other thinges he vſed onely this Woord, FIANT, be they made or let them be made, when he came to make Man,<sup>11</sup> as it weare aduyfing<sup>12</sup> himſelfe and<sup>11</sup> aſking councell at his wiſdome, he ſaid FACIAMVS HOMINEM, let vs make Man; that is, a wonderfull Creature: and therfore is called in greek MICRO-COSMOS, a little world in himſelf. And truely he is no leſſe, whether we conſider his ſpirituall soule, or his humaine body. For what Creature is theare vpon the face of the Earth comparable to man,

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> Christian Magistrates and godly Gouernors of England, whose authority & offices are to reforme vice and maintain virtue, P. S. wisheth the F.

<sup>2</sup> and his singular good Lorde *added in E (1585)*.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> in the Heauenly hierarchie E; *om. F.*   <sup>4</sup> through E.   <sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> *om. F.*

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> Right Honourable, worshipfull and welbeloued, the Lord our God F.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> other thinges, for the benefit, F (*benifite E.*)

<sup>8</sup> he made A, F.   <sup>9</sup> to what end? namely *inserted in B (1 Aug., 1583)*.

<sup>10</sup> to this end, that F.   <sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> consulting with himſelf, & as it were E, F.

<sup>12</sup> consulting with *in B.*

[God made man  
in His own  
likeness,

a little world in  
himself.]

either in body or <sup>1</sup>in mind? what creature hath a soule immortall inherent in his body,<sup>1</sup> but onely Man? what Creature can forsee things <sup>2</sup>to come, remember things past, or iudg of things present, but onely <sup>3</sup>man? what Creature beareth the ymage of God <sup>4</sup>about with him,<sup>5</sup> but Man? what Creature is made so erect to behould the Heauens as man? What Creature may be likened to man, <sup>6</sup>either in proportion of body, or gifts of the soule <sup>6</sup>? And (finally) what Creature hath the promise of the resurrection & glorification of their bodies, & of eternall life, but onely Man? Than, seeing the Lorde hath made Man thus glorious, and preferred him in <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup>euery degree <sup>8</sup> before <sup>9</sup> al other Creatures (the Angelicall Creatures set a part) it is manifest he hath done it to some end <sup>10</sup> & purpose, <sup>11</sup> namely, that he might be glorified in him, and by him aboue all other his works, according to the measure of his integritie, excellency and perfection.<sup>11</sup> And hereby we may learn that it is the will of GOD, that we <sup>12</sup> bend all our force to the aduauncing of his <sup>13</sup>glorious Name,<sup>13</sup> the edification of his People, and the building vp of his Church, which he hath redemed with the bloud of his deare Sonne.

[This was  
typified by  
Moses's  
Tabernacle,

to which all men  
gave something]

Which thing (mee think) is notably figured foorth vnto vs in the <sup>25</sup> of EXODVS, wher the Lord commaunded Moyses to build him a Tabernacle, or howse of prayer, to this end and purpose (doubtles) that therin his lawe might be read <sup>14</sup>, his Ceremonies <sup>15</sup> practised, Sacrifices, Victimates & Holocauftes offred, <sup>15</sup> and his glorious Name called vpon and obeyed. To the erection wherof euery one conferred some what, some brought gold, some siluer & some brasse, lead and tinne; other brought silk, purple, skarlet, and other ornaments, and the meanest brought some what; namely, skins, heare, sand, lyme, morter, wood, stoney, and such like. Euen so <sup>16</sup>(right honorable)<sup>16</sup> would the Lord haue

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> soule? For what creature hath an immortall soule, F.  
<sup>5</sup> about with him om. F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> whether we respect the lineaments the demensions and proportion of the body, or the gifts and giaces of the mind E, F.

<sup>7</sup> by E, F. <sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> many degrees F. <sup>9</sup> above E, F. <sup>10</sup> speciall end B.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> that, as in perfection and all kinde of integritie, he excelleth all other Creatures, so he might be glorified in, thorow, and by him aboue al other Creatures. B.

<sup>12</sup> we should E, F. <sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> glorie E, F. <sup>14</sup> read and preached F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> duly practized, his Sacrifices and offerings faithfully performed F.

<sup>16</sup>—<sup>16</sup> om. F.

euery one to conferre some what, euen such as he hath, to the building<sup>1</sup> of his spirituall howse, the Church, purchased with the bloud of Christ.<sup>2</sup> Wherfore seeing it is so, that euery one is to further this spirituall building to his possible power, I haue rather chosen, with the simblest and meanest sort, to bring, though but heyre, sand, skins, lyme, morter,<sup>3</sup> wood, or<sup>4</sup> stones, than altogether to<sup>5</sup> contribute nothing. [<sup>3</sup> Sig. ¶ 3 A.]

[So I, to help  
God's Church,  
bring now my  
mite.]

Not doubting, but that the chief Maister and Builder of this howse, Christ Iesus, will not dislike, but accept<sup>6</sup> of<sup>7</sup> my poore contribution, no leise than he did of the<sup>8</sup> poore wydowes Mite, to whom was<sup>10</sup> imputed that she had cast more<sup>11</sup> in Gazophilatium Templi,<sup>11</sup> into the treasury of the Temple, than all the rest; for what she wanted in effect that she supplyed in affect. And for that, also, the Lord our God committing his talents to euery one, whether more or leise, not onely requireth of vs the same againe simply, but also, as a straight computist, demaundeth interest and gaine of euery one of vs: & for that not only he is a murtherer & a Homicide before God who slayeth or killeth a Man with materiall fword, but he also who<sup>12</sup> may<sup>13</sup> preuent the same,<sup>14</sup> and will not. And<sup>15</sup> not onely he is guiltie of haynous transgression that committeth any euill really,<sup>16</sup> but also he who consenteth to it, as he doth, who holdeth his peace, or he who by any means might auoid it, and either for<sup>17</sup> negligence wil not, or, for feare of the world dare not. Therfore, albe it, that I haue receiued but one poore talent, or rather the<sup>18</sup> shadow of one, yet least I might be reproud (with that vnprofitable Seruaunt) for hyding my small talent in the Earth, not profiting therwith at all, either myself or others, I haue aduentured the making<sup>19</sup> of this litle treatise, intituled (The Anatomy of Abuses) hoping that the same (by diuyne affistance) shall somewhat conduce to the building<sup>20</sup> of this spirituall howse of the Lord.

[<sup>3</sup> Sig. ¶ 3 B.]

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. A 3 E.]

[God bids us use  
our talents, not  
hide them,

and so I've  
written my  
*Anatomy of  
Abuses*, to help  
God's House.]

And although I be one<sup>21</sup> (most honorable Lord)<sup>21</sup> that can do least in this Godly course of life (palpable barbarisme forbidding mee so much as once to enter into Wydomes school), yet for that some wil not,

<sup>1</sup> building vp F.

<sup>2</sup> the Messyas B.

<sup>4</sup> and F.

<sup>5</sup> to sit idle and F.

<sup>6</sup> rather accept F.

<sup>7</sup> of this E, F.

<sup>10</sup> it was F.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> om. F.

<sup>13</sup> might hinder B.

<sup>14</sup> same murther F.

<sup>15</sup> And for that E, F.

<sup>16</sup> actually F.

<sup>17</sup> through F.

<sup>18</sup> but the E, F.

<sup>19</sup> continuing F.

<sup>20</sup> building vp & erection E, F.

<sup>21</sup>—<sup>21</sup> om. F.

[and from love  
to God and my  
country.]

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. ¶ 3,  
back. A.]

[<sup>4</sup> Sig. ¶ 3,  
back. B.]

[<sup>6</sup> Sig. A 3,  
back. E.]

[Tho' I was at  
first minded to  
suppress my  
book, my friends  
made me publish  
it.]

[I didn't know  
whom to  
dedicate it to,  
till I thought of  
you, Lord  
Arundel, whose  
fame is world-  
wide.]

for feare of losing worldly promotion (though in the meane tyme they lose the Kingdome of Heauen), Other some dare not for displeasing the world: I say for these, & semblable causes, together with the zeale and goodwill I beare vnto my Countrey, and feruent desyre of their conuerstion and amendement, I haue taken vpon me the contruying<sup>2</sup> of this book; which God graunt may be with like plausible alacrity receiued, as with paines and good will I haue published<sup>3</sup> it for the benefit of my Cuntry, the pleasure of the Godly and amendment of the wicked. And I doubt not that as none but the wicked and peruerse, whose gawld backes are tutched, will repyne against mee, so the Godly and vertuous will accept of this my labour and trauaile herein,<sup>5</sup> whose gentle fauour and good<sup>6</sup>will shall counterpoise (<sup>7</sup> and farre surmount with mee<sup>7</sup>) the maligne stomacks and stearn<sup>8</sup> countenances of the other. After that I had<sup>9</sup> (right honorable)<sup>9</sup> fully perfected this booke, I was minded, notwithstanding, both in regard of the straungenes of the matter it intreateth of, and also in respect of the rudenesse of my penne, to haue suppressed it for euer, for diuerse and fundrie caufes, and neuer to haue offred it to the viewe of the world, But, notwithstanding, being ouercome by the importunat request, and infatigable<sup>10</sup> desire of my freinds, I graunted to publish the same, as <sup>11</sup> now you see<sup>11</sup> is<sup>12</sup> extant.

<sup>13</sup> But when I had once graunted to imprinte the same, I was<sup>14</sup> in greaterre doubt than<sup>15</sup> before, fearinge to whome I might dedicate the same so rude and impolished a worke. And withall I was not ignorant, how hard a thing it is in these daies to finde a Patrone of such books as this, which sheweth to euery one his sin, and discouereth euery Mans wicked waies, which indeed the vngodly can not at any hand abyde, but, as if were, mad-men disgorging their stomacks.<sup>16</sup> (*Cum in Authorem tum in codicem plenis buccis et dentibus plusquam caninis ralidè feruntur:*) they rage, they fume, and rayle both against the AVTHOR and his booke. Thus (*vacillante animo*) my minde wandring

<sup>2</sup> publishing F.

<sup>3</sup> collected F.

<sup>5</sup> sustained added in E, F.      <sup>7—7</sup> yea farre surmount B; om. F.

<sup>8</sup> austere F.      <sup>9—9</sup> om. F.      <sup>10</sup> orig. infagitable

<sup>11—11</sup> now (God haue the praise therof) B.

<sup>12</sup> it F.

<sup>13</sup> From here to failre neuer, last line, p. vii, is omitted in F.

<sup>14</sup> was then B.

<sup>15</sup> than then E.

<sup>16</sup> and spewing out the poysone of their malicous harts inserted in B.

too and fro, and resting, as it weare, in extasie of despaire, at last I called to mind your honorable Lordship, whose praises haue<sup>1</sup> pearced the Skyes, and whose laudable vertues<sup>2</sup> are blowen not ouer the realme of England<sup>3</sup> onely, but euen to the furthest cofts and parts [<sup>3</sup> Sig. T 4. A.] of the world.

All whose vertues and condigne prayses, if I should take vpon mee to recounte, I might as well number the starres in the Sky, or graffe of<sup>4</sup> the Earth.

For, for Godly Wysdome, and zeale to<sup>5</sup> the truth, is not your good [<sup>5</sup> Sig. T 4. B.] Lordship (without offence be it spoken) comparable with<sup>6</sup> the best? For sobrietie, affabilitie, and gentle curtesie to euerie one, farre excelling many.

For your great<sup>7</sup> deuotion and compassione to the poore oppressed, in all places famous: For Godly fidelitie to your Soueraigne, loue to the cvntry, and vertues in generall, euerie where most renownmed.

But least I might obscure your Worthie commenda<sup>8</sup>tions with my [<sup>8</sup> Sig. A 3, bk. E.] vnlearned penne (lytle or no thing at all emphatical) I will rather surcease than further to proceed,<sup>9</sup> contenting my selfe rather to haue giuen a shadowe of them, than to haue ciphered them foorth, which indeed are both infinit and inexplicable.

In consideration (wherof) not notwithstanding that my Booke be simpler, baser, and meaner than that it may (without blushing) present it self to your good Lordship (being farre vnworthie of such an honorable Personage) yet, accordinge to your accustomed<sup>10</sup> clemency, I most humbly beseeche your good Lordship to receiue the same into your honors Patrociny and protection, accepting it as an infallible token of my faithfull heart, seruice, and good will towardes your honorable Lordship: For prooфе wherof, would God it might once come to passe, that if not otherwyse, yet with my humble seruice, I might shewe foorth the faithfull and euer willing heart I beare in brest to your good Lordship, protesting before Heauen and Earth, that though power want, yet shall fidelitie<sup>11</sup> and faithfulnes<sup>11</sup> faile neuer.

<sup>1</sup> have long since B.

<sup>2</sup> (by the golden trumpe of fame) *inserted in B.*

<sup>4</sup> vpon E.

<sup>6</sup> to E.

<sup>7</sup> your great *not in E.*

<sup>9</sup> hearein *added in E.*

<sup>10</sup> mansuetude, and pristine *inserted in B.*

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> faithfulnes and goodwill B.

And because this my Booke is subiect<sup>1</sup> (my verie good Lord)<sup>1</sup> to as  
 [It exposes sins,  
 [5 leaf ¶ 4,  
 back. A.]  
 many reproches, tauntes and reproofes as euer was any little book<sup>2</sup>  
 (for that few can abyde to<sup>3</sup> haue<sup>4</sup> their sins<sup>5</sup> detected) therfore I haue  
 had the greater care to commit the same to the guardance and de-  
 fence of your honour, rather than to manie others, not onely for that  
 GOD hath made your honour<sup>6</sup> a Lamp of light vnto the world<sup>6</sup>  
 true nobilitie and of al<sup>7</sup> integritie and perfection, but also hath made  
 you his substitute, or vicegerent, to reforme vices, punish abuses, and  
 correcte finne.

and you are  
 God's vice-  
 gerent to correct  
 sins.]

[<sup>12</sup> Sig. ¶ 4,  
 back. B.]

And as<sup>8</sup> in mercie he<sup>8</sup> hath giuen you this<sup>9</sup> power and autoritie,  
<sup>10</sup> so hath he<sup>11</sup> giuen<sup>10</sup> you a hungrie<sup>11</sup> desire to ac<sup>12</sup>complish the same  
<sup>13</sup> according to his will: Which zeal in your sacred brest the L ORD in-  
 crease for euer.

[Reform is  
 needed.]

Pride is rife.

Commoners  
 wear gentlefolks'  
 dress.

[<sup>17</sup> Sig. A 3,  
 back. E.]

Plays, whore-  
 dom, and usury  
 go on.]

And<sup>14</sup> as your Lordship knoweth,<sup>15</sup> reformation of maners and  
 amendment of lyfe was neuer more needfull, for was pride (the  
 chieffest argument of this Booke) euer so rype? Do not both Men and  
 Women (for the most part) euery one in generall go attyred in filks,  
 veluers<sup>15</sup>, damaskes, satans, and what not<sup>16</sup>? which are attyre onely for the  
 nobilitie and gentrie, and not for the other at<sup>17</sup> anie hand? Are not  
 vnlawfull games, Playes, and Enterluds, and the like, euery where  
 vsed<sup>18</sup>? Is not whordome, couetousnes, vsurie, & the like, daylie  
 practised without all punishment or lawe<sup>19</sup>?

But hereof I<sup>20</sup> say no more, <sup>21</sup>referring the<sup>21</sup> consideration, both<sup>22</sup>  
 of these and<sup>23</sup> the rest, to your<sup>24</sup> Godly wysdome.<sup>25</sup> Beseeching<sup>26</sup> your

<sup>1—1</sup> om. F.

<sup>2</sup> book subiect vnto E, F.

<sup>3—3</sup> heare their faults discouered) I thought it most meetest to be dedicated  
 to all good Magistrates and men in authoritie, to reforme vice, & maintaine  
 vertue: Vnto whom, in al humble dutie I doe willinglie present the same.  
 And therefore, as the Lorde God F.

<sup>4</sup> heare E.

<sup>6—6</sup> a mirror of E.

<sup>7</sup> a rare Phoenix of for of al E.

<sup>8</sup> om. F. <sup>9</sup> his E, F.

<sup>10—10</sup> to reforme vices and abuses, so I beseech him to giue euery one of F.  
<sup>11—11</sup> by the operation of his Holy Spirite infused into your heart an earnest B.

<sup>13—13</sup> for as you know F.

<sup>14</sup> the rather for that inserted in B; For, E.

<sup>15</sup> Velvets F.

<sup>16</sup> not els? F.

<sup>18</sup> frequented E, F.

<sup>19</sup> or execution of iustice added in E; F adds, Was there euer seene lesse  
 obedience in Youth of all sortes both men-kinde and women-kind towards their  
 superiours, Parents, Masters and gouernors?

<sup>20</sup> I need to E. <sup>21—21</sup> reseruyng the good E, F. <sup>22</sup> as well E, F.

<sup>23</sup> as of E, F. <sup>24</sup> your Lordships E. <sup>25</sup> Wisedomes F. <sup>26—26</sup> you F.

good Lordship<sup>23</sup> to perdon my presumption in speaking thus much, for (*Zelus domini huc alegit me*) the zeal of my God hath dryuen me heather.

<sup>1</sup> Knowinge that the LORd hath ordeined you to himselfe, a [You, Lord Arundel, are God's Minister to purge his Church.] chosenn veiffell of honour, to purge his Church of these Abuses and corruptions, which, as in a table, are depainted and set foorth in this little <sup>2</sup> booke.<sup>1</sup>

Thus I ceafe to moleſt your ſacred<sup>3</sup> eares any further with my rude ſpeaches, moft humbly beſeaching<sup>4</sup> your good Lordship,<sup>4</sup> not onely to admit this my Book into your <sup>5</sup>honours patronage and defence<sup>5,6</sup> but alſo to perfift the iuft Defender<sup>7</sup> therof againſt the fwyniſh crew of rayling <sup>8</sup>Zoilvs and flowting Momvs, with their complices<sup>9</sup>; to whome <sup>10</sup>it is eaſier to deprave all things, than to amend any thing them ſelues: Which<sup>11</sup> if I ſhall perceiue to<sup>12</sup> be accepted of your honour, beſides that I ſhal not care for a thouſand others diſliking the fame, I ſhall not onely think my ſelf to haue receiued a ſufficient guerdon for my paines, and ſhalbe therby greatly incoraged (if God permit) hereafter to take in hand ſome memorabla thing to your immortall prayſe, honour and renouerne; but alſo shall daylie pray to God for your good Lordship long to continue, to his good pleaſure and your harts deſire, with increaſe of Godly honour, reward of laudable vertue, and eternall felicitie in the HEAVENS by Iefus Christ.

[Protect me against the swyniſh crew of railers and mockers.]  
[x<sup>o</sup> leaf ¶ 5. A.]

*Columna gloriae virtus.*

Your Honors to commaund,<sup>13</sup>

PHILLIP<sup>14</sup> Stubbes.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1—1</sup> Not in E.      <sup>2</sup> treatise B.      <sup>3</sup> om. F.

<sup>4—4</sup> you F.      <sup>5—5</sup> protection F.      <sup>6</sup> protection E.      <sup>7</sup> defenders F.

<sup>8—8</sup> F has the following, and ſlauderous tongues, ſo ſhall I acknowledg my ſelfe moft bounden to pray vnto god for the proſperous & good estates of you all, whom I beſeech for Christ his ſonneſ sake, to blesſe and proſper you in all your godly proceedings now and for euer.

Your Honourſ and Wiſdomes moft bounden,

P. S.

<sup>9</sup> complies of braging Thrasoſ and barking Phormionſ E.

<sup>11</sup> but E.      <sup>12</sup> the ſame to E.

<sup>13</sup> in the Lorde added in E.

<sup>14</sup> P. in B.

[leaf ¶ 5, bk]

## A PREFACE<sup>1</sup>

*to the Reader.*



[Tho' I blame  
Plays, Dances,  
&c.,

I don't want to  
abolish all  
amusements, but  
only the abuses  
in them.]

[<sup>2</sup> leaf ¶ 6]

[Some plays are  
useful for good  
example

and Godly  
recreation

Thought it conuenient (good Reader, who foever thou art *that* shalt read these my poore laboures) to admonish thee (least haply *thou* mightest take my woords otherwise than I meant them) of this one thing: That wheras in the proesse of this my booke, I haue intreated of certen exercyfes vsually practised amonkest vs, as namely of Playes and Enterludes, of dauncing, gaming and such other like, I would not haue thee so to take mee, as though my speaches tended to the overthrowe and vtter disliking of all kynd of exercyfes in generall: that is nothing my simple meaning. But the particulare Abuses which are crept into euery one of these feuerall exercyfes is the onely thing which I think worthie of reprehension.

For otherwise (all Abuses cut away) who seeth not that some kind of playes, tragedies and enterluds, in their own nature are not onely of great ancientie, but also very honest and very commend<sup>2</sup>able exercyfes, being vsed and practised in most Christian common weales, as which containe matter (such they may be) both of doctrine, erudition, good example, and wholsome instrucion; And may be vsed, in tyme and place conuenient, as conducible to example of life and reformation of maners. For such is our groffe & dull nature, that what thing we see opposite before our eyes, do pearce further and printe deeper in our harts and minds, than that thing which is hard onely with the eares, as Horace, the hethen Poet, can witnesse: *Segnius irritant animum dimissa per aures, quam quæ sunt hominum oculis obiecta.* So that when honest & chaste playes, tragedies & enterluds are vsed to these ends, for the Godly recreation of the mind, for the good example of life, for the auoyding of that which is euill, and learning of that which is good, than are they

<sup>1</sup> This Preface is omitted in the editions of 16 August 1583, of 1585, and of 1595.

very tollerable exercyfes. But being vsed (as now commonly they be) to the prophanation of the Lord his fabaoth, to the alluring and inuegling of the People from the blessed word of God preached, to Theaters and vnclean assemblies, to ydlenes, vnthriftnes, whordome, wantonnes, drunkeenes, and what not; and which is more, when they are vsed to this end, to maintaine a great sort of ydle Persons, doing nothing but playing and loytring, hauing their lyuings of the sweat of other Mens browes, much like vnto dronetts deuouring *the sweet honie of the poore labouring bees,*<sup>1</sup> than are they exercyfes (at no hand) sufferable.

[But Plays  
acted on Sunday  
to wantons,

But being vsed to the ends that I haue said, they are not to be disliked of any sober and wise Christian.

And as concerning dauncing, I wold not haue thee (good Reader) to think that I condemne the exercyse it self altogether; for I know the wifest Sages, and the Godlyest Fathers and Patriarches that euer liued, haue now and than vsed the same, as Dauid, Salomon, and many others: but my woords doo touch & concerne the Abuses thereof onely. As being vsed vppon the Sabaoth day, from morning vntill night, in publique assemblies and frequencies of People, Men & women together, with piping, fluting, dromming, and such like inticements to wantonnesse & sin, together with their leapinges, skippings, & other vnchaift gestures, not a few: Being vsed, or rather abused, in this sort, I ytterly discommend it.

and to support  
idle drones, are  
insufferable]

[<sup>1</sup> leaf ¶ 6, bk.]

But vpon the other fide, being vsed in a mans priuat-chamber, or howfe, for his Godly solace and recreation in the feare of God; or otherwise abroade, with respect had to the time, place and persons, it is in no respect to be disallowed.

[Dancing all  
Sunday in pub-  
lic, with music,  
skippings, &c., is  
wrong ;

But vpon the other fide, being vsed in a mans priuat-chamber, or howfe, for his Godly solace and recreation in the feare of God; or otherwise abroade, with respect had to the time, place and persons, it is in no respect to be disallowed.

And wheras I speake of gaming, my meaning is not that it is an exercise altogether vnlawful. For I know that one Christian may play with another at any kind of Godly, honest, ciuile game, or exercize, for the mutuall recreation one of the other, so that they be not inflamed with co<sup>2</sup>ueytousnes, or desire of vnlawfull gaine; for the commaundement faith, thou shalt not couet: wherfore, if any be voide of these affe<sup>t</sup>ions, playing rather for his Godly recreation, than for desire of filthie lucre, he may vsē the same in the feare of God: yet so as the vsē therof be not a let or hinderance vnto him to any other Godly exploit.

the' in private it  
is allowable.]

[Gaming is only  
wrong when  
covetousness is  
mixt with it.]

[<sup>2</sup> leaf ¶ 7]

[Haunting gaming-houses to win money, is wrong]

I want the abuses of amusements removd.]

But if a man make (as it ware) an occupation of it, spending both his tyme and goods therein, frequenting gaming howses, bowling allyes, and such other places, for greedinesse of lucre, to him it is an exercise altogether discommendable and vnlawfull. Wherfore, as these be exercyses lawfull to them that know how to vfe them in the feare of God, so are they practises at no hand sufferable to them that abuse them, as I haue shewed. But take away the abusess, the thinges in themselues are not euill, being vsed as instruments to Godlynes, not made as spurres vnto vice. There is nothing so good but it may be abused; yet because of the abuses, I am not so strikt that I wold haue the things themselues remoued, no more than I wold meat and drinke, because<sup>1</sup> it is abused, vtterly to be taken away.

[So in Dress. Noble folk may wear sumptuous apparel.]

[<sup>2</sup> leaf ¶ 7, bk.]

And wheras also I haue spokēn of the exceſſe in Apparell, and of the Abuse of the ſame, as wel in men as in women generally, I wold not be ſo vnderſtood, as though my ſpeaches extended to any, either noble, honorable, or worshipful; for I am farre from once thinking that any kind of ſumptuous or gorgeous attire is not to be worn of any of them, as I ſuppoſe them rather Ornaments in them, than otherwife.

And that they both may, and, for ſome reſpects ought, to were ſuch attire (their birthes, callings, functiōns, and eſtats requiring the ſame) for cauſes in this my Booke laid downe, as maye appeare; and for the diſtincſion of them from the inferiour forte it is prouable, both by the Woord of God, Ancient Writers, and common practiſe of all ages, People and Nations from the beginning of the World to this day.

[But lower folk must not flaunt in velvets, gilt daggers, &c.]

And therfore, when I ſpeakē generally of the exceſſe in Apparell, my meaning is of the inferiour forte onely, who for the moft parte do farre ſurpaſſe either noble, honorable, or worshipfull, ruffling in Silks, Veluets, Satens, Damasks, Taffeties, Gold, Siluer, and what not, with their twoords, daggers, and rapiers guilte and reguilte, burniſhed, and costly ingrauen, with all things els that any noble, honorable, or worshipfull Man doth, or may weare, ſo as the one cannot eaſily be diſcerned from the other.

[I am againſt abuse, not use.]

These be the Abusess that I ſpeakē of, these be the euills that I lament, and these be the perſons that my words doo concerne, as the

<sup>1</sup> be- it is

To the Reader.

xiii

tenure of my Booke, consideratly wayed, to any indifferent READER  
doth purport.

This much I thought good (Gentle Reader) to informe thee of,  
for thy better instrucion, as <sup>1</sup>well in these few points, as in all other [<sup>1</sup> leaf ¶ 8]  
the like, wherfoeuer they shall chaunce to occurre in my Booke;  
Beseaching thee to construe al things to the best, to beare with the  
rudenes therof, and to give the same thy good-woord and  
gentle acceptaunce. And thus in the

LORD I bid thee  
farewell.

Thyne to vse in the Lord,

PHILLIP Stubbes.



[Sig. B i E.  
B.]

# *Phillippus Stubeus*

CANDIDO LECTORI.<sup>1</sup>

[I don't wonder,  
reader, if my  
book offends you  
with its worse  
than Vandalic  
words and dull  
themes; so read  
something more  
useful.]

**O**ffendit nimia te garrulitate libellus  
forte meus, Lector; miror id ipse nihil.  
Obsitus est etenim verborum colluuiione  
plusquam vandalica, rebus *et* infipidis.  
Quare si sapias, operam ne perdito posthac  
nostra legendo; legas vtiliora, vale.

### ¶ *Idem in Zoila*

[Since, Zoilus,  
you rage like a  
mad dog,

and dart out  
your viper's  
tongue against  
everybody, and  
can never be  
quiet,  
and are always  
swelling like the  
frog, I wonder  
you too don't  
burst.]

**Z**OILE, cum tanta rabie exardefcis in omnes,  
non aliter rabidus, quam folet ipse canis:  
Dente Theonino rodens alias, calamoque,<sup>2</sup>  
inceffens hos, qui nil nocuere tibi:  
Videreum in cunctos vibrans, O Zoile, linguam,  
linguam quam inficiunt toxica dira tuam:  
Cum debacchandi finis sit, Zoile, nullus,  
hora quieta tibi nullaque prætereat:  
Cum tumeas veluti ventrofus, Zoile, bufo,  
demiror medius quod minus ipse crepes.

### ¶ *Aliud in eundem.*

[To the devil  
with Zoilus!  
But why so with  
one who carries  
about the devil  
in his own  
bosom?

Dæmonis ad tetrum descendat Zoilus antrum,  
hunc<sup>3</sup> lacerent furiæ, Cerborus ore voret.  
Imprecor at misero quid pœnas, cui satis intus?  
dæmona circumfert peñtore namque suo.

### ¶ *Eiusdem aliud.*

If the book  
before you  
seems too long,  
make it short by  
reading but  
little of it.]

Si tibi prolixus nimium liber ifte videtur,  
paucal legas; poterit sic liber esse breuis.

<sup>1</sup> This page is omitted in F.

<sup>2</sup> calamoque in B, E.

<sup>3</sup> hunc in B.

## ¶ C. B. In commendation of the Auctors lucubrations.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B i,  
back B, E; not  
in A.]

You Sages graue with heares so hoare [Sages,  
 attend what you doe heare :  
 And eke you youthfull gallants all, Callants,  
 marke well and giue good eare.  
 You princely peeres, and Senatours, Peers,  
 in sacred breasts imprint :  
 These faiynges wife, and prudent eke,  
 to practize doe not flint.  
 You Bishoppes, and you Prelates all, Bishops,  
 learn here your flock to keepe :  
 You Ministers, and Preachers eke, Preachers,  
 to feade your feely sheepe,  
 You Commons all, whiche doe enioye, Commons,  
 bothe high and lowe degree :  
 Step boldly in amongest the route,  
 and view with fingle eye,  
 This perfect glasse, and mirror pure, see here your  
 which doeth your finnes descrie : sins describ'd !  
 And sacred precepts doeth prescribe,  
 by name Anatomie.  
 Approche therefore both high and lowe,  
 this Booke see that thou buye : Buy this book,  
 And learne thy self by sacred lore,  
 in vertue for to dye.  
 To God, to Queene, to all men eke,  
 how thou thy self shouldest frame : learn your duty  
 To liue, to dye in vertues lawes,  
 to win immortall fame.  
<sup>2</sup> Loe here (you readers all) the gaine, [<sup>2</sup> Sig. B ij. B.  
 which you herein maie haue : E.]  
 Delay not then, giue *Stubbes* the prafe,  
 sinclye he it gaue. and praise  
*Stubbes.*]

Loe, here my freende, his freendly harte,  
which he to Countrey beares,  
His taken paines, to all his<sup>1</sup> fendas,  
with fighes and tricklyng teares:  
In his behalfe, I, as his freende,  
doe humbly of you craue:  
His willyng minde accept, and giue  
hym praiſe he ought to haue.

[I. Stubbes's  
friend, ask you to  
take his work in  
good part, and  
praise him.]

Finis.

*τῆς ἀρετῆς διεγοῦ η τευχ' ή αλδιατακαι. B, E.]*

<sup>1</sup> ?he



[leaf A.]

<sup>1</sup>A. D. In commendation of the Au-  
thor and his Booke.

[Sig. B ij. R, E.]

I F Mortall-man may challenge prayfe  
 For any thing done in this lyfe,<sup>2</sup>  
 Than may our *Stubbes*, at all affayes,  
 Inioy the same withouten ftryfe :  
 Not onely for his Godly zeale,  
 And Christian life accordinglie,  
 But also for this<sup>3</sup> booke in sale,  
 Heare present, now before thine eye.  
 Herein the Abuses of these dayes,  
 As in a glasse thou mayest behold :  
 Oh ! buy it than ; hear what he sayes,  
 And giue him thankes an hundred fold.

[Stubbes should  
 be praid for his  
 Christian life,  
 and this book  
 which mirrors  
 the abuses of our  
 days.]

<sup>1</sup> This page is omitted in F.<sup>2</sup> like B.<sup>3</sup> his B, E.



I. F. In Commendation of the AVTHOR  
and his Booke.

[Sig. A 1, bk.  
A ; B ij, back.  
B, E.]

[If profane men  
get praise for  
wanton  
pamphlets,

Stubbes should  
receive the  
laurel for this  
godly book,

in which the  
vices of the  
world are  
displayed.]

**S**HALL men prophane, who toyes haue writ,  
And wanton pamphlets store,  
Which onely tend to noorish vice,  
And wickednes the more,  
Deserue their praise, and for the fame  
Accepted be of all,  
And shall not this our AVTHOR than  
Receiue the Lawrell pall?  
Who for goodwill in sacred bref  
He beares to natvie soyle,  
Hath published this Godly Booke  
With mickle paine and toyle.  
Wherein, as in a Mirrour pure,  
Thou mayest behold and see  
The vices of the World displayed  
Apparent to thy<sup>1</sup> eye.  
He flattereth none, as most men do,  
In Hope to gaine<sup>2</sup> a price ;  
But shewes to all their wickednesse,  
And Gods diuyne Iustice.  
A Godlyer booke<sup>3</sup> was neuer<sup>3</sup> made,  
Nor meeter for these dayes :  
Oh! read it than, thank GOD for it;  
Let TH' AVT<sup>4</sup> OR haue his pracie.

<sup>1</sup> the E, F.      <sup>2</sup> get F.      <sup>3—3</sup> hath not beene E, F.  
T' HAVTOR A ; Th' Author B, E, F.

<sup>1</sup>The Avthor and his Booke.[Sig. A ij. A;  
B ij. B.]

**N**ow hauing made thee, feelie booke,  
 and brought thee to this frame,  
 Full loth I am to publish thee,  
 leſt thou impaire my name.

*The Booke.*

Why ſo, good Maifer? what's the caufe  
 why you ſo loth ſhould be  
 To ſend mee foorth into the World,  
 my fortune for to trye?

*The Author.*

This is the caufe; for that I know  
 The wicked thou wilt moue;  
 And eke because thy ignoraunce  
 is ſuch as none<sup>2</sup> can loue.

*The Booke.*

I doubt not but all Godly Men  
 will loue and like mee well;  
 And for the other I care not,  
 in pride althoſh they fwell.

*The Author.*[Sig. A ij.  
back. A.]

Thou art alſo no leſſe in thrall,  
 And ſubie&t every way  
 To Momvs and to Zoilvs crew,  
 who'le dayly at thee bay.

<sup>1</sup> This and page xx are omitted in F.<sup>2</sup> fewe B, E.

*The Booke.*

Though Momvs rage and Zoilvs carpe,  
I feare them not at all ;  
The Lord my God, in whom I trust,  
Shall foone cause them to fall.

*The Author.*

Well, fith thou wouldest so faine be gone,  
I can thee not withhold ;  
Adieu, therfore ; God be thy speade,  
And blesse thee a hundred fold.

*The Booke.*

And you also, good Maister mine,  
God blesse you with his grace ;  
Preferue you still, and graunt to you  
In Heauen a dwelling place.





# <sup>1</sup> *The Anatomie of* <sup>2</sup> *the Abuses in AILGNA.*

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B i. A.  
Sig. B. iiij, back.  
B. E.]

¶ The Interlocutors, or Speakers.

*Spudeus, Philoponus.*

**G**od geue you good morow, Maister *Philoponus.*  
*Philo.* And you also, good brother *Spudeus.*

*Spud.* I am glad to see you in good health, for it was <sup>3</sup>bruted abroad euery where<sup>3</sup> in our countrey (by reasoun of your discontinuance,<sup>4</sup> I thinke) that you were dead long agoe.<sup>5</sup>

*Philo.* In deede, I haue spent some tyme abroad, els where then in my native countrey (I must needs confesse), but how false that Report is (by whom soeuer it was first rumored,<sup>6</sup> or how farre so euer it be dispersed) your present eyes can witnesse.

*Spud.* I pray you, what course of lyfe haue you lead in this your longe absence foorth of your owne countrey ?

*Philo.* Truely (brother) I haue lead the life of a poore Trauayler in a certaine famous Ilande, once named <sup>8</sup>*Ainalla*, after *Ainatirl*,<sup>8</sup> but nowe preſently called *Ailgna*,<sup>9</sup> wherein I haue liued theſe ſeuен winters and more, traualing from place to place, euen all the Land ouer in diſſerently.

*Spud.* That was to your no litle<sup>11</sup> charges, I am ſure.<sup>12</sup>

*Philo.* It was ſo, but what than? I thank God I haue atchieued it, and by his dyuine affiſtance proſperoufly accomplished it, his glori-

[<sup>7</sup> Sig. B j.  
back. A.]

The place  
wher the Au-  
thour hath tra-  
uayled.  
[*Albania,*  
*Britania,*  
*Anglia.*]

[<sup>10</sup> leaf i. B †]  
[<sup>13</sup> leaf i. E ]

<sup>2</sup> the *not* in B, E, F.      <sup>3—3</sup> reported F; euery where *not* in B, E.

<sup>4</sup> from thence *inserted* in B, E, F.      <sup>5</sup> agone F.

<sup>6</sup> broched B, E, F.      <sup>8—8</sup> *Albania*, after *Britania* F.

<sup>9</sup> *Anglia* F.      + leaf i. The Author a Trauailer. B.

<sup>11</sup> small E; no litle omitted in F.      <sup>12</sup> F adds was it not I pray you?

ous name (worthie of all magnificence) bee eternally prayed there fore.

*Spud.* And<sup>1</sup> to what ende did you take in hand this great trauayle? if I may be so bould as to aske.<sup>2</sup>

*Philo.* Truely, to see fashions, to acquainte my-selfe with the natures, qualities, properties, and conditions of all men, to breake my selfe to the worlde, to learne nurture, good demeanour, & cyuill behauour; to see the goodly situation of Citties, Townes, and Countryes, with their prospects and commodities; and finally to learne the state of all thinges in generall: all which I could neuer haue learned in<sup>3</sup> one place.<sup>3</sup> For<sup>4</sup> who so<sup>5</sup> fitteth at home, euer<sup>6</sup> commorante or<sup>7</sup> abiding<sup>8</sup> in one place, knoweth nothinge in respecte of him that trauayleth abroade: and hee that knoweth nothing, is lyke<sup>9</sup> a brute Beaste; but hee that knoweth all thinges (whiche thinge none doeth but God alone) hee is<sup>10</sup> a God amonkest men. And seeing there is a perfection in knowledge as in euery thing els, euery man ought to desyre that perfection<sup>11</sup>; for in my iudgement there is as muche difference (almost)<sup>12</sup> betwixt a man that hath trauayled much, and him that hath dwelt euer in one place, (in respect of knowledge and science of things,) as is be<sup>13</sup>tween a man lyuinge, & one dead in graue; And therfore I haue had a great felicitye in trauayling abroade.<sup>14</sup>

*Spud.* Seing that by diuyne prouidence we are heare<sup>15</sup> met togerher, let vs (vntill we come to the end of our purposed<sup>17</sup> iorney) vse some conference of the state of the World now at this daie, as well to recreate our minds, as to cut of the tedyousnes of oure iorneye.

*Philo.* I am very well contente so to doe, beinge<sup>18</sup> not a litle glad<sup>19</sup> of your good companie; for *Comes facundus in via, pro vehiculo est.* i. A good Companion too trauayle withall, is in-steade of a Wagon<sup>20</sup> or Chariot. For as the one doth easfe the painfulnes of the way, so doth the other alleuiat the yrksomnes of the iourney intended.

<sup>1</sup> And not in B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> aske you F.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> my owne countrey E; my owne countrey at home F.

<sup>4</sup> For (in my poor iudgement) E, F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> hee that F.

<sup>7</sup> commorante or not in F.

<sup>8</sup> or abiding not in B, E.

<sup>9</sup> like not in E, F.

<sup>10</sup> is (as it were) E, F.

<sup>11</sup> F adds aboue al other things. <sup>12</sup> om. F. <sup>14</sup> F adds all my life long.

† leaf 1, back. The benefite of trauailyng. B.

<sup>16</sup> om. F.

<sup>17</sup> om. F.

<sup>18</sup> reioysing E, F.

<sup>19</sup> glad not in E, F.

The causes  
that moued  
the author to  
take this tra-  
uale in hand.

[<sup>6</sup> Sig. B ij. A.]

The differencie  
betwixt a man  
that \* hath tra-  
ualeyd, and a  
man that hath  
not.

[\* the A; that B]

[<sup>13</sup> leaf 1, back.

B.]

[<sup>15</sup> leaf 1, back.

E.]

The benefite  
of a good Com-  
panion to tra-  
uale withall.

[<sup>20</sup> Sig. B ij,

back. A.]

*Spud.* But before I enter combat<sup>1</sup> with you (because I am a countrey man, rude and vnlearned, & you, a Cyuillian indued with great wisdome, knowledge, and experience,) I most humbly beseech you that you wyl not be offended with me, though I talke with you somewhat grofly,<sup>2</sup> without eyther polished wordes, or fyled speeches, which your wisdom<sup>3</sup> doth require, and<sup>4</sup> my insufficiencie and inabilitie<sup>5</sup> is not<sup>6</sup> of power to afforde.<sup>6</sup>

A request to  
auoid [scandal  
or E.] offence.

*Phil.* Your speeches (I put you out of doubt) shall not<sup>7</sup> be offensiuе to mee, if they be not offensiuе to God first.

*Spud.* I pray you<sup>8</sup> what maner of Countrey<sup>9</sup> is that *Ailgna*,<sup>10</sup> where [⁹ leaf 2. B.+] you say you haue traualied so much?

*Philo.* A pleasant & famous Iland, immured aboue with the Sea, as it were with a wall,<sup>11</sup> wherein the aire is verie<sup>12</sup> temperate, the ground fertile, and<sup>13</sup> abounding with all things, either<sup>14</sup> necessary to<sup>14</sup> man or needfull<sup>15</sup> for beast.

Ailgna a  
goodly country.  
[Anglia, Eng-  
land.]

*Spud.* What kinde of people are they that inhabite there<sup>16</sup>?

*Philo.* A strong kinde of people, audacious,<sup>17</sup> bold, puissant, and he-  
roycal ; of<sup>18</sup> great magnanimitie, valiauncie, and prowes, of an incom-  
parable feature,<sup>19</sup> of an excellente complexion, and<sup>20</sup> in all humanitie [⁹ Sig. B.ij. A.]  
inferior to none vnder the Sunne.

The people of  
Ailgna.

*Spud.* This people, whome God hath thus bleffed, must needs bee a verie godly people, eyther els they be meere ingrate<sup>21</sup> to God, the authour of all grace, & of these their bleffinges especially.

*Philo.* It greeueth me to remember their liues, or to make men-  
tion of their wayes<sup>22</sup>; for, notwithstanding that the Lorde hath bleffed  
²³ that Lande<sup>23</sup> with the knowledge of his truth aboue all other Landes  
in the world, yet is there not a people more abrupte,<sup>24</sup> wicked, or per-  
uerfe, liuing vpon the face of the earth.

The liues of  
the people of  
Ailgna.

*Spud.* From whence spring all these euills in man? for we see

<sup>1</sup> into dispute F.

<sup>2</sup> rudely B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> F adds peraduenture      <sup>4</sup> and whiche B.      <sup>5</sup> being such added in E, F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> able to perform B, E; able for to yelde F.      <sup>7</sup> uot A.

<sup>8</sup> you then E, F.      † leaf 2. Ailgna described. B.

<sup>10</sup> is England F.      <sup>12</sup> verie not in B, E, F.      <sup>13</sup> the earth B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> needfull for F.      <sup>15</sup> necessarie F.      <sup>16</sup> that Countrey E, F.

<sup>17</sup> most audacious F.      <sup>18</sup> and of F.      <sup>19</sup> of body added in F.

<sup>21</sup> meerlie vngratefull F.      <sup>22</sup> workes F.      <sup>23</sup>—<sup>23</sup> them F.

<sup>24</sup> corrupt E, F.

euerie one is inclined to fin naturally, and there is no fleshe which liueth and finneth not.

From whence  
all euilles  
spring in man.  
[<sup>2</sup> leaf 2, back.  
B.]

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 2, back.  
E.]

We ought to  
haue no deal-  
ing with the  
worke of the  
flesh.

[<sup>10</sup> Sig. B iiij, bk]

The day of  
Dome not re-  
garded.

Every Man  
must answer  
for him selfe.  
[<sup>22</sup> leaf 3. B.t]

*Philo.* All wickednes, mischiefe, and finne (doubte you not, brother *Spud.*) springeth of<sup>1</sup> our <sup>2</sup>ancient ennemis the Deuill, the inueterate corruption of our nature, and the intestine malice of our owne hearts, as from the<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>originals of all vncleannes & impuritie<sup>4</sup> whatsoeuer. But we are now newe creatures, and <sup>5</sup>adoptive children,<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>created in Christ Iefus to doe<sup>7</sup> good woorkes, which God hath prepared for vs to walke in. <sup>8</sup>Wherfore wee<sup>8</sup> ought to haue no fellowship with the workes of darknesse, but to put on the armour of light, <sup>9</sup>Christ<sup>10</sup> Iefus,<sup>9</sup> to walke in newnesse of life, and to worke our saluation in<sup>11</sup> feare and trembling, as the Apostle faith<sup>12</sup>; and our Sauiour Christ biddeth vs so<sup>13</sup> work as our workes may glorifie our heauenlye Father. But (alas!)<sup>14</sup> the contrarie is most true; for there is no finne that<sup>15</sup> was euer broached in any age, which<sup>16</sup> florisheth not nowe. And therfore the fearfull daie of the Lord cannot be farre of; at which day all the World shall stand in flashing fier, and than shall Christ our Sauiour come marching in the clowdes of heauen, with his<sup>17</sup> *Taratan-tara* sounding in each mans eare, ‘arise you Dead, and come to iudgement!’ and than shall the Lord reward every Man after<sup>18</sup> his owne workes. But how little this<sup>19</sup> is esteemed of, & how smally regarded,<sup>19</sup> to consider, it<sup>20</sup> greeueth me to the very harte, and there is almost no life in mee.<sup>20</sup>

*Spud.* It is but a follie to greeue at<sup>21</sup> them who sorowe not for them selues. Let them finck in their owne finne: lyue well your selfe, & you shall<sup>22</sup>not answeare for them, nor they for you. Is it not witten,

*vnuquisque portabit suum onus*<sup>23</sup>? Euerie one shall beare his own bur-

<sup>1</sup> from E, F.

\* leaf 2, back. The originall of sinne. B.

<sup>3</sup> the causes and E.

<sup>4—4</sup> efficient causes and stinking puddles of all vncleannes and filthinesse F.

<sup>5—5</sup> adoapted (*sic*) children of God F.

<sup>7</sup> om. F.

<sup>8—8</sup> and therefore B, E; and therefore we F.

<sup>9—9</sup> *not in* E, F. <sup>11</sup> with F. <sup>12</sup> speaketh F. <sup>13</sup> so to F.

<sup>14</sup> F omits alas.

<sup>15</sup> which F.

<sup>16</sup> that F.

<sup>17</sup> this dreadfull *instead of* his B, E, F.

<sup>18</sup> according to F.

<sup>19—19</sup> daie is feared, †how smally perpende,‡ and how slenderly regarded in Ailngna§ B, E, F. †—‡ om. F; § England F.

<sup>20—20</sup> would grieue any Christian hart to consider F.

<sup>21</sup> for F.

† leaf 3. Of Christian charitie. B.

<sup>23</sup> onus suum F.

den. *Anima quæ peccauerit, ipsa morietur*: the soule that finneth shall dy. wherfore surcease<sup>1</sup> to forow or greeue any more for them, for<sup>2</sup> they are such as the Lord hath cast of<sup>3</sup> into a<sup>4</sup> reprobate fence, &<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> preiudicat opinion, & preordinat<sup>5</sup> to<sup>6</sup> destrucion, that his power, [<sup>6</sup> Sig. B iiiij. A.. his glorie, and<sup>7</sup> iustice may appeare to all the World.

*Philo.* Oh, brother! ther is no<sup>8</sup> christen man in whose hart shineth [The Christian's  
grief at English-  
men's sins] scintilla aliqua<sup>9</sup> pietatis, any sparke of<sup>10</sup> God his grace, which<sup>11</sup> will not greeue to see<sup>10</sup> his brethren & sisters in the Lord, members of the same body, coheyres of the same kingdom, & purchased with one & the same inestimable price of Christ his bloud, to runne thus<sup>12</sup> desperatlie into<sup>13</sup> the gulphe of destruction and labyrinth of<sup>14</sup> perdition.<sup>15</sup> If the leaft and<sup>16</sup> meanest member of thy whole body be hurt, wounded, cicatriced, or bruised, doth not the hart and euerie member of thy<sup>17</sup> body feele the anguish and paine of the grieued parte, seking & endeouering<sup>18</sup> them felues,<sup>18</sup> euery one in his office & calling,<sup>19</sup> to repaire the same, and neuer ioying vntill that<sup>20</sup> be restored again to his former integritie & perfection? Which thinge, in the balance of Christian charity, consideratly weighed, may<sup>21</sup> mooue any good Man<sup>22</sup> to mourn for their defection, and to assay<sup>23</sup> by all possible means<sup>23</sup> to reduce<sup>24</sup> them home<sup>25</sup> again, that their soules maie be sauad in the daye of the Lord. And the Apostle commandeth vs,<sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> that we be<sup>27</sup> (*alterius<sup>28</sup> alterius emolumento*) an<sup>29</sup> ayde and helpe one to an other. And that we do good to all men, *dum tempus habemus*, whyleft we haue tyme. To weepe with them that weepe, to mourne with them that mourne, and<sup>30</sup> to be of like affection one towardes an other. And common [<sup>30</sup> Sig. B iiiij,  
back]

<sup>1</sup> cease F.

<sup>2</sup> by all probable conjectures added in B, E; F adds by all likelihood

<sup>3</sup> not in F; of=off.      <sup>4</sup> not in B, E, F.      <sup>5</sup> destinate F.

<sup>7</sup> and his F.      <sup>8</sup> not any F.      <sup>9</sup> vlla F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> Gods grace, but will greeue, seeing F.      <sup>11</sup> who B, E.

<sup>12</sup> thus not in B, E, F.      <sup>13</sup> headlong into B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> labyrinth of not in F.      <sup>15</sup> F adds both of body and soule for euer.

<sup>16</sup> or B, E, F.      <sup>17</sup> the E, F.

<sup>18</sup>—<sup>18</sup> by al meanes possible B, E, F.      <sup>19</sup> nature F.      <sup>20</sup> it F.

<sup>21</sup> ought to B; mooveth me and ought to E, F.      <sup>22</sup> Christian man B, E, F.

<sup>23</sup>—<sup>23</sup> not in B; assaying by al meanes possible E, F.

<sup>24</sup> and to bring added in E; reclaime them, and to bring F.

+ leaf 3, back. The Authors intent. B.

<sup>26</sup> to the vttermost of our power added in B, E, F.      <sup>27</sup> om. F.

<sup>28</sup> vt simus alter B, E, F. (*alteri in F.*)      <sup>29</sup> That we should be an F.

The mutuall  
harmonic of  
one member  
with an other.

[<sup>25</sup> leaf 3, back.  
B.t]

No man born  
for himselfe.

reafon aduertifeth<sup>1</sup> vs, that wee are not borne for our felues onelie ; for *Ortus nostris partem patria, partem amici, partem parentes vendicant*: Our Countrey challengeth a part of our byrth, our brethren and frendes require an other parte, and our parentes (and that *optimo iure*) doe vendicate a third parte : Wherfore I will assay to doe them good (if I can) in<sup>2</sup> discouering their abufes, and laying open their inormities, that they, feeing the greeuousnes of their maladies, & daunger of theyr diseafes, may in time feeke to<sup>3</sup> the true Phifition<sup>4</sup> & expert Chirurgion<sup>4</sup> of their soules, Christ Iefus, of whome onelie commeth all health & grace, and so eternally be faued.

*Spud.* Seeing that fo many and fo haynous finnes<sup>5</sup> do raigne and rage in *Ailgna*,<sup>6</sup> as your wordes<sup>7</sup> import, and which mooue you to such inteftine sorrowe and grieve of minde, I pray you deſcribe vnto me more perticularly ſome of thofe Capitall<sup>8</sup> crimes, and chiefe Abufes<sup>8</sup> which are there frequented, and which diſhonour the maiestie of God the<sup>9</sup> moft,<sup>10</sup> as you ſuppoſe.<sup>10</sup>

[leaf 4: Sig.  
B. v.]

### A particuler deſcription of PRIDE, the principall Abufe<sup>11</sup>; and how manifold it is in AILGNA.<sup>11</sup>

PHILOPONVS.

**Y**OU do well to request me to cipher<sup>12</sup> foorth vnto you<sup>13</sup> parte<sup>14</sup> of thofe great Abufes (and Cardinall Vices) uſed<sup>15</sup> in AILGNA,<sup>16</sup> for no man in anie<sup>17</sup> Catalogue, how prolixе foever,<sup>17</sup> is able to comprehend the ſumme of all<sup>18</sup> abufes there in praetice.<sup>18</sup> And whereas you woulde haue mee to ſpeake of thofe Capitall or<sup>19</sup> chiefe Abufes, which both are deadly in their owne nature, and which offend the maiestie of

The number of  
Abufes [in  
Ailgna E] is  
infinite.

<sup>1</sup> teacheth F.      <sup>2</sup> by E, F.      <sup>3</sup> to om. F.      <sup>4—4</sup> om. F.

<sup>5</sup> inormities B, E, F.      <sup>6</sup> England F.      <sup>7</sup> words doe B, E, F.

<sup>8—8</sup> abufes and horrible crimes E, F. (vices for crimes F.)

<sup>9</sup> the *not in* B, E, F.      <sup>10—10</sup> in your iudgment F.

<sup>11</sup> in Ailgna (in England *in* F.) comes after Abuse *in* B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> diſcipher B, E; deſcribe F.      <sup>13</sup> unto you *not in* B, E.      <sup>14</sup> ſome F.

<sup>15</sup> which are uſed F.      <sup>16</sup> England F.      <sup>17—17</sup> competent volume F.

<sup>18—18</sup> the abufes there praeticed F.      <sup>19</sup> and B, E.

God moste.<sup>1</sup> Mee thinke you<sup>2</sup> shake hands with the sworne enemies of God, the Papistes, who say there are two kindes of finne, the one veniall, the other lethall or deadly. But you must vnderstand that there is not the least finne, that is committed, eyther in thought, woerde or deede (yea, *Væ vniversæ iustitiae nostræ, si remota misericordia iudicetur*: Wo be to all our righteousnes, if, mercy put away, they<sup>3</sup> should bee iudged) but it is damnable, *dempta misericordia Dei*, if the mercie of God be<sup>4</sup> not extended.<sup>4</sup> And againe; there is no finne so<sup>5</sup> greeuous, which<sup>6</sup> the grace and mercy of God is not<sup>7</sup> able<sup>8</sup> to coun<sup>10</sup> teruaile withal, & if it bee his<sup>11</sup> pleasure to blot it out for euer.<sup>9</sup> So that you see now, there is no finn so venial, but if the mercie of God be not<sup>12</sup> stretched out,<sup>12</sup> it is damnable; nor yet anie finne so mortall, which by the grace and mercie of God may not bee done away. And therfore as we are not to presume of the one, so wee are not to despaire of the other. But to returne againe to the satisfying of your request. The greatest abuse, which<sup>13</sup> both offendeth god moste, & is there not a little aduaunced, is the execrable finne of Pride, and excesse in apparell, which is there so ripe,<sup>14</sup> as the filthie fruits<sup>15</sup> thereof haue long fince presented themselues before the throne of the maiestie of God, calling and crying for vengeance day and nighte incessantly.

*Spud.* Wherfore haue you intended to speak of Pride the first of all, geuing vnto<sup>16</sup> it the first place in your tractation<sup>17</sup>? Because it is euill in it selfe, and the efficiente cause of euill, or for some other purpose?

*Philo.* For no other cause but for that I thinke it to bee<sup>18</sup> not onely euill and damnable in it owne nature, but also the verie efficient cause of all euills. And therfore the wise man was bolde to call it *Initium omnium malorum*, the beginning and welspring of al euils. For as from the roote all natural thinges doe grow, & take their

All sinne in it  
owne nature is  
mortall.

[8 Sig. B. v,  
back.]  
[10 leaf 4, back.  
B.t]

The greatest  
abuse which  
offendeth god  
most is pride.

Pride the be-  
gynning of all  
euill.

ECCLES. 10.

<sup>1</sup> as I suppose added in B, E.

<sup>2</sup> you herein B, E.      <sup>3</sup> the B; it E, F.      <sup>4—4</sup> taken away E.

<sup>5</sup> lethall nor yet any offence so added in B, E; so lethall or deadly, nor yet any offence so F.      <sup>6</sup> but F.      <sup>7</sup> om. F.

<sup>8—9</sup> pardon and remit, if it be his good pleasure so to do F.

+ leaf 4, back. Pride, the roote of all vices. B.      <sup>11</sup> his good E.

<sup>12—12</sup> stretched forth E; extended F.

<sup>13</sup> in my judgemente added in B, E, F.      <sup>14</sup> so stinckyng B, E; so rotten F.

<sup>15</sup> and lothsome dregges added in B E; dregges F.

<sup>16</sup> om. F.

<sup>17</sup> discourse F.

<sup>18</sup> to bee not in F.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. B vj.]  
[<sup>2</sup> leaf 5. B.\*]

What is it but  
pride dares  
attempt it.

beginning, so from the cursed <sup>1</sup>root of <sup>2</sup>pestiferous Pride do all other<sup>3</sup> euilles sproute, and thereof are ingenerate. Therfore may Pride be called not improperly, *Matercula et origo omnium vitiorum*, the mother and nurse of al mischief: for what thyng<sup>4</sup> so haynous, what cryme so flagitious, what deed so perillous, what attempt so venterous, what enterprise so pernicious, or what thing so offendisue to God, or hurtful to man, in<sup>5</sup> all the world, which man<sup>6</sup>(of himselfe a very Sathanas,)<sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup>to maintain his pride withall,<sup>7</sup> wil not willingly atchieue<sup>8</sup>? hereof<sup>9</sup> wee haue too muche experiance euerye day, more is the pittie.<sup>9</sup>

*Spud.* How manyfold is this sin of Pryde, whereby the glorie of God is defaced, and his maiestie so greeuously offended!

Pride is three-fold: pride of the hart, pride of the mouth, and pride of apparel.

*Philo.* Pride is tripartite<sup>10</sup>; namely, *the prude of the hart, the pride of the mouth, & the prude of apparell*, which<sup>11</sup> (ynles I bee deceiued) offendeth God more then the other two. For as *the pride of the heart & <sup>12</sup> mouth is*<sup>13</sup> not opposite to *the eye*, nor visibile to the sight, and therefor<sup>14</sup> intice not<sup>14</sup> others to vanitie & sin (notwithstanding they be greeuous finnes in the sight of God) so the pride of apparel, <sup>15</sup>remaining in<sup>15</sup> sight, as an exemplarie of euill, induceth the whole man to wickednes and finne.

*Spud.* How is the pride of the hart committed?

[<sup>16</sup> leaf 5, back.  
B.]  
[<sup>18</sup> Sig. B vj.  
back]

[Isaias 50. E.]

What pride of  
the hart is.

*Philo.* Pride of the hart is perpetrate<sup>17</sup> when as a man lifting him selfe on highe, thinketh<sup>18</sup> of himself aboue that which he is<sup>19</sup> of himselfe,<sup>19</sup> dreamyng a<sup>20</sup> perfection of<sup>21</sup> himselfe, when he<sup>22</sup> is nothyng lesse; And in respect of himselfe contempneth,<sup>23</sup> vilefith, and reproacheth<sup>23</sup> all men,<sup>24</sup> thinking none comparable to him selfe, whose righteousnes, notwithstanding, is lyke to the polluted cloth of a menstruous woman. Therfore the Pryde of the Heart maye bee faide too bee a Rebellious elation, or lyftyng vppe of the mynde agaynst the

\* leaf 5. Three sortes of Pride. B.      <sup>3</sup> other not in B, E.

<sup>4</sup> facte B, E, F.      <sup>5</sup> is there in B, E, F.      <sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> not in F.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> come after atchieue in B, E, F.      <sup>8</sup> attempt E; commit F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> every daies successse ministreth proof sufficient B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> threefold F.      <sup>11</sup> the laste whereof B, E, F.      <sup>12</sup> and of the B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> are F.      <sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> cannot intice B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> obiecte to B, E; which is obiect to the F.

+ leaf 5, back. Pride deuided. B.      <sup>17</sup> committed F.

<sup>19</sup>—<sup>19</sup> not in E, F.      <sup>20</sup> of a F.      <sup>21</sup> in F.

<sup>22</sup> there F.      <sup>23</sup>—<sup>23</sup> and despiseth      <sup>24</sup> others E, F.

Lawe of God, attrbutynge and ascrybyng that vnto himselfe whiche is proper to God onely. And although it bee the Lorde, *Qui operatur in nolis velle<sup>1</sup> et posse*, who worketh in vs both the wil and power to do good, *Ne gloriaretur omnis caro*, leaft anie fleshe shold bofte of his owne power and strength, yet Pride, with his Cofin germayn *Philautia*, which is *Selfeloue*, perswadeth him that he hath neede of *PHILAVTIA*. no mans helpe but his owne; that he standeth by his own proper strength & power, and by no mans els, & that he is al in all; yea, so perfect and good as no more can be<sup>2</sup> exacted of hym.<sup>3</sup>

*Spud.* How is<sup>4</sup> Pride of wordes, or pride of<sup>5</sup> mouthe, committed?

*Philo.* Pride of the mouth, or of<sup>6</sup> wordes, is when we boast, bragge, or glorie, eyther of our selues, our kinred,<sup>7</sup> consanguinitie, byrth, parentage, and fuche like: or when we extol our<sup>8</sup> selues<sup>9</sup> for any<sup>9</sup> vertue, sanctimonie of lyfe,<sup>10</sup> fincerytie of<sup>11</sup> Godlynes<sup>11</sup> which eyther is in vs, or which we pretend to be in vs. In this kinde of Pride (as in the other) almost euery one offendeth; for shal you not haue all (in a maner) boast &<sup>12</sup>vaunt themselues<sup>12</sup> of their Auncetors and progenitors? saying & crying<sup>13</sup> with open mouth, I 'am a Gentleman, I am worshipful, I am Honourable, I am Noble, and I can not tell what: my father was this, my father was that: I am come of this house, and I am come of that.<sup>14</sup> Wheras, Dame *Nature* bryngeth vs all into the worlde after one sorte, and receiueth all againe into the wombe of our mother, I meane<sup>15</sup> the bowelles of the earth, al in one and the same order and manner; without any difference or diuersitie at all; wheroft more hereafter shalbe spokēn.

*Spud.* How is Pride of Apparell committed?

*Philo.* By wearyng of Apparell more gorgeous, sumptuous, & precious than our state, callyng, or condition of lyfe requireth; How pride of

How pride of  
wordes or of the  
mouth is com-  
mitted.

[8 leaf 7; † there  
is no leaf 6.  
B 7.]

[Vain glorious  
ostentation of  
birthes, &  
parentage, &c.  
B, E.]

<sup>1</sup> et velle F.

<sup>2</sup> be required or B, E.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>8</sup> required of him in this life F.

<sup>4</sup> is the E, F.

<sup>5</sup> of the E; the pride of the F.

<sup>6</sup> om. F.      <sup>7</sup> affinitie added in F.

† leaf 7. Pride vainglorious. B.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> in respect of E; in respect of some F.

<sup>10</sup> of lyfe om. F.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> integrity or perfection F; and the like added in E.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> bragge F.

<sup>13</sup> aperto ore added in F.

<sup>14</sup> I was borne of this race, and I was borne of that, I am ¶ come of this stocke, and I am come of that, ¶ added in B, E, F; but E & F have spronged of [descended in F.] this stock, and I of that for ¶—¶

<sup>15</sup> I meane not in E, F.

apparel is per-  
petrate &  
committed.

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 7, back.  
B. f.]  
[<sup>4</sup> B 7, back]

A decorum to  
be obserued.

Our apparel  
rather deform-  
eth than  
adorneth vs.

[<sup>23</sup> B viij]

wherby we are puffed vp into Pride, and inforced<sup>1</sup> to thinke of our felues more than we ought, beyng but vile earth, and miserable sinners. And this finne of Apparell (as I haue sayde before) hurteth more then the other two; For the finne of the heart hurteth none but the Author in whom it breedeth, so long as it bursteth not foorth into <sup>2</sup>exterior action<sup>2</sup>; <sup>3</sup>and the <sup>4</sup>Pride of the mouth <sup>5</sup>(whiche confisteth, as I haue sayd, in oftenting and braggyng of some singular vertue, eyther in himselfe or some other of his kinred, and which he arrogateth to himselfe (by<sup>6</sup> Hereditarie possestion or lineall dissent)<sup>5</sup> though it be meere vngodly in it own nature; yet it is not<sup>7</sup> permanent (for <sup>8</sup>wordes fly<sup>8</sup> into the aire, not leauing any print or character behinde them to offend the eyes<sup>9</sup>) But this finne of<sup>10</sup> exceſſe of Apparell remayneth as an Example of euyll before our eyes, and as<sup>11</sup> a prouocatiue<sup>12</sup> to finne, as Experience daylye sheweth.<sup>13</sup>

*Spud.* Would you not haue men to obserue a decencie, a comlineſſe, & a *decorum* in their vſuall<sup>14</sup> Attyre? Doeth not the worde of God commaund<sup>15</sup> vs to do all things<sup>15</sup> *decenter et secundum ordinem ciuilem*, decently and after a cyuile maner<sup>16</sup>?

*Philo.* I<sup>17</sup> would wish that a decencie, a comly order, and, as you say, a *decorum* were obſerued, as well in Attyre as in all things els: but would God the contrarie were not true; for<sup>18</sup> most of our nouell<sup>19</sup> Inuentions and new fangled fashions<sup>20</sup> rather deforme vs<sup>21</sup> then adorne vs, disguise vs then become vs, makynge vs rather to reſemble fauadge Beastes and stearne<sup>22</sup> Monſters, then continent, sober, and chafte Christians.

*Spud.* Hathe this contagious infection of <sup>23</sup>*Pride in*<sup>24</sup> *Apparell* infected and poysoned any other countrey beside *Ailgna*,<sup>25</sup> ſuppoſe you?

<sup>1</sup> induced F.                    <sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> outward shew and appearance F.

<sup>3</sup> leaf 7, back. Men become Monsters. B.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> not in F; from his progenitors added in E.

<sup>6</sup> as it were by B, E.                    <sup>7</sup> is it not so F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> Verba cito avolant, et euanescunt in aerem, words ſoone fly away and vanish E, F.                    <sup>9</sup> eies withal F.                    <sup>10</sup> of the F.                    <sup>11</sup> is E, F.

<sup>12</sup> prouocation F.                    <sup>13</sup> prooueth F.                    <sup>14</sup> vſuall not in F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> vs al things to be done E, F.                    <sup>16</sup> order F.

<sup>17</sup> yes truly I B, E; Yea trulie I F.                    <sup>18</sup> do not the E.                    <sup>19</sup> fond F.

<sup>20</sup> dooe thei not added in B.

<sup>21</sup> vs omitted in F.

<sup>22</sup> bruitiſh F.                    <sup>24</sup> of F.                    <sup>25</sup> countries besides England F.

<sup>1</sup> *Philo.* No doubt but this poysone hath shed foorth his influence, [<sup>1</sup> leaf 8. B.\*] and powred foorth his stinking dregges ouer all the face of the earth ; but yet I am sure there is not any people vnder the Zodiacke<sup>2</sup> of heauen, how<sup>3</sup> clownish, rurall,<sup>3</sup> or brutifh foever, that is<sup>4</sup> so poisioned with this Arsnecke of Pride, or<sup>5</sup> hath drunke so deepe of<sup>6</sup> the dregges of this<sup>6</sup> Cup as *Ailgna*<sup>7</sup> hath ; with grieve of conscience I speake it, with sorow I fee it, and with teares I lament it.

[Circes cuppes  
and Medeas  
potes haue made  
Englaund dronken  
with Pride. E.]

*Spud.* But I haue heard them faye that other Nations passe them for exquisite<sup>8</sup> brauery in Apparell : as the *Italians*, the *Athenians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Caldeans*, *Heluetians*, *Zuitzers*, *Venetians*, *Muscouians*, and such lyke : now, whither this be true or not I greatly desire to knowe.

No Cuntry so  
drunken with  
pride as  
Ailga.

*Philo.* This is but a visour, or cloke, to hide<sup>9</sup> their Sodometrie<sup>10</sup> withall ; onelye spoken, not prooued ; forged in the deceiptfull Mint of their owne<sup>11</sup> braynes : For (if credit may be giuen to ancient writers) the *Egyptians* are said neuer<sup>12</sup> to haue changed<sup>12</sup> their fashion, or altered the forme<sup>13</sup> of their first<sup>13</sup> Attire from the beginning<sup>14</sup> to this day : as Iacobus Stuperius, *lib. de diuersis nostræ ætatis habitiibus*, Pag. 16, [Stuperius. B., E.] affirmeth. The *Grecians* are faide to vse but one kynde of Apparell without any chaunge : that is, to<sup>15</sup> wit, a longe Gowne reaching [<sup>15</sup> B 8, back] downe to the grounde.

The *Germaynes* are thought to be so precise in obseruing one vniforme fashion in Apparell, as they haue neuer receeved from their first Original; as the said *Stuperius* sayth in these<sup>16</sup> wordes : *Non enim mores leuiter mutare vetustos, Germanus vnguam confueuit incola :* Whiche in Englysh Verse is thus muche in effect :

¶ *The Germayne people neuer vse  
lightly<sup>17</sup> to chop and chaunge  
Their customes olde, or els Attyre,  
wherin abroade they range.*

[Cp. my Andrew  
Boorde, p. 159,  
152, 149.]

¶ *The Muscouians, Athenians, Italians, Brasilians, Africaneas,*

\* leaf 8. Newfanglednesse in Ailg. B.

<sup>2</sup> face F.

<sup>3—3</sup> sauge F.

<sup>4</sup> that is not in B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> or that B, E, F.

<sup>6—6</sup> this impotionate B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> England F.

<sup>8</sup> finenesse and added in F.

<sup>9</sup> couer B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> owne shame E, F.

<sup>11</sup> own lying F.

<sup>12—12</sup> to chaunge F.

<sup>13—13</sup> or fashion of their F.

<sup>14</sup> of the world added in F.

† leaf 8, back. Foreigne guise of Apparell.

<sup>17</sup> at all F.

*Afianes, Cantabrians, Hungarians, Ethiopians*,<sup>1</sup> or els what Nation<sup>2</sup> foever vnder the Sunne, are so farre behinde the people of *Ailgna*<sup>3</sup> in exquisitnesse of Apparell, as in effect they esteeme it litle or nothyng at all, so it repell the colde and couer their shame; yea, some of them are so smally addidt therto, that, settynge apart all honestie and shaine, they go cleane naked. Other some, meanly apparelled; some in Beasts skinnes, some in haire, & what euer they can get<sup>4</sup>: some in one thing, some in another, nothing regarding eyther hosen, shooes, bands, ruffes, shirts, or any thing els. And the ciuileft nations that are, bee so farre estrauenged from the pride of <sup>5</sup>Apparell, that they esteeme him as brauelye attyred that is clothed in our carzies, frizes, ruggs, and other kinds of cloth, as we do him that is clad all ouer in filkes, veluets, satens, damaskes, grograins, taffeties, and such like. So that herby you fee that they speake vntruly, that say that other nations exceede them in brauerie of apparell. For it is manifest that all other Nati<sup>6</sup>ons vnder the sun, how strange, how new, how fine, or how comly foever they think their fashions to be, when they be compared with the dyuerse fashions & fundrie formes of apparell in *Ailgna*,<sup>7</sup> are most vnhandsome, brutifh, and monstrouse. And herby it appeareth that no People in the World is<sup>8</sup> so curiouse in new fanglcs as they of *Ailgna*<sup>7</sup> be. But graunte it were so, and admit that others excelled them (which is false), shall we do euill because they do so? shall their wickednesse excuse vs of sinne, if we commit the like & worse? shall not the soule that finneth dye? wherfore let vs not finne of<sup>9</sup> presumption with the multitude, because they do so, leaft we be plagued with them because we doe the like. Moreouer, thoſe Cuntryes are rich and welthie of themſelues, abounding with all kinde of preciouſe ornaments and riche attyre, as filks, veluets, Satens, damaskes, farcenet, taffetie,<sup>10</sup> chamlet, and ſuch<sup>11</sup> like (for al theſe are made in thoſe foraine cuntryes), and therfore<sup>12</sup> if they weare them they are not muche<sup>13</sup> to bee blamed, as not hauing anie other kind of cloathing to couer themſelues withall. So if wee would contente ourſelues with ſuch kinde of attire as our owne Country doeth

[All nations inferior to  
Ailgna for  
pride of apparell  
B, E.]

[5 C 2]

[No people so  
curious in new  
fangles as thei of  
Ailgna. B, E.]  
[6 leaf 9. B.†]

Other coun-  
tryes not to  
be blamed;  
though they  
go in silks,  
veluets, and  
why.

[12 C 1, back]

<sup>1</sup> Dutch, French added in F.      <sup>2</sup> nations F.      <sup>3</sup> England F.

<sup>4</sup> get not in F.      <sup>5</sup> leaf 9. Brutishe fashions in Ailgna. B.

<sup>7</sup> England F.      <sup>8</sup> are B, E, F.      <sup>9</sup> in B, E.      <sup>10</sup> Taffeta F.

<sup>11</sup> the B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> not in F.

<sup>1</sup> minister vnto<sup>1</sup> vs, it were much<sup>2</sup> tollerable. But wee are so surprised<sup>3</sup> in Pride, that if it come not from beyond the seas, it is not worth a straw. And thus we impouerish our selues in buying their trifling merchandizes, more plesant than necessarie, and <sup>4</sup>inrich them, who rather<sup>5</sup> laugh at vs in their sleeues than otherwife,<sup>6</sup> to see our gret follie in affecting of trifles, & departing<sup>7</sup> with good merchandizes<sup>8</sup> for it.<sup>9</sup> And howe little they esteeme of filkes, vēluets, satens, damasks, <sup>10</sup>and fuch like,<sup>10</sup> wee maye easely fee, in that they sell them to vs for<sup>11</sup> wolle, frizes, rugges, carzies, and the lyke, whiche they coulde<sup>12</sup> neuer doe<sup>13</sup> if they esteemed of them as much as we doe. So that you see they are forced of necessytye to weare fuch riche attyre, wanting other things (wherof we haue store) to inuest themselues withall. But who feeth not (excepte wilfullie blynde) that no necessitie compelleth vs to weare them, hauing abundance of other things to attire our selues with,<sup>14</sup> both hansomer, warmer,<sup>15</sup> and as comlie as<sup>15</sup> they in euerie respekte? But 'farre fetched and deare boughte' is good for Ladys,<sup>16</sup> they say.

*Spud.* Doe you thinke it not permitted to any, hauinge store of other necessary cloathing,<sup>17</sup> to weare silks, veluets, taffeties, & other [v C 2] fuche riche attyre, of what calling soeuer they be of<sup>18</sup>?

*Ph.* I doubt not but it is lawfull for *the potestates*,<sup>19</sup> the nobilitie, the gentrie,<sup>20</sup> yeomanrie, and for euerye priuate subiecte els<sup>20</sup> to weare<sup>21</sup> attyre every one in<sup>22</sup> his degree, accordinge as his calling and condicione of life requireth; yet a meane is to be kept, for *omne extreumum vertitur in vitium*, euery extreme is turned into vice.<sup>22</sup> The nobilitye<sup>23</sup> (though they haue store of other attyre) and the gentrie (no doubt) may vse a rich and preciouſe kynd of apparell (in the feare of God)<sup>23</sup> to innoble, garnishe, & set forthe their byrthes, dignities,<sup>24</sup> functions, and callings; but for no other respekte they may not in any maner of

Other Countries esteeme  
not so muche  
silkes, veluets,  
as we do.  
[<sup>4</sup> leaf 9, back  
B.]

[Foreigners  
change their  
velvets, &c. for  
our wools. Cp.  
Stratford, p. 54,  
87, &c.]

Euery man  
may weare  
apparell ac-  
cording to his  
callinge.

The nobility  
may weare  
gorgiouse at-  
ture, and why

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> afford B, E; yeeld F.   <sup>2</sup> somewhat B, E, F.   <sup>3</sup> captiuate F.

† leaf 9, back. Pride and Pleasure in Ailg. B.   <sup>5</sup> rather *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> than otherwise *not in* B, E, F.   <sup>7</sup> parting F.   <sup>8</sup> wares F.

<sup>9</sup> them B, E, F.   <sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> Taffetaes, and such, F.   <sup>11</sup> for our B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> would F.   <sup>13</sup> *not in* F.   <sup>14</sup> with-all F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> and comlier then B, E, F. (comelier F.)   <sup>16</sup> ladies as B.

<sup>18</sup> of *not in* B, F.   <sup>19</sup> the potestates *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>20</sup>—<sup>20</sup> and the magisterie B, E, F.   <sup>21</sup> weare riche B, E, F.

<sup>22</sup>—<sup>22</sup> their calling B, E, F.   <sup>23</sup>—<sup>23</sup> omitted in B; and gentrie E, F.

<sup>24</sup>—<sup>24</sup> & estates. The magistery B, E, F.

wyse. The maiestrats also & Officers in the weale publique, by what tytle soeuer they be called (accordinge to their abylties), may were (if the Prince or Superintendent do Godly commaund) costlie ornaments and riche attyre,<sup>24</sup> to dignifie their callings, and to demonstrat<sup>1</sup> and shewe forth<sup>1</sup> the excelency<sup>2</sup> and worthines of their offices and functions, therby to strike a terroure & feare into the harts of the people to offend against<sup>34</sup> the maiesty of their callings<sup>4</sup>: but yet would I wish that what so is superfluous or ouermuche, either in the one or in *the* other, shold be distributed to<sup>5</sup> the helpe of<sup>6</sup> the pore members of Christ Iesus, of whom an infynite number<sup>7</sup> daylie do<sup>8</sup> perish thorowe wante of necessarie refection and due sustentation to their bodies. And as for the priuat subiects, it is not at any hand lawful that they should weare filks, veluets, satens, damasks, gould, filuer, and what they lift (though they be neuer so able to maintain it), except they, being in some kinde of office in the common wealth, do vse it for the dignifying and innobling of the same.<sup>9</sup> But now there is such a confuse mingle mangle of apparell in *Ailgna*,<sup>10</sup> and such preposterous<sup>11</sup> excesse therof, as euery one is permitted to flaunt it out in what apparell he lust<sup>12</sup> himselfe, or can get by anie kind of<sup>13</sup> meanes So that it is verie hard to knowe<sup>14</sup> who is noble,<sup>14</sup> who is worshipfull, who is a gentleman, who is not: for you shall haue those which are neither of the nobyltie, gentilitie, nor yeomanry; no, nor yet anie Magistrat, or Officer in the common welth, go daylie in filkes, veluets, satens, damasks, taffeties, and such like, notwithstanding that they be both base by byrthe, meane by estate, & seruyle by calling.<sup>15</sup> This is<sup>15</sup> a great confusion, &<sup>16</sup> a general disorder:<sup>17</sup> God be mercyfull vnto vs<sup>17</sup>!

*Spud.* If it be not lawfull for euery one to weare filks, veluets,

<sup>1—1</sup> not in B.

<sup>2</sup> the maiestie added in B, E, F.

\* leaf 10. Sumptuous Attyre. B. <sup>4—4</sup> their office and autoritie B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> and erogate to B, E, F. <sup>6</sup> and subvention of B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> do not in F.

<sup>9</sup> Or at the commaundement of  $\ddagger$  their superintendent, or Archprime $\ddagger$  for some speciall consideration or purpose, added in B, E, F. ( $\ddagger$ — $\ddagger$  the chiefe Magistrate F.)

<sup>10</sup> England (and so in every other place where Ailgna occurs) F.

<sup>11</sup> horrible F. <sup>12</sup> listeth F; lusteth B, E. <sup>13</sup> kind of not in F.

<sup>14—14</sup> not in F. <sup>15—15</sup> And this I compt [accomp $\ddagger$  F.] B, E, F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 10, back. Riche ornaments. B.

<sup>17—17</sup> in a christian common wealth E, F.

Maiestrats  
may were  
sumptuous  
attyre, & why.  
[3 leaf 10 B.\*]

[7 C 2, back]  
[Men die for  
want of food.]

Not lawfull  
for private  
subiectes to  
weare sum-  
ptuous attyre.

Hard to know  
a Gentleman  
from another  
by apparell.

[x6 leaf 10, back.  
B.†]

satens, damasks, taffeties, gold, siluer, preciouſe ſtones, & what not, wherfore did the Lord make & ordein them?

*Philo.* I denie not but they may be worne <sup>1</sup> of them who want other things to cloth them withal, or of the nobylity, gentilytie,<sup>2</sup> or magifery, for the caufes abouefaid, but not of euy proud fixnet<sup>3</sup> indifferentlie, that haue<sup>4</sup> ſtore of other attyre inough. And yet did not the Lord ordeane theſe riche ornaments and gorgiouse veſtments to be worne of all men, or of anie, ſo muche as to garniſh,<sup>5</sup> bewtifie, and fet forth, the maiefy & glorie of this his earthly kingdome: For as cloth of gold, Araſe, tapeſtrie, & ſuch other riche ornaments, pendices, and hangings in a houſe of estate, ferue not onely to manuall vſes and feruyle occupations, but alſo to decorate,<sup>6</sup> to bewtifie, & become<sup>7</sup> the houſe, and to ſhewe the riche estate and glorie of the owner; ſo theſe riche ornaments, and iuimpteouſe veſtments of the earthly territory of this World, do not onelie ferue to be worn of them, to whome it doth appertaine (as before) but alſo to ſhew forth the power, welth, dignity, riches, and glorie of the Lord, the Author of all goodneſſe.<sup>8</sup> And here in the prouidence and mercy of God appeareth moft plainlye; for wher there is ſtore of other clothing, there hath he geuen leſſe ſtore of filks, veluets, satens, damasks,<sup>9</sup> and ſuch like: and wher there is plenty of them, there is no clothing els almoſt; & thus the Lord<sup>10</sup> did deale<sup>10</sup>, for that euy cuntry<sup>11</sup> ought to contente themſelues<sup>11</sup> with there owne kind of attyre; except neceſſytie inforce<sup>12</sup> the contrarie; for than we are to vſe our libertie,<sup>12</sup> in the feare of God.

*Spud.* I praye you, let mee intreate you to ſhewe me wherfore our apparell was giuen vs, and by whome?

*Philo.* Your requeſte is both diſſufe and intricate, and more than my weake and infirme knowledge is able to comprehend<sup>13</sup>; yet leaſt I might bee adiudged vnwilling to doe good, I will affay to doe the beſt<sup>14</sup> I can.

When the Lord our God, a ſpiritual, intellectible underſtanding ſubſtance, incompreheſible, immenſurable, & inacceſſible, had, by

<sup>2</sup> Gentry F.

<sup>3</sup> Thraso B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> hath B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> ſplendishe B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> decore B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> adorne F.

<sup>8</sup> thynges B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> hath dealt B, E, F.

<sup>† leaf II.</sup> By whom App[arell] was giuen. B.

<sup>13</sup> performe B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> should be content B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> best that B, E, F.

[¶ C 3]  
Wherfore the  
lord made  
riche orna-  
mentes.

Wherto riche  
ornamentes do  
ſerue.

[¶ leaf II. B.]

When, where,  
and for what  
cause our  
apparell was  
geuen vs.

his woord and heauenly wisedome, Christ Iesus, created and made the world & all things therin contayned, the fixte day he created man after his own similitude and likenes, in innocencie, holines, righteousnes, & all kind of perfection,<sup>1</sup> he placed<sup>1</sup> him in Paradise tereftrial, commaunding<sup>2</sup> him to tyl & manure the same. Than the deuil, an old maligner of mankind, who before was an Angel in heauen, & through sin<sup>3</sup> of pride in arrogating to himselfe the feate & throne of Gods maiesy, cast down into the lake of hell, enuying mans glorious estate, which he than had lost, came vnto man in Paradise, & <sup>4</sup>inticed him (oh,<sup>5</sup> torteouse serpent!) to eat of the forbidden fruite, wherof the Lorde God had forbidden him to tast on pain of his life: notwithstanding *Adam*, condescending to <sup>6</sup>his wife her persuasions,<sup>6</sup> or <sup>7</sup>rather to<sup>8</sup> the Serpent,<sup>9</sup> hauing buzzed his venomous suggestions into their<sup>10</sup> eares, tooke of the apple & did eat, contrary to the expresse commandement of his God. This done, their eyes were opened, thei saw their nakednes, & were not a litle ashamed; (& yet before sin was committed, they, being both naked, were not ashamed; but sin once committed<sup>11</sup> they became vncleane, filthie, loathsome, & deformed,) & fewed them garments of fig leaues together, to couer their shame withall. Than the Lord, pittyng their miserie & loathing their deformity, gaue them pelts & <sup>12</sup>felles<sup>13</sup> of beasts<sup>12</sup> to make them garments withall, to the end that their shamefull parts might lesse appeare; yet some are so brasen faced & so impudent that, to make the deuill & his members sport, will not sticke to make open shew of those parts which God commaundeth to be couered, nature willetteth to be hid, & honesty is ashamed once to behold or looke vpon.

*Spud.* I gather by your words three speciall poynts. First, that sin was the cause why our apparell was giuen vs; Secondly, that God is the author & giuer therof; Thirdly, that it was giuen vs to couer our shame withall, & not <sup>14</sup>to feed the infatiable desires of mens wanton & luxurious eies.

<sup>1—1</sup> and placing B, E, F. <sup>2</sup> commanded B, E, F. <sup>3</sup> the sinne B, E, F.

\* leaf 11, back. The fall of Adam. B. <sup>6</sup> like a F.

<sup>6—6</sup> the persuasions of his wife B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> of B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> in his wife added in F. <sup>10</sup> her F. <sup>11</sup> contracted F.

<sup>12—12</sup> beasts felles and skinnes F. <sup>13</sup> and skins E.

† leaf 12. Proude Ap[parell] the Deuils nets. B.

[<sup>14</sup> leaf 12, back.  
B.]

The fall of  
man by the  
malice of the  
deuill.  
[7 C 4]

Impudent  
beasts, [that  
shewe their  
priuities. E.]

[<sup>14</sup> leaf 12. B.]

*Philo.* Your collection is very true. Than, seeing that our apparel was giuen vs of god to couer our shame, to keep our bodies from cold, & to bee as prickes in our eies to put vs in mind of our miseries, <sup>1</sup> frailties, imperfections, and fin, of our backflyding from the commandments of god and obedience of the highest, and to excite<sup>2</sup> vs the rather to contrition and compunction of the<sup>3</sup> spirit, to bewayle our misery, & to craue mercy at the mercifull hands of God, let vs be thankfull to God for them, be forie for our finnes (which weare the cause<sup>4</sup> therof,) and vse them to the glory of our God, & the benefyte of our bodies and soules, <sup>5</sup>against the great day of the Lord appeare.<sup>5</sup> But (alas) these good creatures which the Lord our God gaue vs for the respects before rehearsed, we haue so peruerted as now they serue, in stead of the deuills nettes, to catche<sup>6</sup> poore soules in ; for euery one now adaies (almost) couet to<sup>7</sup> deck and painte their liuing<sup>8</sup> sepulchres, <sup>9</sup>or erthly graues<sup>9</sup> (their bodies I meane) with all kind of brauerie, what soeuer can be deuised, to delight the eyes of the vnchaift behoulders, wherby God is dishonored, offence<sup>10</sup> is encreased,<sup>10</sup> and much sinne daylie committed, as in further discourse shall plainly appeare.

Wherfor our  
apparel was  
giuen vs.  
[<sup>1</sup> C 4, back]

Mens bodies  
liuing sepul-  
chres.

*Spud.* Did the Lord cloth our first parents in leather, as not hauing any thing more preciouſe to attyre them withall, or for that it might be<sup>11</sup> a permanent<sup>12</sup> rule, or patern, vnto vs (his posterity) for euer, wherafter we are of force to make all our garments, so as it is not now lawfull to<sup>13</sup> go in<sup>14</sup> richer arraye,<sup>14</sup> without<sup>15</sup> offendinge [\*\* C 5] his maiestie?

[xx leaf 12, back.  
B.t]

*Philo.* Although the Lord did not cloth them ſo meanly, for that he had nothing els more preciouſe to attyre them withall, (for *Domini est terra, et plenitudo eius*, the earth is the Lords and the fulneſſe therof, faith the Lord by his Psalmit; And by his Prophet, Gold is myne, filuer is myne, and all the riches of the world is my<sup>16</sup> own,) yet, no doubt, but he would that this their meane & bafe attyre ſhould be as a rule, or pedagogie, vnto vs, to teach vs that we ought rather

<sup>2</sup> exercise F.

<sup>3</sup> the *not in* F.

<sup>4</sup> causes F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> at the last F.      <sup>6</sup> intangle B, E, F.      <sup>7</sup> couet to *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> liuing *not in* B, E, F.      <sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> *not in* B, E, F.      <sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> ministred B, E, F.

† leaf 12, back. The right vſe of App[arell]. B.      <sup>12</sup> perpetual F.

<sup>13</sup> for vs to F.      <sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> riche attire B, E, F.      <sup>16</sup> mine F.

### 38 No conscience reposed in Ap[parell]. The Anatomie

[In our apparell we ought rather to obey necessity than to feed vanity.]

to walke meanelye and simlye, than gorgiouly or pomposly ; rather seruing presente necessitie, than regarding the wanton appetits of our lasciuouse mindes. Not-withstandinge, I suppose not that his heauenlye maiestie would that those garments of lether should stand as a rule or pattern of neccesytie vnto vs, wherafter we shold be bound to shape all our apparell for euer, or els greeuouslye to offende ; but yet by this we may see his blessed will is,<sup>2</sup> that we should rather go an ace beneth our degree, than a iote aboue. And *that* any simple couering pleaseth the Godly, so that it repell the colde and couer the shame, it is more than manifest, as well by the legends both<sup>3</sup> of prophane Historyographers, Cronologers, and other writers, as also by the censures, examples,<sup>4</sup> and lyues of all Godly since the beginning of the world. And if the Lord would not<sup>5</sup> that the attyre of Adam should haue beeene a figne or patterne of mediocritie vnto vs, he both in mercy would &, in his almighty<sup>6</sup> power, could, haue inuested them in filks, veluets, satens, grograins, gold, filuer, & what not.<sup>7</sup> But the Lord our God foresawe that if he had clothed man in rich and gorgiouuse attyre (suche is our procluytyle to finne), he wold haue bene proude therof,<sup>8</sup> as we see it is come to passe at this day (God amend it!), and therby<sup>8</sup> purchase to himselfe, his body and soule, eternall damnation.

*Spud.* Than, it feemeth a thinge materiall, and of great importance,<sup>9</sup> that we resemble our first Parents in austerity<sup>10</sup> and simplicity of apparell,<sup>10</sup> so muche as maye be possible, doth it not ?

No religion reposed in apparell.

*Philo.* I put no religion in goinge, or not goinge, in the like simple attyre of our parents Adam & Eua (as<sup>11</sup> our Papistes, Papists? no, Sorbonists, Sorbonists? no, Atheists, atheists? no, plaine Sathanists<sup>11</sup> do, placing all thier religion in hethen garments & Romish raggs) so that we obserue a meane, and excede not in pride. But notwithstanding, if we approched a litle nearer them in Godly simplicitie and Christian sobrietie, both of apparell and maner of lyuinge, we should not onely please God a great deale the more, and enritche our Cuntry, but also auoyd many scandals & of<sup>12</sup>fences which grow

<sup>1</sup> oby A.      <sup>2</sup> was then, & is now F.      <sup>3</sup> both *not in* B, E, F.

† leaf 13. No conscience reposed in App[arell]. B.      <sup>6</sup> mighty E.

<sup>7</sup> not els F.      <sup>8</sup> and so F.      <sup>9</sup> moment F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> of apparell and simplicity of attire B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> Sorbonicall Papists B, E, F (F *prefixes* the).

daily by our excessiue ryot, and ryotoufe exceſſe in apparell. For doth not *the*<sup>1</sup> apparell ftyrre vppe the heart to pride? doth it not [<sup>x</sup> leaf 13, back.  
B.] intice others to fiyne? and doth not ſin purchase hell, the guerdon of <sup>The fruite of  
Pride.</sup>

*Spud.* But they ſay they please God, rather than offend him, in wearing this gorgiouſe attyre, for therby the glory of his workmanship in them doth more<sup>2</sup> appeare. Besides that, it maketh a man to be accepted and eſteemed of in euery place; wheras otherwife they ſhould be nothing leſſe.

*Philo.* To think that the Lorde our God is delighted in the ſplendente ſhewe of outward apparell, or that it ſetteth forth *the* glory of his Creatures, and the maieſty of his kingdom, I ſuppoſe ther is no man (at leaſt no perfect christian man) ſo bewitched or affotted: For that weare as much as to ſay, that ſtinking pride & filthie finne tended to the glory of God; ſo that the more we ſyn, the more we increase his prayſe and glorye. But the Lord oure God is ſo farre from delightinge in finne, that he adiudgeth them to eternall Death and damnation that committe the ſame. Than, who is he that will take pleasure in vayne apparell, which, if it be worne but a whyle, will fall to ragges, and if it be not worne, will foone rotte, or els be eaten with mothes. His wayes are not oure<sup>3</sup> wayes, his iudgements not<sup>4</sup> [<sup>3</sup> C 6, back.] our iudgements, as he ſayth by his Prophet: and wheras they holde that Apparell ſetteth foorth the glory of his Maiestie in his creatures, makyng them to appeare fairer, than other wyſe they would of themſelues,<sup>5</sup> it is blaſphemouſly ſpoken, and muche derogateth from *the* exellency and glory of his name. For, faith not God by his prophet Moyſes, that after he had made all creatures, he beheld them all, & behould they weare (and eſpecially man, the excellenteſt of all other his creatures, whom he made after his own ſimilitude & likneſſe) excedinge good? And were all creatures good & perfect, & only man not perfect, nor faire inough? If theſe their ſpeeches were true (which in the<sup>6</sup> fulneſſe of their blaſphemie they shame not to ſpeake) than might we eaſily conuince the Lord of <sup>7</sup>vntreue ſpeak-

The Lord accepeth no man after his apparell.

No attyre can make the creature of God ſeeme fayrer.  
[<sup>5</sup> leaf 14. B.†]

\* leaf 13, back. Hell, the rewarde of Pride. B.

<sup>2</sup> more not in E; more brauely F.

<sup>4</sup> are not F.                    <sup>†</sup> leaf 14. Man comely of hymſelf. B.

<sup>6</sup> the not in F.

<sup>7</sup>-<sup>7</sup> untruthe B, E, F.

40 Proud App[arell] deformeth man. The Anatomie

Euery one is to contente him selfe with his creation, and to prayse God for it.

ing,<sup>7</sup> who in his sacred word informeth<sup>1</sup> vs, that man is the perfectest Creature, & the fayrest of al others, *that euer he made* (excepting the heuenly spriets, & Angelical creatures) <sup>2</sup>after his own liknesse,<sup>2</sup> as before. O<sup>3</sup> man! who arte thou, that reasoneft with thy Creator? shall the clay fay vnto the potter, why haft thou made me thus? Or can the clay make himselfe better fauored than the potter, who gaue him his first stamp & proportion? Shall we think that stinking pride can make the workmanshipe of the Lord to<sup>4</sup> feeme fayrer?

[5 C 7]

[<sup>10</sup> leaf 14, back.  
B.†]

The Lord our God is a consuming fire to destroy all impenitent sinners.

Than, why did not the Lord cloth vs<sup>5</sup> so at the first? or at leaft, why gaue he not commaundement in his will & testament, which he sealed with the<sup>6</sup> price of the<sup>6</sup> bloud of his sonne, to cloth our selfes in riche & gorgioufe apparel to fet forth his glory *the more*? But away with these<sup>7</sup> dogs & hellish haggs, who retaine<sup>8</sup> this opinion,<sup>9</sup> that cur<sup>10</sup>sed pride glorifieth God, & setteth forth or bewtieth his workmanshipe in his creatures! In vain is it for me to expoſtulat with them, for doubtles non hould this, but such as be<sup>11</sup> miscreants (or deuills incarnate)<sup>12</sup> & men<sup>12</sup> cast of[f] into a reprobate fence,<sup>13</sup> whom I beseech the Lord, in the bowels of his mercy, either speedely to conuert, that they perish not, or els confounde, *that they hurte not*, that peace may be vpon<sup>14</sup> Ifrael. Thus, hauing sufficiently (I truft) refelled their false poſitions, I leauē them to the Lord, beseechinge them (as they tender their own ſaluation, *linguas compescere digitis*, to ſtoppe their sacrilegioufe mouthes with ther fingers, & not to ſpit againſt heauen, or kicke againſt the pricke, as they do, anie longer: For the Lord our God is a consuming fier, & vpon obſtinate finners ſhal raine down fire & brimston, & conſume them in his wrath. This is our<sup>15</sup> portion acquired by finne.

*Spud.* But what fay you to the other branch of their concluſion, namely, that Apparell maketh them to be accepted, and well taken in euery place?

[16 C 7, back]

<sup>16</sup> *Philo.* Amongeft the wicked and ignorant Pezants, I muſt needes

<sup>1</sup> teacheth B, E, F.

<sup>2—2</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> But O F.

<sup>4</sup> *to not in* F.

<sup>6—6</sup> *not in* F.

<sup>7</sup> *savage added in* E, F.

<sup>8</sup> *are of* B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> *mind* F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 14, back. Proude Appa[rell] deformeth man. B.

<sup>11</sup> *as be not in* B, E, F.

<sup>12—12</sup> *as the Lord hath* B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> *and preiudicate opinion added in* F. <sup>14</sup> *vnto* F. <sup>15</sup> *their* B, E, F.

confesse, they are the more esteemed in respect of their apparell; but nothing at all the more, but rather the leſſe, amongett the godly wyſe. So farre of[f] will all wyſe men be from accepting of any for his gay apparell onely, that (be he neuer ſo gallantly painted or curiouſly [leaf 15. B.] plumed in the deceiptfull fetheres of pride) they wil rather contemne him a great deale the more, taking him to be a man puffed vp with pride and vaine glorie, a thing both odious, <sup>2</sup>& detestable to God & good men.<sup>2</sup> And ſeeing it cannot ſtand with the rule of god his iuſtice, to accept, or not to accept,<sup>3</sup> any man for<sup>4</sup> his apparell, or any other externe ſhew of deceiptfull vantie, it is manifest, that man, doinge the contrarie, is a *Iudas* to the truth, a *Traytor* to iuſtice, & an enemy to the Lord: wherfore farre be that from al good christians; and if thoſe that go richely clothed ſhould be eſteemed the rather for their rich apparel than *& contrario*, muſt thoſe that go in meane and bafe attire, be the more contemned, and diſpifed for their pouertie. And than ſhould Christ Iefus, our great Ambaffador from<sup>5</sup> the king of heauen,<sup>6</sup>& only Sauour,<sup>6</sup> be contemned, for he came in poore & mean array: but Christ Iefus is bleffed in his pore raggs, and all others are contemned in their rich & precious attyre. Vnder a ſimple cote many tymes lyeth hid great wiſdom & knowledg; & contrarely, vnder braue<sup>7</sup> attyre ſomtime is couered great ydiotacy<sup>8</sup> and folly. <sup>9</sup>Hereof euery daies ſucceſſe offreth prooſe ſufficient: more is the pytie<sup>9</sup>!

The wise will  
not accept of  
any after,  
apparell.

[Wisdom not  
tyed to exte-  
rior pompe of  
apparell. B, E.]  
[7 C 8]

*Spud.* Wherfore would you haue men accepted, if not for Apparel?

*Philo.* If any be ſo foolish to ymagin that he ſhalbe worſhipped, reuerenced, or accepted the rather for his apparell, he is not ſo wyſe as I pray<sup>11</sup> God make me. For ſurely, for my part, I will rather worſhippe & accept of a pore man (in his<sup>12</sup> clowtes & pore raggs<sup>12</sup>) hauing the gifts and ornaments of the mind, than I will do him *that* roifteth & flaunteth<sup>13</sup> daylie & howrely in his ſilks, veluets, ſatens,

<sup>10</sup> Reuerence  
due to vertue,  
not to attyre.<sup>10</sup>  
[xx leaf 15, back  
B.]

\* leaf 15. No estimation due to App[arell]. B.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> before men and detestable before God B, E, F. <sup>3</sup> accept of E, F.

<sup>4</sup> after E.

<sup>5</sup> ſent from B.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> adiocie F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> not in B, E, F.

† leaf 15. Reuerence due to Vertue. B.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> not in E.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> torne cloutes and ragges E; ragged cloutes F.

<sup>13</sup> flaunteth it out F.

[All reuerence  
due to vertue  
and not to riche  
attire. B, E.]

damasks, gold or siluer, what soeuer, without *the* induments of vertue, wherto only al reuerence is due. And therfore as any man is indued, or not indued, with vertue, & true godlynesse, so will I reuerence, or not reuerence, accept or not accept of him: wherfore if any gape after reuerence, worship or acceptation, let them thirst after vertue, as namely,<sup>1</sup> wisdome, knowledge, discretion, modeſtie, sobrietie, affability, gentlenesse & ſuche like; than can they be without reuerence or acceptation, no more than *the* ſonne can be without light, the fire without heat,<sup>2</sup> or the water without his naturall moyſture.

*Sp.* Than I gather, you would haue men accepted for vertue & true Godlines,<sup>3</sup> wold you not?

*Ph.* I would not only haue men to be accepted & reuerenced for their virtue (though the <sup>4</sup>chiefest reuerence is onely to be attributed to him, whose ſacred breſt<sup>5</sup> is fraught with vertue, as it may well be called the *Promptuarie* or *Receptorie*<sup>6</sup> of true wisdome and Godlines, but also (in parte) for their byrthes fake, parentage and confanguinitie<sup>7</sup>; and not only that,<sup>8</sup> but <sup>9</sup>also in respect of their callings, offices and functions, whether it be in the Temporal Magifery, or<sup>10</sup> Eccleſiaſtical presibitry (ſo long as they gouerne godly and well): For the Apostle ſayth, that thofe Elders which<sup>11</sup> gouerne wel amongst vs are worthie of double honor. But yet the man whom God hath bleffed with vertue and true godlynes, thoughe he be neyther of great byrth nor callynge, nor yet any Magistrate whatſoeuer, is worthie of more reuerence and estimation then any of the other without the ornaments of *the* minde, & gifts of vertue aboue ſaid. For what preuayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, and to be deftitute of all vertue, which deserueth<sup>12</sup> true worship? what is it els then to carie a golden Swoorde in a Leaden Scabbarde? Is it any thyng els then a golden Coffyn or painted Sepulchre, makynge a fayre ſhowe outwardly, but inwardly is full of all ſtinche & lothſomnes? I remember once I red a certayne ſtorie of one, a Gentleman by byrth and parentage, who greatly reproched, and withall diſdayned an other, for that he was come to great autho<sup>13</sup>rytie onely by vertue,

<sup>1</sup> F adds feare of God, zeale to religion

<sup>2</sup> the heat. E.      <sup>3</sup> onely added in F.      <sup>5</sup> brest is so B, E.

<sup>6</sup> ſtorehouse F.      <sup>7</sup> diſcent F.      <sup>8</sup> for that E.

<sup>13</sup> leaf 16. How to know a Gentleman. B.

<sup>10</sup> a or (*sic*) A.      <sup>11</sup> that F.      <sup>12</sup> maketh B, E, F.

[<sup>4</sup> C 8, back]

Wherfore  
man is to be  
worſhiped  
and had in  
reuerence.

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 16. B.+] [

Gentilitie  
without vertue  
is no gentili-  
tie.

[An exelent  
apothegme. E,  
F.]

[<sup>13</sup> D 1]

being but a poore mans child by byrthe: "What! faith<sup>1</sup> the Gentleman by birth,<sup>2</sup> arte thou so lufstie? Thou arte but a coblers sonne, and wilt thou compare with me, being a Gentleman by<sup>3</sup> byrth and calling?" To whome the other answeared,<sup>4</sup> "thou arte no Gentleman, for thy gentilitie endeth in thee, and I am a Gentleman, in<sup>5</sup> that my gentilitie beginneth in me:" Meaning (vnleſt<sup>6</sup> I be deceiued) that the wante of virtue in him was the decay of his gentility, and his vertue was the beginning of true gentilitie in him felfe: for virtue therfore, not for apparell, is euerye one to be accepted; For if we should accept of men after apparell onely, respecting nothinge els, than shold it come to passe, that we might more esteeme<sup>7</sup> of one, both meane by birth, base without<sup>8</sup> virtue, seruyle by calling, & poore in estate, more than of some, by birthe noble, by virtue honorable, and by callinge laudable.<sup>9</sup> And the reason is because euery one, tagge and ragge, go brauer, or at leaſt as braue as thoſe that be both noble, honorable and worshipfull.

*Spud.* But I haue hard ſay, there is more holynesse in ſome kynd of apparell than in othersome; which makes them ſo much to affeete vary[e]tie of fafhions, I thinke.

*Philo.* Indeed, I ſuppoſe that the ſumme<sup>10</sup> of their religion doth confiſte in apparell. And, to ſpeakē my conſcience, I thinke there is more,<sup>11</sup> or as muche holynesse in the apparell, as in them; that is, iuft none at all. But admit that there be holyneffe in apparell (as who is ſo infatuat to beleue it) than<sup>12</sup> it followeth that the holynes pretended is not in them; & ſo be they plaine Hipocrits to make ſhew of that which they haue not. And if the holines by there attire preſaged be in them ſelues, than is it not in the<sup>13</sup> garments; & why do they than attribute that to the garments whiche is neither adherente to the one, nor yet inherent in the other? Or if it wer ſo, why do they glory of it to the world? but I leauē them to their follie, haſtinge to other matters more profitable to intreate of.

*Spud.* But I haue hard them reaſon thus: That which is good in it own nature cannot hurt; apparell is good, and the good Creature of

<sup>1</sup> quoth B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> by birth *not in F.*

<sup>3</sup> both by B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> repliying, ſaide B, E, F.

\* leaf 16, back. Virtue maketh Gentilitie. B.

<sup>5</sup> vnlesſe F.

<sup>7</sup> accept B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> in B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> venerable B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> and enarge added in B, E; and ſubſtance added in F. <sup>12</sup> then B.

† leaf 17. An obiection to maintain Pride. B.

[5 leaf 16, back.  
B.]

The exordium  
of virtue is the  
exordium of  
gentilitie &  
worſhip, and  
want of the  
one is the  
decay of the  
other.

[xx D 1, back]  
No holynes in  
apparell

[xx leaf 17. B.]

## 44 App[arell] the Mother of pride. The Anatomie

An argument  
truly con-  
tryued.

[But shortly to  
fall, without hope  
of recovery.]

[<sup>2</sup> D 2]

[5 leaf 17, back.  
B.†]

Vnpossible to  
take away  
pride, except  
sumptuouse  
apparell be  
taken away  
also.

Apparell and  
pride combin-  
ed together as  
mother &  
daughter.  
[<sup>12</sup> D 2, back]

God: *ergo* no kynde of apparell can hurte. And if there be anie abuse in it, the apparell knowethe it not; Therfore take awaie the abuse, and let the apparell remaine still, for so it maye (say they) without anie hurte at all.

*Philo.* These be well seafoned reas ons, and substanciall affeuera-  
tions in deed; but if they haue no better arguments to leane vnto  
than these, their kingdome of Pride will shortlie fall <sup>1</sup> without all <sup>1</sup>  
hope of recouerie againe. The apparell in it owne nature is good,  
and the good Creature of God (I will not de<sup>2</sup>nie) and cannot hurte,  
except it be thorowe ouer<sup>3</sup> owne wickednesse abused. And therfore  
wo be to<sup>4</sup> them that make the good Creatures of God instruments of  
dampnation to them selues, by not vsing them, but abusing them.  
And yet, notwithstanding, it maye be said to hurte, or not to hurte,  
as it is abused or not abused; And wheras they would haue the abuse  
of apparell (if any be) taken away, and the apparell to remain still, it  
is impossible to supplant the one, without <sup>5</sup>the extirpation of the other  
also. For it is trulye said, *sublata causa, tollitur effectus;* But not  
*subrepto<sup>6</sup> effectu tollitur causa;* Take away the cause and the effecte  
falleth,<sup>7</sup> but not contrarylye, take away the effecte and the cause  
falleth.<sup>7</sup> The<sup>8</sup> efficiente cause of Pride is gorgiouse attire; <sup>9</sup>the effecte  
is pride it selfe ingenerate by attire<sup>9</sup>: But to begin to plucke awaie the  
effecte (to wit, pride) and not to take awaie the cause first (namelie  
sumptuouse attyre) is as if a man, intendinge to supplant a Tree by  
the rootes, should begin to pull the fruite and braunches onelye; or,  
to pull downe heauen, should dig in the earthe, workinge altogether  
preposteroslye and indyreclye.<sup>10</sup> And the reason is,<sup>11</sup> these two col-  
laterall Cofins, apparell and Pride (the Mother and Daughter of mis-  
chiefe) are so combineate together, and incorporate the one in <sup>12</sup>the  
other, as the one can hardlie be dyuorced<sup>13</sup> from the other, without the  
disruption of them both. To<sup>14</sup> the accomplishmente wherof, God  
graunte that those holsome lawes, fanchions, and statuts, which, by our  
most gracious and serene princeffe (whome Iefus preserue for euer)

<sup>1—1</sup> withall B.

<sup>3</sup> through our F.

<sup>4</sup> to *not in* F.

† leaf 17, back. Appa[rell] the Mother of Pride. B.

<sup>6</sup> sublato B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> fayleth F.

<sup>8</sup> The externe B, E, F. <sup>9—9</sup> *not in* F. <sup>10</sup> and contrarily *added in* F.

<sup>11</sup> is for that B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> plucked F.

<sup>14</sup> For F.

and her noble and renoumed Progenitors, haue beeene promulgated and enacted hertofore, may be put in execution. For, in my opinion, it is as impossible for a man to were preciose apparell and gorgiouse attyre, and not to be proude therof (for if he be not proud therof, why doth he weare suche riche attire, wheras meale<sup>1</sup>her is both better [<sup>\* leaf 18. B \*</sup>] cheape, easier to be had, as warme to the bodie, and as decent and comly to any chaste christians eye) as it is for a man to cary fire in his bosome and not to burne. Therfore, would God euery man might be compelled to weare apparell according to his degree, estat, and condition of life ; which, if it were brought to passe, I feare least some who ruffle now in silks, veluets, satens, damasks, gold, filuer, and what not,<sup>2</sup> shold be glad to weare frize cotes, & glad if they might get them.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>Vnpossible not  
to be proud of  
rich attyre.</sup>

*Spud.* What is your opinion ? did the people of the former world so much esteeme of apparell as we doe at this present day, without respect had either to sex, kind, order, degree, estat, or callinge ?

*Philo.* No doubt but in all ages they had their imperfections<sup>5</sup> and [<sup>\* D 3</sup>] faults, for *Hominis est errare, labi et decipi*; it is incident to man to erre, to fall, and to be deceiued. But, notwithstandinge, as the wicked haue always affected, not onelie pride in apparell, but also all other vices whatsoeuer, so the chaste, Godly, and sober Christians haue euer eschewed this exceſſe of apparell, hauing a ſpeciall regard to weare ſuche attyre as might neyther offend the maiefie of God, prouoke them felues to pride, nor yet offend<sup>6</sup> any of<sup>6</sup> their Brethren in any reſpecte. But (as I haue ſaid) not onely the Godlie haue detested and hated this vaine ſuperfluitye of apparell in all tymes ſince the begining of the Worlde, but also the verie panims, the heathen *Philofophers*, who knew not God (though otherwife wylle Sages and great Clarks), haue contemned it as a pestiferouse euill ; in ſo muche as they haue writ (almoft) whole volumes againſt the ſame, as is to be ſeen in moft of their Books yet extant.

<sup>The Godly  
haue euer de-  
tested pride of  
apparell.</sup>

<sup>The verie  
heathen haue  
contemned  
sumptuous  
apparell.</sup>

[<sup>\* leaf 18, back.  
B.†</sup>]

*Spud.* Are you able to proue that ?

*Philo.* That I am, verie easilye ; but of an infnyte number, take a tafte of theſe few. *Democrats* beeing demaunded, wherin the <sup>Testimonies of</sup>

\* leaf 18. The godly abhorre Pride. B.

<sup>2</sup> not els F.

<sup>3</sup> them too F.

<sup>5</sup> blemishes added in F.

<sup>6</sup> not in B, E, F.      † leaf 18, back. Virtue the comeliest ornament. B.

hethen people  
who derided  
riche atture.

[<sup>x</sup> D 3, back]

Vertue is the  
comlyest orna-  
ment of all.

[<sup>z</sup> leaf 19. B.]

Diogines his  
answerty.<sup>4</sup>

[<sup>z</sup> D 4]

[The example of  
a Philosopher,  
deriding  
pride. E, F.]

bewtie and comlie feature of man, or woman, confissted? aunswered, in fewnes of speaches well tempered together, in virtue, in integrity <sup>1</sup>of life, and fuche like. *Sophocles*, seinge one weare gorgeouse apparell, said to him, ‘thou foole! thy apparell is no ornamente to the, but a manifest shewe of thy follie.’ *Socrates*, being asked what was the greatest ornamente in a woman, answered, ‘that which most sheweth her chasfitie, and good demeanoure of body and mind, & not sumptuous attyre, which rather sheweth her adulterate life.’ *Aristotle* is so distict<sup>2</sup> in this point, that he would haue men to vse meaner apparell than are permitted them by the lawe. The Wife of *Philo*, the *Philosopher*, being vpon a tyme demauded why she ware not gold, siluer and preciuose garments, said, she thought the vertues of her husbande sufficiente ornaments for her. *Dionysius*, the king, sente the richest garments in all his wardrobes to the no<sup>3</sup>ble Women of the *Lacedemonians*, who returned them from whence they came, sayinge, they would be a greater shame to them than honore. Kinge *Pirrus* sente riche attyre to the Matrones of Rome, who abhorred them as menstrual clowtes. The conceiued opinion amonkest the Grecians to this day is, that it is neither gold nor gorgiouse attyre that adorneth either Man or Woman, but vertuous conditions, and such like. *Diogines* so much contemned sumptuous attyre, that he chose rather to dwell in wildernesſe amon<sup>5</sup>geſt brute beaſts all hiſ lyfe longe, than in the pompose courts of mightie kings one daye to be commorante.<sup>6</sup> For he thought, if he had the ornaments of the minde, that he was than faire ynoughe, and fine inough also, not needing any more. A certen other *Philosopher* addreſſed hiſelfe towards a kings courte in hiſ Philosophers attyre, that is, in meane, bafe and poore aray; But ſoe ſone as the Officers eſpied him, they cried, ‘awaie with that rogue! what dothe he ſoe nie the kinges maiesties courte?’ The poore Philosopher, ſeing it lighten ſo fast, retyred back for feare of their thunderclappes,<sup>7</sup> and repayringe home, appaireled hiſelfe in riche Attyre, and came againe marchinge towards the court: he was no ſooner in fight, but euery one receiued him plaufiblie, and with great ſubmiſſion and reuerence. When he came in preſence of the kinge, and other

<sup>2</sup> strict F.

<sup>4</sup> austerie [austerity] in B, E.

+ leaf 19. Philosophers examples. B.

<sup>6</sup> resiant F.

<sup>7</sup> thunderboltes F.

mighty potentats, he kneled<sup>1</sup> down, and<sup>2</sup> ceased not to kisse<sup>3</sup> his [3 leaf 19, back  
B.\*] garments. The king and nobles marueylinge not a litle therat, asked him, wherfore he did so? Who aunswered, ‘O noble kinge! it is no marueyle; for that whiche my vertue and knowledge could not doe, my Apparell hath brought to passe: For I, comminge to thy gates in my PHILOSOPHERS<sup>4</sup> weede, was repelled; but hauing put vpon me [<sup>4</sup> D 4, back] this riche attyre, I was brought to thy prefence with as great veneration and worship as could be.’ Wherby is<sup>5</sup> to be feene in what detestation he had the stinkinge Pride of apparell, takeing this occasion to giue the King to vnderstand the inormious abuse thereof, and so to remoue the same as a pestilent euill out of his whole dominion & kingdome. I read of a certen other *Philosopher* that came before a king, who, at the same tyme, had inuited his nobles to a feast or banquet: the Philosopher comming in and seinge no place to spit in (for euery place was hanged with cloth of gold, cloth of filuer, tinsell, arrace, tapestrie, and<sup>6</sup> what not<sup>6</sup>) came to the kinge and spat in his face, saying, ‘it is meet (o king!) that I spit in the fowlest place.’ This good *Philosopher* (as we may gather) went about to withdraw the king from taking pleasure or delight in the vaine glistering shewe, either of apparell or any thing els, but rather to haue consideration of his owne filthynes, miserie & finne, not rysing vp into pride, and spitting against heauen, as he did, by diliighting in prowde attyre and gor<sup>7</sup>geouse ornaments. Thus we see the verie painims and heathen [<sup>7</sup> leaf 20. B.+] people haue from the beginning dispysed this exceſſe of apparell, both in them selues and<sup>8</sup> others, whose examples heerin god graunt we may folowe.

<sup>9</sup> Spud. But you are not able to proue that any good Christians [<sup>9</sup> D 5] euer set light<sup>10</sup> by precious attire, but alwayes esteemed it as a ſpeciall ornament to the whole man. As for theſe Heathen, they were fooles, neyther is it materiall what they vſed, or vſed not.

*Philo.* I am able to proue that euen from the beginning of the world, the choſen and peculiar people of God haue contemned proude<sup>11</sup> Apparel, as things (not onely) not neceſſarie, but also as very euilles [Probation that the former world hath

<sup>1</sup> kneelyng, B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> not in B, E, F.

\* leaf 19, back. The Heathen dispise Pride. B. <sup>5</sup> it is E, F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> the like F. <sup>†</sup> leaf 20. The base attire of the former age. B.

<sup>8</sup> and in F. <sup>10</sup> lightlie F. <sup>11</sup> gorgious F.

## 48 Christ his example for Ap[parell]. The Anatomie

contemned  
pompouse  
attyre.

themselues, and haue gone both meanely and poorely in their vsuall attyre. What say you to our Grandfather *Adam*, and *Eua* our Mother? Were they not clothed in peltes, and skins of beasts? Was not this a meane kinde of Apparell, thinke you? Was it not vnfitting<sup>1</sup> to see a woman inuested<sup>2</sup> all ouer in leather? But yet the Lord thought it precious and seemelie ynough for them. What saye you to the noble Prophet of the world, *Elias*? did hee not walke in the solitude<sup>3</sup> of this worlde in a simple playne mantell, or gowne, girded to him with a girdle of leather? *Elizeus*, the Prophet, did not he in a manner the verie fame? And what say you to *Santuell*, the golden mouthed Prophet, notwithstanding that <sup>4</sup>hee was an Archprophet, and a chiefe seer of that time? did hee not walke so meanely, as *Saul*, seking his fathers Asses, could not know him from the rest, but asked him, where was <sup>5</sup>the seers house? This must needs argue that he went not richer then the common sorte of people in his time? The Children of *Israell*, beeing the chosen people of God, did they not weare their Fathers attire fortie yeeres togither in the wildernes? was not *John the Baptisit* clothed with a garment of Camels heare, girded with a thong of the skin of the same, in sted of a girdle or succinctorie about his loines? *Peter*, the deere Apostle of our Sauiour, was not distinct from the rest of his Felowes,<sup>6</sup> Apostles, by any kinde of rich apparel, for then the maid would not haue said, ‘I know thee by thy tung,’ but rather, ‘by thy apparel.’ The Apostle *Paul*, writing to the *Hebrues*, saith that the persecuted Church, bothe in his time and before his dayes, were clothed, some in Sheep skinnes, and some in Gote skinnes, some in Camels heare, some in this, and some in that, and some in whatsoeuer they coulde get; for if it would hide their shameful parts, and kept<sup>7</sup> them from the colde, they thought it sufficient, they required no more. but, to speak in one woord for all: did not our Sauiour *Iesus Christ* weare the very same fashion of apparell that his Cuntrey-men vsed, that is, a cote without a feame, either knit or weaued<sup>8</sup>? which fashions the <sup>9</sup>*Palestyrians* vse there yet to this day, without any alteration, or chaunge, as it is

<sup>1</sup> straunge F      <sup>2</sup> courred F.      or wildernes added in F.

\* leaf 21, back. Christ his example for Appa[rell]. B.      <sup>6</sup> fellow F.

<sup>7</sup> keepe F.

<sup>8</sup> wouen F.

† leaf 21. Greate superfluitie of Ap[parell]. B.

Elias.

Elizeus.

Samuell.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 21, back.  
B.†]

[<sup>5</sup> D 5, back]

The children  
of Israell.

John Baptist.

Peter.

[The early  
Church.]

The humility  
and pouertie of  
Christe vpon  
earth.  
[<sup>9</sup> leaf 21. B.†]

thought. This his attyre was not<sup>1</sup> very hanſome (one would think): [<sup>¶ D 6</sup>] at the<sup>2</sup> leaſt it was not curious, or new fangled, as ours is; <sup>3</sup>but, as the Poet wel ſaid,<sup>3</sup> *nitimus in vetitum, ſemper cupimusque negata*, we deſire things forbideſ, and couet thinges denied vs. We lothe the<sup>4</sup> ſimplicitie of Chriſte, and abhorring the christian pouertie, and godly mediocritie of our Forefaſters in apparel, are<sup>5</sup> neuer content except wee haue ſundry ſutes of apparel, one diuers from an other, ſo as our Preſſes crack withall, our Cofers bruft, and our backs sweat with the cariage therof: we muſt haue one ſute for the forenoone, another for the afternoone, one for the day, another for the night; one for the workeday, another for the holieday, one for ſommer, another for winter; one of the newe fashion, an other of the olde, one of this colour, another of that, one cutte, an other whole, one laced, another without, one of golde, and other of filuer, one of filkes and veluetes, and<sup>6</sup> another of clothe, with more diſference and varietie than I can exprefſe. god be merciful vnto vs, and haſten his kingdome,<sup>7</sup> that all imperfections may be doon away<sup>7</sup>!

[Modern extravagance]

[\* Side-note here  
in B, E, F.]\* Superfluitie of  
apparell With  
dyuerſitie of  
fashions.

### A perticuler Discription of apparell in Ailgna by degrees.

<sup>9</sup>[Spud.] YOu haue borne me in hand of many and greeuous abufes reigning in *Ailgna*,<sup>8</sup> but now ſetting aparte theſe<sup>10</sup> ambagies and<sup>11</sup> ſuperfluouſ vagaries, I pray you deſcribe vnto me more<sup>12</sup> particularly the fundrie abufes in<sup>13</sup> Apparell there uſed; running ouer by degrees the whole ſtate thereof, that I maye fee, as it were, the perfect Anatomie of that Nation in Apparell, whiche thinge I greatlye deſire to knowe.

[¶ leaf 21, back.  
B, ¶]

[¶ D 6, back]

*Philo.* Your reu'eſt feemeth both<sup>14</sup> intricate and harde,<sup>14</sup> confider-

<sup>2</sup> the *not in* F.

<sup>3—3</sup> For of us that Poeticall Apothegme maie very well be verified B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> this F.

<sup>5</sup> wee are F.

<sup>6</sup> and *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>7—7</sup> for his electes ſake B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> England F.

+ leaf 21, back. Hattes of ſundry fashions. B.

<sup>10</sup> theſe impertenent B, E, F (ambagies *not in* F).

<sup>12</sup> more *not in* B, E.

<sup>13</sup> of B, E, F.

<sup>14—14</sup> harde and intricate B, E, F.

ing<sup>1</sup> there bee *Tot tantæ mæryadæs inuentionum*, So manie and so fonde fashions, and inuentions of Apparell euerie day.<sup>1</sup> But yet, leſt I might be iudged vnwilling to ſhewe you what pleasure I can, I will affay (*pro virili mea, 2 omnibus neruulis vndique extensis*)<sup>2</sup>, with all the might and force I can, to ſatisfie your deſire. Wherefore, to begin first with their Hattes.

<sup>3</sup>Sometimes they were<sup>4</sup> them ſharp on the crowne, pearking vp like a<sup>5</sup> ſphere,<sup>6</sup> or ſhaftē of a ſteeple, ſtanding a quarter of a yard aboue the crowne of their headeſ; ſome more, ſome leſſe, as pleafe the phantasies of their<sup>7</sup> mindes. Otherſome be flat and broad on the crowne, like the battlements<sup>8</sup> of a house. An other ſort haue round crownes, ſometimes with one kinde of bande, ſometime with an other; nowe blacke, now white, now ruffet, now red, now greene, now yellowe, now this, nowe that, neuer content with one colour or fashion two dayes<sup>9</sup> to an ende. And thus in vanitie they ſpende the<sup>10</sup> Lorde his treasure,<sup>11</sup> consuming their golden yeares and filuer dayes in wickednes & fin. And as the fashions bee rare and ſtraunge, ſo<sup>12</sup>are the thinges<sup>13</sup> wheroſt their Hattes be made, diuerſe alſo; for ſome are of filke, ſome of veluet, ſome of taffetie, ſome of farcenet, ſome of wooll: & which is more curiouſ, ſome of a certaine kind of fine haire,<sup>14</sup> far fetched and deare bought, you maye bee ſure<sup>15</sup>; And ſo common a thinge it is, that euerie Seruingman, Countreyman, and other, euē all indifferently, do weare of theſe hattes. For he is of no account or estimation amongſt men,<sup>16</sup> if hee haue not a veluet or a<sup>15</sup> taffatice Hatte, and that muſt bee pincked and cunningly carued of the beſte fashion; And good profitable Hattes bee they,<sup>16</sup> for the longer you weare them the fewer holes they haue.<sup>17</sup> Besides this, of

The diuersity  
of hattes in  
Ailgna.

[<sup>10</sup> D 7]  
[<sup>11</sup> leaf 22. B. t.]

The sundry  
things wheroſt  
hattes be  
made.

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> the innumerable *meriades* of ſondrie fashions dailely inuented amongſt them B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> not in F.      <sup>3</sup> A description of the Hattes of England added in F.

<sup>4</sup> vſe B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> the B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> ſpearē F.

<sup>7</sup> their inconstant B, E; their wauering F.

<sup>8</sup> battlement F.

<sup>9</sup> moneths F.

<sup>10</sup> leaf 22. Varietie of Hattes. B.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>12</sup> is the ſtuffe B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> These thei call Beuer hattes of xx, xxx, or xl ſhillinges price fetched from beyond the ſeas, from whence a greate ſorte of other varieties\* doe come besides B, E, F. (\* vanities F.)

<sup>14</sup> them F.

<sup>15</sup> a not in F.

<sup>16</sup> these B, E, F.

<sup>17</sup> F adds:—They haue also Taffeta hattes of all coloures quilted, and im-

late there is a new fashion of wearing their Hattes sprung vp amongst them, which they father vpon the Frenchmen, namely to weare them without bandes; but how vnseemelie (I will not say how Affy) a fashion that is, let the wise judge. Notwithstanding, howe euer it bee, if it please them, it shall not displease me. An other<sup>1</sup> sort (as phantafticall as the rest) are content with no kind of Hatt without a great bunche<sup>2</sup> of feathers of diuerse and fundrie colours, peaking on toppe of their heades, not vnylike (I dare not say) Cockfcombes, but <sup>3</sup>as sternes of pride and en<sup>4</sup>signs of <sup>5</sup>vanitie; and<sup>3</sup> these fluttering sayles and fethered flags of defiance to vertue (for so they are<sup>6</sup>) are so aduaunced in *Ailgna*, that euery Childe hath them in his hat or cap: many get good liuing by dying and selleng of them, and not a fewe prooue them selues more then fooles<sup>7</sup> in wearing of them.

Wering of  
hlettes without  
bandes.

[Wearyng of  
Feathers in  
hlettes. B, E, F.]

[<sup>4</sup> D 7, back]  
[<sup>5</sup> leaf 22, back  
B.t]

*Spud.* These Fethers argue the lightnes of their fond imaginations, and plainly conuince them of instabilitie and folly; for sure I am, hanosome they cannot be, therefore Badges<sup>8</sup> of pride they must needs be, which I think none wil weare, but such as be like them selues. But to your intended discourse.

*Philo.* They haue great and monstorous ruffes, made either of Cambrick, holland, lawn, or els of some other the finest cloth that can be got for money, whereof some be a quarter of a yard deep, yea, some more, very few leſſe; So that they stand a full quarter of a yarde (and more) from their necks, hanging ouer their shoulder poyns, infsted of a vaile.<sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup>But if *Aeolus* with his blasts, or *Neptune* with his stormes chaunce to hit vpon the crafie bark of their brufed ruffes, then they goe flip flap in the winde, like rags flying<sup>12</sup> abroad, <sup>13</sup>and lye<sup>13</sup> vpon their shoulders like the dishcloute of a flut.<sup>11</sup> But wot

Great ruffes  
deformed &  
ill fauored.

broydered with golde, siluer, and silke of sundrie sortes, with monsters, antiques, beastes, foules, and all maner of pictures and images vpon them, wonderfull to behold.

<sup>1</sup> And another B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> plume F.

<sup>3—8</sup> fooles bables if you list: And yet notwithstanding F.

+ leaf 22, back. Feathers, Flagges of vanitie. B. <sup>6</sup> be E, F.

<sup>7</sup> Asses F.

<sup>8</sup> Ensignes. F.

<sup>9</sup> heading:—Of great Ruffes in England. F. <sup>10</sup> Pentise F.

<sup>11—11</sup> F has: But if it happen that a shoure of raine catch them before they can get harbour, then their great ruffes strike sayle, and downe they fall, as dishcloutes fluttering in the winde, like Windmill sayles.

<sup>12</sup> that flew B, E.

<sup>13—13</sup> lyng B, E.

## 52 Great Ruffes and Supportasies. The Anatomie

[<sup>x</sup> D 8]

Two arches or  
pillers to vn-  
der proppe the  
kingdom of  
great ruffes  
withall, *vide-*  
*lacet support-*  
*asses and*  
*starche.*

[<sup>5</sup> leaf 23. B.\*]

you what? the deuil, as he in the fulnes of his malice, first inuented these <sup>1</sup>great ruffes, so hath hee now found out also two great stayes<sup>2</sup> to beare vp and <sup>3</sup>maintaine that<sup>3</sup> his kingdome of <sup>4</sup>great ruffes<sup>4</sup> (for the deuil is <sup>5</sup>king and prince ouer all the children of pride): the one arch or piller wherby<sup>6</sup> his kingdome of great ruffes is vnderproppe, is a certaine kinde of liquide matter which they call Starch, wherin the deuill hath willed<sup>7</sup> them to wash and diue his<sup>8</sup> ruffes wel, which, <sup>9</sup>when they be<sup>9</sup> dry, wil then stand stiffe and inflexible about their necks.<sup>10</sup> The other piller is a certaine deuice made of wyers, crested for the purpose, whipped ouer either with gold, thred, filuer or silk, & this hee calleth a supportasse, or vnderpropper. This is to be applied round about their necks vnder the ruffe, vpon the out side of the band, to beare vp the whole frame & body of the ruffe from falling and hanging down.

*Spud.* This is a deuice passing all the deuices that euer I sawe or heard of. Then I perceiue the deuill not onely inuenteth mischeif, but also ordaineth instrumentall<sup>11</sup> meanes to continue the same. These bands are so chargeable (as I suppose) that<sup>12</sup> but fewe haue of them: <sup>13</sup>if they haue, they are better monyed then I am.<sup>13</sup>

[<sup>15</sup> D 8, back]

Euery pesant  
hath his stately  
bands &  
monsterouse  
ruffes, how  
costly souer  
they be.

[<sup>17</sup> leaf 23, back.  
B †]

*Philo.* So few haue<sup>14</sup> them, as almost none is without them; for euery one, how meane or <sup>15</sup>simple soever they bee otherwise, will haue of them three or foure apeece for fayling. And as though Camericke,<sup>16</sup> Holland, Lawne, and the finest cloth that maye bee got anie where for money, were not good inough, they haue them wrought all ouer with filke woorke, and peraduenture laced with <sup>17</sup> golde and filuer, or other costly lace of no small price. And whether they haue Argente<sup>18</sup> to mayntaine this geare withall, or not, it<sup>19</sup> forceth not muche,<sup>19</sup> for they will haue it by one meane or other, or els they

<sup>2</sup> pillars B, E, F.      <sup>3—3</sup> vphold this F.      <sup>4—4</sup> Pride withall F.

\* leaf 23. Great Ruffes and Supportasses. B.      <sup>6</sup> wherewith F.

<sup>7</sup> learned F.      <sup>8</sup> their B, E, F.      <sup>9—9</sup> being B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> F adds:—And this starch they make of diuers substances, sometimes of Wheate flower, of branne, and other graines: sometimes of rootes, and somtimes of other thinges: of all colours and hewes, as White, Redde, Blewe, Purple, and the like.

<sup>11</sup> instrumentes and F.      <sup>12</sup> that comes before as F

<sup>13—13</sup> such as are of the richer sort F.      <sup>14</sup> haue of F.      <sup>16</sup> Cambricke F.

† leaf 23, back. Costly shirtes and bandes in Ailg. B.      <sup>18</sup> Unde F.

<sup>19—19</sup> is not greatly material B, E, F.

will eyther<sup>1</sup> sell or<sup>2</sup> morgage their Landes<sup>3</sup> (as they haue good store)<sup>3</sup> on Suters hill & Stangate hole,<sup>4</sup> with losse of their lyues at Tiburne in a rope.<sup>5</sup>

*Spud.* The state and condition of that Land must needes be miserable, and in tyme growe to greate scarcitie and dearth, where is such vayne<sup>6</sup> Prodigalitie, and<sup>6</sup> exceſſe of<sup>7</sup> all thynges<sup>7</sup> vsed.

*8 Philo.* Their Shirtes, which all in a manner doe weare (for if the Nobilitie or Gentrie onely did weare them, it were somedeal<sup>9</sup> more tollerable) are eyther of Camericke, Holland, Lawne, or els of the finest cloth that maye bee got. And of these kindes of Shirts euerie one now doth weare alike: so as it may be thoght our Forefathers haue made their Bandes & Ruffes (if they had any at all) of groſſer cloth and baser ſtuffe than the worſt of our shirtes<sup>10</sup> are made of now [<sup>10</sup> E 1] a dayes. And theſe ſhurts (ſomtimes it happeneth) are wrought through out with nedle work of filke, and ſuche like, and curiouſlie ſtitched with open ſeame, and many other knackes beſydes, mo than I can deſcribe.<sup>11</sup> [In ſo much as I haue heard of Shirtes that haue coſt ſome ten ſhillyngeſ, ſome twentie, ſome forty, ſome five pound, ſome twentie Nobles and (which is horriblie to<sup>12</sup> heare) ſome ten [<sup>12</sup> leaf 24. B.+] pounde a peece, yea, the meanest shirt that commonly is worne of any, doeft coſt a crowne, or a noble at the leaſt: and yet this is ſcarſly thought fine enough for the ſimpleſt person that is. B, E, F.]

*Spud.* Theſe be goodly ſhurts indeed, & ſuch yet<sup>13</sup> as will not<sup>14</sup> chafe their tender ſkinnes,<sup>15</sup> nor<sup>16</sup> ulcerat their<sup>17</sup> lyllie white<sup>15</sup> bodyes; or if they<sup>18</sup> do, it wil not be much to their greeuances, I dare be bound. Is it anie maruell, ſi *Cristas erigant & cornua attollant*, if they ſtand vpon their pantoffles, and hoſfe vp their fayles on highe, hauinge

<sup>1</sup> eyther not in B, E, F.      <sup>2</sup> or at the leaſt F.      <sup>3—3</sup> not in F.

<sup>4</sup> F adds, and Salisburie plaine.

<sup>5</sup> F adds:—& in ſure token therof, they haue now newly found out a more monſtrous kind of ruffe of xii. yea, xvi. lengthes a peece, ſet 3 or 4 times double, & is of ſome, fitlie called: *Three ſteppes and a halfe to the Gallows*.

<sup>6</sup> vayne comes after and in B, E, F.      <sup>7—7</sup> things is F.

<sup>8</sup> heading in F:—Of costly Shirtes in England.      <sup>9</sup> not in F.

<sup>11</sup> recount F.      <sup>1</sup> leaf 24. Nice Appa[rell] make tender bodies. B, F.

<sup>13</sup> yet not in B, E, F.      <sup>14</sup> neither B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> nor yet fret their delicate F.      <sup>16</sup> nor not in B, E.

<sup>17</sup> tender fleshe, nor yet make perforation into their added in B, E.

<sup>18</sup> it F.

[New kind of  
Ruffes, called  
Three ſteppes and  
a halfe to the  
Gallows. F.]

The shirts  
vsed in Aulnay

[The coſt of theſe  
Shirts.]

[<sup>12</sup> leaf 24. B.+]

these dyamond shurts on their <sup>1</sup> delicate bodies<sup>1</sup>: but how soeuer it is, I gather by your words that this must needs be a nice and curious<sup>2</sup> People, who <sup>3</sup>are thus nusseled vp<sup>3</sup> in such daintie attyre.

*Philo.* It is very true, for this their curiofity, and nicenes in apparell (as it were) transnatureth them,<sup>4</sup> makinge<sup>5</sup> them weake, tender and infirme, not able to abide such<sup>6</sup> sharp conflicts and blustering stormes<sup>6</sup> as many other people, both abroade farre from them, and in their confines ne to them, do daylie<sup>7</sup> sustaine. I haue hard my Father, with other wyse Sages affirme, that in his tyme, within the compasse of foure or fyue score yeres, when men went clothed in black or white frize coates, in hosen of Hufwyues carzie of the same colore,<sup>8</sup> that the sheep bore<sup>9</sup> them (<sup>10</sup>the want of making and wering of which clothe, together with the exceſſive wering of filks, veluets, satens, damaskes, taffeties, and ſuch like, hath and doth make many a thouſand in *Ailgna*<sup>11</sup> as poore mendicants<sup>11</sup> to begge their bread) wheroſe ſome weare ſtraiſt to the thigh, oþerſome liþle bigger: and when they ware ſhurts of hempe or flax (but now theſe are to groſſe, our tender ſtomacks cannot eaſilye diſgēſt ſuch roughe and crude<sup>12</sup> meats) men weare ſtronger than we,<sup>13</sup> helthfuller, fayrer complectiōned, longer lyuinge,<sup>14</sup> and finallye, ten tymes harder than we,<sup>15</sup> and able<sup>16</sup> to<sup>17</sup> beare out<sup>17</sup> any forowe<sup>18</sup> or paynes whatſoeuer. For be ſure, this pampering of our<sup>19</sup> bodies makes them weker, tenderer and neſher, than otherwyſe they would be, if they were vfed to hardneſſe, and more ſubiect to receiuē anye kind of i[n]fection or maladie; And<sup>20</sup> rather abbreviat<sup>21</sup> oure dayes by manye yeres, than extenuate our liues one minut of an houre.

*Spud.* I thinke no leſſe; for how ſtronge men were in tymes paſt, how long they lyued, and how helthfull they weare before ſuche Nicenses, and wayne pamperinge curioſitie was inuented, we may reade, and many that lyue at this daye can teſtifie. But now,

<sup>1—1</sup> backes F.

<sup>2</sup> womanish kind of F.

<sup>3—3</sup> thus pamper their bodies B, E, F. <sup>4</sup> them, and B. <sup>5</sup> and maketh F.

<sup>6—6</sup> blustering stormes and ſharpe showers F. <sup>7</sup> dayly beare and F.

<sup>8</sup> bare F. <sup>† leaf 14, back.</sup> Men ſtrong in tymes paſt. B.

<sup>11—11</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> a hard F.

<sup>13</sup> than we not in B, E, F. <sup>14</sup> liued F. <sup>15</sup> we be now B, E, F.

<sup>16</sup> abler F. <sup>17—17</sup> undure F. <sup>18</sup> any diſcrasie B, E. <sup>19</sup> their B, E, F.

<sup>20</sup> and doeth B, E, F.

<sup>21</sup> shorten F.

Nicenses of  
apparell mak-  
eth the body  
tender.

[<sup>8</sup> E x, back]  
[<sup>10</sup> leaf 24, back.  
B. f.]

Our predeces-  
ſours weringe  
meaner appa-  
rell were  
ſtronge[r] than  
we.

through our fond toyes and nice inuention, we haue brought our selues into suche pufil<sup>1</sup>lanimitie and effeminat condition, as we may feeme rather<sup>2</sup> nice dames and yonge<sup>3</sup> gyrls than puissant<sup>4</sup>agents or manlie<sup>4</sup> men, as our<sup>5</sup> Forefathers haue bene.

[5 leaf 25. B.\*]

<sup>6</sup> *Philo.* Their dublettes are noe leſſe monſtrous than the reſte; For now the fashion is to haue them hang downe to the middefte<sup>7</sup> of their theighes, or at leaſt to their priuie members, beeing ſo harde-quilted, and<sup>8</sup> ſtuffed, bombasted and ſewed, as they can<sup>9</sup> verie hardly eyther ſtoupe downe,<sup>10</sup> or decline<sup>11</sup> them ſelues<sup>12</sup> to the grounde, ſoe ſtyffe and ſurdy they ſtand about them.

The monſtrous  
dublettes in  
Ailgna.

Now, what handſomnes can be in theſe dublettes whiche ſtand on their bellies like, or<sup>13</sup> muche bigger than, a mans codpeece (ſo as<sup>14</sup> their bellies are thicker than all their bodyes beſyde) let wyſe men iudge; For for<sup>15</sup> my parte, handſomnes in them I ſee none, and muche leſſe proſyte. And<sup>16</sup> to be plaine, I neuer ſawe any weare them, but I ſuppoſed him to be a man inclined to gourmandice, gluttonie, and ſuche like.<sup>16</sup>

For what may theſe great bellies ſignifie els than that either they are ſuche, or els<sup>17</sup> are affeeted that way? <sup>17</sup> This is the truеſt ſignification that I could euer<sup>18</sup> preſage or diuynē<sup>18</sup> of them. And this maye euerye one<sup>19</sup> iudge of them that ſeeth them; for certayne I am there was neuer any kinde of apparell euer inuented that could more diſproportion the body of man then theſe Dublets with great bellies, hanging downe beneath their *Pudenda* (as I<sup>20</sup> haue ſaid), & ſtuffed with foure, fife or fix pound of Bombaſt at the leaſt. I ſay nothing of what their Dub-

Great bellied  
dublettes betok-  
en gourmand-  
ice, gluttony,  
and ſuch like.

[19 E 2, back.]

[20 leaf 25, back.  
B.||]<sup>2</sup> rather ſeeme F.<sup>3</sup> wanton B, E; wayriſh F.<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> valorous and hardy F.

\* leaf 25. Monsterous Dublets in Ailgna. B.

<sup>6</sup> heading to chapter:—English Doublets. F.<sup>7</sup> middle B, E, F.<sup>8</sup> and not in B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> neither woorke, nor yet well plaie in them, through the excesſive heate † thereof: & therefore are forced to weare them loſe about them for the moſt part otherwise they could added in B, E, F. († F adds and ſtiſneſſe)

<sup>10</sup> downe not in B, E, F.<sup>11</sup> bowe F.      <sup>12</sup> themſelues not in B, E.<sup>13</sup> as big or F.<sup>14</sup> that F.      <sup>15</sup> 2nd for not in F.

<sup>16</sup>—<sup>16</sup> besides that I ſee no good end wherto thei ſerue, except it be to ſhewe the diſpoſition of ye wearer, how he is inclined, namely †, to gluttonie gourmandice, riotte\$, and excesse. B, E, F. († as namelie F; § drunkenneſſe added in F.)

<sup>17</sup>—<sup>17</sup> would be thought to be ſuch F.<sup>18</sup>—<sup>18</sup> gather F.

|| leaf 25, back. Pride in Dublets, and Hose, B.

Dublettes of  
diuers &<sup>1</sup> fash-  
ions.

lets be made, some of Saten, Taffatie, silk, Grogram,<sup>2</sup> Chamlet, gold, filuer, & what not; flashed, iagged, cut, carued, pincked and laced with all kinde of cofly lace of diuers and fundry colours, for if I shoulde<sup>3</sup> stond vpon <sup>4</sup>these particularities,<sup>4</sup> rather time then matter would be wanting.

*Spud.* These be the strangest doublets that euer I heard of; and the furdest from hansomnes in euery respect, vnlesse I be deceiued.

Hosen of  
diuers &  
sundry fash-  
ions.  
[French hosen  
of two sortes. E,  
F.]

*Philo.* Then haue they Hosen, which as they be of diuers fashions, so are they of fundry names. Some be called french-hose, some gally-hose,<sup>6</sup> and some Venitians. The french-hose are of two diuers makings, for the common french-hose (as they list to call them) contayneth length, breadth, and sidenes sufficient, and is made very round. The other contayneth neither length, breadth nor sidenes (beeing not past a quarter of a yarde side) wherof some be paned, cut and drawne out with cofly ornaments, with Canions annexed<sup>7</sup> reaching downe beneath their knees.

[Gally hosen. E,  
F.]  
[<sup>8</sup> E 3]

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 26. B.+]

[\* Side-note here  
in B.]

<sup>8</sup>The Gally-hosen are made very large and wide, reaching downe to their knees onely, with three or foure gardes a peece laid down along either hose. And the Venetian-hosen, they reach beneath the knee to the gartering place to<sup>9</sup> the Leg,<sup>10</sup> where they are tyed finely with<sup>11</sup> silk points, or some such like, and laied on also with rewes of lace,<sup>12</sup> or gardes as the other before. And yet notwithstanding all this is not sufficient, except they be made of silk, veluet, saten, damask, and other such precious things<sup>13</sup> beside: yea, euery one, Seruing man and other inferiour to them, in euery condition, wil not sticke to flaunte it out in these kinde of hosen, with all other their apparel sutable therunto.

\* The great ex-  
cesse vsed in  
hosen.

In times past, Kings (as olde Historiographers in their Bookes yet extant doo recorde) would not dislaine to weare a paire of hosen of a Noble, tenne Shillinges, or a Marke price, with all the rest of their apparel after the same rate; but now it is a small matter to bestowe twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a

<sup>1</sup> diuers B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> grograine B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> could F.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> particullarie F.

<sup>5</sup> heading in F : Costly Hosen in Englannde.

<sup>6</sup> Gallie in B, E ; Gallie hosen F.

<sup>7</sup> adioyned F.      <sup>9</sup> of F.

<sup>10</sup> beneathe the knee added in B.      † leaf 26. Great excesse in hose. B.

<sup>12</sup> of lace not in F.

<sup>13</sup> stufte F.

hundred pound of one paire of Breeches. (*God be mercifull vnto vs!*)<sup>1</sup>

*Spud.* This is a wunderful exceſſe as euer I hearde of, woorthy with the Swoorde<sup>2</sup> of *Inſtice* rather to be puniſhed, then with paper and pen to be<sup>3</sup> fo gentlie<sup>3</sup> confuteſed.<sup>4</sup>

*Philo.* Then haue they netherſtocks to theſe gay hofen, not of cloth (though neuer fo fine) for that is thought to baſe, but of *Iarnſey* worſted,<sup>5</sup> filk, thred, and ſuch like, or els at the leaſt of the neinf yarn *that can be*,<sup>6</sup> and fo curiouſlye knit with open ſeam down the leg, with quirks and clocks about the ancles,<sup>8</sup> and ſometime (haply) interlaced with gold or filuer threds, as is wunderful to behold. And to ſuſh<sup>9</sup> inſolency &<sup>10</sup> outrage it is now growen, that euer one (almoft) though otherwife verie poor, hauing ſcarce fortie ſhillings of wages by the yeer, wil<sup>11</sup> be ſure<sup>11</sup> to haue two or three paire of theſe filk neitherſtocks, or els of the neinf yarne that may be got, though the price of them be a Ryall<sup>12</sup> or twentie ſhillinges or more, as commonly it is; for how can they be leſſe, when as the very knitting of them is worth a noble or a royll, and ſome much more? The time hath beene when one might haue clothed all his body well<sup>13</sup> for leſſe then a pair of theſe neitherſtocks wil coſt.

The diuersity  
of neither-  
ſtocks worne  
in Ailgna.

[§ E 3, back\*]  
[§ leaf 26, back.  
B.+]

*Spud.* I haue ſeldome hearde the like: I think verely that *Sathan*, The miserie of  
theſe daies.

prince of darknes & Father of pride, is let loſe in the<sup>14</sup> land, els it could neuer fo rage<sup>15</sup> as it dooth; for the like pride (I am fully perſwaded) is not vſed vnder the ſonne of any nation or people how barberous fo euer: wherfore wo be to this age, and thrife accuſed be theſe dayes, which bring<sup>16</sup> foorth<sup>17</sup> ſuch fowre<sup>18</sup> frutes; & vnhappie [§ E 4] are that people whom *Sathan* hath fo bewitched &<sup>19</sup> captiuied in ſin.

*The Lord holde his hand of mercy ouer vs!*<sup>19</sup>

*Philo.* To theſe their netherſtocks, they haue corked ſhooes, pinsnets, and fine pantofles, which beare them vp<sup>20</sup> a finger or two<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> and yet is this thought no abuse neither added in B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> Rodde F.   <sup>3—3</sup> not in F.   <sup>4</sup> confuted F.   <sup>6</sup> crewell added in B, E, F.

\* heading to chapter:—Costly Nether Stockins in England. F.   <sup>7</sup> be got F.  
† leaf 26, back. Costly netherſtocks in Ailgna. B.   <sup>9</sup> ſuch impudent B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> and shamefull B, E, F.   <sup>11—11</sup> not ſtickle B, E, F.   <sup>12</sup> royal F.

<sup>13</sup> from top to toe added in F.   <sup>14</sup> that F.   <sup>15</sup> ſo far exceed F.

<sup>16</sup> bringeth F.   <sup>18</sup> vnsauorie B, E, F.

<sup>19—19</sup> captiuiate in Pride. (heading) Corked ſhooes in England. F.

<sup>20—20</sup> two inches or more F.

Corked shoes,  
Pantoffles and  
pinsnets.  
[<sup>1</sup> leaf 27. B.]

Pantoffles &  
slippers are a let  
to those that  
go abrode in  
them.

Pantoffles vn-  
easie to go in.

[<sup>8</sup> E 4, back]

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 27, back.  
B.]

The varytie  
of coates and  
Ierkins.

from the ground; wherof some be of white leather, some <sup>1</sup> of black, and some of red, some of black velvet, some of white, some of red, some of green, raced, carued, cut, and stitched all ouer with silke, and laid on with golde, siluer, and such like: yet, notwithstanding, <sup>2</sup> to what good vses serue these pantofles, <sup>3</sup> except it be to wear in a priuate houise, or in a mans Chamber to keepe him warme? (for this is the onely vse wherto they best serue in my iudgement) but to go abroad in them, as they are now vsed al together, is rather a let or hinderance to a man then otherwise; for shall he not be faine to knock and spurn at euery <sup>4</sup> stome, wall, <sup>4</sup> or post to keep them on his feet? <sup>5</sup> wherfore, to disclose euen the bowels of my iudgement vnto you, <sup>5</sup> I think they be rather worne abrode for nicenes, then either for any easie which they bring (for the contrary is mooste true), or any hansomnes which is in them. For how should they be easie, when <sup>6</sup> as the heele hangeth an inch or two ouer the flipper on <sup>7</sup> the ground? Insomuch as I haue knownen diuers mens legs fwel with the same. <sup>8</sup> And handsome how should they be, when <sup>9</sup> as with their flipping & flapping <sup>9</sup> vp and down in the dirte <sup>10</sup> they exaggerate a mountain of mire, & gather a heape of clay & baggage together, loding the wearer with importable burthen. <sup>10</sup>

*Spud.* Those kinde of pantoffles can neither <sup>11</sup> be so handsome, nor yet so warme as other vsuall <sup>12</sup> common shooes be, I think. Therfore the weringe of them abrode rather importeth a Nicenes (as you say) in them that weare them, than bringeth any other commodytie, els vnlesse I be deceiued.

<sup>13</sup> *Philo.* Their coates and Ierkins, as they be diuerse in colors, so be they diuerse in fashions; for some be made with colors, some without, some close to the bodie, some loofe, <sup>14</sup> couering the whole

\* leaf 27. Greate exceffe in shooes. B.

<sup>2</sup> I see not added in F.

<sup>3</sup> doe serue added in F.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> wall, stone F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> And therefore to tell you what I judge of them F.

<sup>6</sup> a man can not goe steadfastly in them, without slipping and sliding at euery pace ready to fall doun: Againe how should thei be easie where *adde* in B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> from B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> they go flip flap F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> casting vp mire to the knees of the wearer F.

+ leaf 27, back. Coates and Ierkins. B.

<sup>12</sup> not in F.

<sup>13</sup> heading in F:—Coates and Ierkins in England.

<sup>14</sup> which they cal Mandiliens E, F.

body downe to the theighe, like baggs or sacks that weare drawen ouer them, hidinge the dimensions and proportions<sup>1</sup> of the body: some are buttoned downe the breft, some vnder the arme, & some downe the back; some with flappes ouer the breft, some without,

[The shapes\* of coats and jerkins.]

(\* varitie (*sic*) F.)

some with great sleeues, some with small, and <sup>2</sup>some with non at all<sup>2</sup>; some pleated and crested behind, & curiouflye gathered; some not so<sup>3</sup>; & how many dayes <sup>4</sup>(I might say houres, or minuts of houres,<sup>4</sup> in the yeare) so many sortes of apparell some<sup>5</sup> one man will haue, and thinketh it good prouision in faire weather to lay vp against <sup>6</sup>a storme!

But if <sup>7</sup>they would consider that their clothes (except thoſe that they [7 E 5] weare vpon their backs) be non of theirs, but the poores, they would

not heap vp their preffes and wardrobes as they do. Do they think that it is lawfull for them to haue millions<sup>8</sup> of sundry sortes<sup>8</sup> of apparell

lying rotting by them, when as the poore members of Iefus<sup>9</sup> Christe die at their doores for wante of clothing? God commaundeth in his

The poore ought to be prouided for [3 leaf 28. B. 1]

law, that there be no miserable poore man, nor begger amonkest vs, but that euery one be prouided for and maintained of that abundance<sup>10</sup> which God hath bleſſed vs withal. But we thinke it a great

Our smal regard to the poore.

matter if we geue them an old ragged coate, dublet, or a paire of hosen, or els a penny or two, wheras not notwithstanding we flow in abundance of all things. Than we thinke we are halfe way to

heauen, and we need to do no more. If we geue them a peace of brown bread, a messe of porredge (nay, the stocks & prison, with whippinge cheare now and than, is the best portion of almes which

many Gentlemen geue) at our dores, it is counted meritorious, and a worke of ſupererogation, when we fare full delicatelye oure felues, feeding on many a dainty<sup>11</sup> dish. There is a certen Citye in *Ailgna*

[Londonium in Anglia.]

called *Munidnol*,<sup>12</sup> where as the poore lye in *the*<sup>13</sup> ftreats vpon pallets of straw, and well if they haue that to, or els in the mire and dirt, as

Cold charitie to the poore. [14 E 5, back]

commonlie it is ſene, <sup>14</sup>hauing neither houſe to put in their heads, couering to keep them from the cold, nor yet to hide their shame withall, penny to buy them sustenance, nor any thing els, but are permitted<sup>15</sup> to dye in the ftreats like dogges, or beaſts, without anie

<sup>1</sup> lineaments B, E, F. <sup>2—3</sup> not in F. <sup>3</sup> so not in B, E, F. <sup>4—4</sup> not in F.

<sup>5</sup> some some (*sic*) F. <sup>6—6</sup> foule F. <sup>8—8</sup> of suetes F.

† leaf 28. Cold Charitie in Ailgna. B. <sup>10</sup> store F. <sup>11</sup> danity A.

<sup>12</sup> Londou F.

<sup>13</sup> the not in F.

<sup>15</sup> suffered B, E, F.

mercie or compassion shewed to them at all. And if anye be fiche of the plague (as they call it) or any other<sup>1</sup> disease, their Maisters and Maiftres<sup>2</sup> are so impudent<sup>3</sup> (being,<sup>4</sup> it should seeme, at<sup>5</sup> a league with Sathan, a couenante with Hell, and<sup>6</sup> as it were obliged them-selues by<sup>6</sup> obligation to<sup>7</sup> the deuil neuer to haue to do with the works of mercy) as straight way thei throw them out of their dores. And so being caried foorth, either in carts or otherwyse,<sup>8</sup> and thrown<sup>8</sup> in the streats,<sup>9</sup> there<sup>9</sup> they end their dayes most miserably. Truely, Brother, if I had not seen it, I would scarfly haue thought that the like Turkish cruelty had bene vsed in all<sup>10</sup> the World. But they say *vnum tefis oculatus plus valet quam mille auriti*, one eye witnesse is better to be belyued than a thousand eare witnesses besydes. But to leaue these excursions, and to returne from whence I haue digressed, I think it the best; for I am perswaded, they will<sup>11</sup> as much respect<sup>11</sup> my words (or amend their maners) as the wicked<sup>12</sup> World did at<sup>13</sup> the preaching<sup>14</sup> of our Sauiour Christe Iesus; that is, iuft nothing at all.

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 28, back.  
B. <sup>4</sup>]

The Turkish  
impietie of  
some towards  
the poore  
diseased.

[<sup>15</sup> E 6]

The sundry  
fashions of  
clokes.

[<sup>19</sup> leaf 29. B. <sup>†</sup>]

<sup>15</sup> Spud. Well then, seeing they are suche a stifneckned People, leaue them to the Lord; and proceed to your former tractation.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Philo. They haue clokes there also in nothing discrepante<sup>18</sup> from the rest, of dyuerse and fundry colors, white, red, tawnie, black, greene, yellowe, ruffet, purple, violet, and infynite other colors: some of cloth, silk, veluet, taffetie,<sup>19</sup> and such like, wherof some be of the Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion<sup>20</sup>: Some short, scarsely reachinge to the gyrdlestead, or waft, some to the knee, and othersome traylinge vpon the ground (almost) liker gownes than clokes.  
<sup>21</sup> These clokes must be garded, laced, & thorowly faced; and somtimes<sup>21</sup> so lyned as the inner side standeth almost in as much as the

<sup>1</sup> other mortall B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> Mistresses F.

\* leaf 28, back. Turkishe impietie in Ailgna. B.

<sup>4</sup> hauing made B, E, F (as added in F.)

<sup>5</sup> at not in B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> an B, E; sealed an an F.

<sup>7</sup> with B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> are laied dounre either B, E, F; but E F have or laide

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> or els conueied to some olde house in the fieldes, or gardens, where for want of due sustentacion B, E, F. (and good tending added in F.)

<sup>10</sup> any place of F. <sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> regard as much F. <sup>12</sup> former B. <sup>13</sup> at not in F.

<sup>14</sup> of Noah, or the latter worlde at the preaching added in B, E, F.

<sup>16</sup> discourse F. <sup>17</sup> heading in F: Cloakes in Englande.

<sup>18</sup> different F. <sup>†</sup> leaf 29. Costly Clokes in Ailgna. B. <sup>20</sup> fashions F.

<sup>21</sup>—<sup>21</sup> Then are thei garded with Veluette gardes, or els laced with costly lace,

outside: some haue flees, othesome haue none; some haue hoodes to pull ouer the head, some haue none; some are hanged with points & tassels of gold, siluer, or silk, some without al this. But how foever<sup>1</sup> it be, the day hath bene when one might haue bought him two clokes for lesse than now he can haue one of these clokes made for,<sup>2</sup> they haue such store of workmanship bestowed vpon them.

*Spud.* I am sure they neuer learned this<sup>3</sup> at the hands of our *Proconsul*, and chief Prouost,<sup>3</sup> Christ Iesu, nor of any other *that euer lyued godly in the Lord*; but rather out of the deceiptfull forge of their own braines haue they<sup>4</sup> drawen<sup>5</sup> this<sup>6</sup> cursed Anatomy<sup>6</sup> to their owne destruction<sup>7</sup> in the end, except the<sup>8</sup> repente.

*Philo.* They haue also bootehose which are to be wondered at; for they be of the fynd cloth that may be got, yea, fine inough to make any band, ruffe, or shurt<sup>11</sup> needful to be worn: yet this is bad inough to were next their grefie boots. And would<sup>12</sup> God this weare all<sup>13</sup>: but (oh,<sup>14</sup> phy for shame!) they must be wrought all ouer, from the gartering place vpward, with nedle worke, clogged with silk of all colors, with birds, foules, beastes, and antiques purtrayed all ouer in comlie<sup>15</sup> forte.<sup>16</sup> So that I haue knownen the very nedle work of some one payre of these bootehose to stand, some in iiiij pound, vi. pound, and some in x. pound a peece. Besides this, they are made so wyde to draw ouer all, and so longe to reach vp to the wafte, that as litle, or lesse, clothe would make one a reasonable large shurte. But tush! this is nothing in comparisoun of the rest.

*Spud.* I would thinke that boote-hosen of groffer lynnens, or els of<sup>17</sup> wollen clothe, weare both warmer to ride in, as comly as the other, though not so fine, and a great deal more durable. And as for

either of golde, siluer, or at the least of silke three or fower fingers broade doun the back, about the skirtes, and euery where els. And now of late thei vse to garde their clokes rounde about the skirtes with (bables) I should saie Bugles, and other kinde of glasse, and all to shine to the eye. Besides al this, thei are so faced, and withal B, E, F.

<sup>1</sup> howeuer E, F. <sup>2</sup> for *not in* F. <sup>3—3</sup> of our sauour F. <sup>5</sup> sucked E, F. <sup>6—6</sup> filthy poysen F. <sup>7</sup> confusion B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> they F. <sup>10—10</sup> *not in* E. <sup>11</sup> shirt of F.

<sup>12</sup> would to E, F. <sup>13</sup> all too F. <sup>14</sup> oh *not in* F. <sup>15</sup> sumptuous B, E, F. <sup>16</sup> yea and of late, imbroydered with Golde and Siluer very costly *added in* F.

<sup>17</sup> of *not in* E.

The countynge  
house of all  
euill is mans  
braine.  
[+ E 6, back]

<sup>19</sup> leaf 29, back.  
B. + 1  
<sup>10</sup> The vain ex-  
cesse of bothe  
hosen <sup>10</sup>

The varitie of  
fashions con-  
uince vs of  
follic.

Bugled clokes.

those geugawes wherwith you say they be blaunched and trimmed, they serue to no end but to feade the wanton eyes of gazing fools, & planly argue the vertiginie, and instability of their more than fantastical brains.

[<sup>1</sup> E 7]  
Swords and  
daggers gilt  
& damasked.  
[<sup>2</sup> leaf 30. B.†]

[Scabbards and  
sheaths of  
velvet.]

[Why gilt  
swoordes, and  
daggers be  
worne. E, F ]

Lucc. x6.

<sup>1</sup> Phil. To these haue they their Rapiers, Swoords and Daggers, gilt twise or thrise <sup>2</sup> ouer the hilts, with <sup>3</sup> [good Angell golde, or els argented ouer with filuer both within and without, and if it be true as I heare say it is, there be some hiltes made all of pure filuer it self, and couered with golde. Othersome at the least are Damasked, Vernished, and ingrauen marueilous goodly: and least any thyng should be wantyng to set forthe their pride, their] <sup>3</sup> scaberds and sheathes of <sup>4</sup> Velvet or the like; for leather, though it be more proffitable and as seemely, yet wil it not carie such a <sup>5</sup> porte or countenance like <sup>6</sup> the <sup>5</sup> other. And wil not these golden swoords & daggers almoste apale a man <sup>7</sup> (though otherwise neuer so stout a *Martialiſt*) to haue any deling with them? for either to that end they be worne, or els other swoords, daggers and rapiers of bare yron and steele were as hanfom as they, & much more conducible <sup>8</sup> to that end whereto swoords and rapiers should serue, namely, <sup>9</sup> for a mans lawfull and godly defence against his aduersarie in time of neceſſitie. But wherfore they be so clogged with gold and filuer I know not, nor yet wherto this exceſſe serueth I fee not; but certain I am, a great shewe of pride it is, an infallible token of vain glorie, and a greeuous offence to God, so prodigallie and licentiouslie <sup>10</sup> to lauish foorth his treasure, for which we must render accounts at the day of Iudgement, when it shall be faide to euerie one, *Redde rationem Vilicationis tuae*. Come, giue accounts of thy Stewardship.

<sup>1</sup> Heading in F:—Rapiers, Daggers, Swords, gilte in Englande.

† leaf 30. Swordes, Rapiers, and Daggers. B.      <sup>3—3</sup> in B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> are of B, E, F.      <sup>5—5</sup> Maiesty or glorious shewe as the F.      <sup>6</sup> as B, E.

<sup>7</sup> thinke you added in F.      <sup>8</sup> auailable F.      <sup>9</sup> that is F.      <sup>10</sup> wastifull F.

<sup>1</sup> A particulare Discription of the Abuses of Womens<sup>2</sup> [<sup>1</sup> E 7, back;  
leaf 30, back. B.]  
apparell in Ailgna.

THus hauinge geuen thee a<sup>3</sup> superficiall<sup>4</sup> viewe, <sup>5</sup> or smal taft<sup>5</sup> (but not discouered the hundredth part) of the guyfes of *Ailgna* in mens apparel, and of the abuses contained in the same, now wil I, with like celeritie of matter,<sup>6</sup> impart vnto thee the guyfe and feuerall Abuses [The abuses in women's apparel] of the apparell of wemen there vsed alio: wherfore, geue attentiuue eare.

*Sp.* My eares be prest to heare: begin when you wil, and truely herin you shal pleasur me much, for I haue greatly desired to know thorowly the state of *that Land*, euen *a crepundiis* (as they say) from my tender yeres, for the great prayse I haue hard therof. Wherfore I pray you proceed to the same, & though I be vnable with any benefit to counteruail your great pains,<sup>7</sup> yet *the Lord*, I doubt not, wil supplie my want.

*Ph.* The Lord our God is a mercifull God, & a bountiful Rewarder of euery one that trusteth in him; but yet (such is the magnificency<sup>8</sup> & liberalitie of that gentle sex) that I trust I shall not be vnrewarded at their hands, if<sup>9</sup> to be called a thousand knanes be a sufficient guerdon for my pains. But though it wilbe<sup>10</sup> a corrosiue<sup>11</sup> to their hautie<sup>12</sup> stomacks, & a *nippitatum* to their<sup>13</sup> tender brefts<sup>13</sup> to heare their dirtie dreggs ript vp and cast in<sup>14</sup> their dial<sup>15</sup>mond faces, yet [15 leaf 31. B.] hope<sup>16</sup>ing that they, seeing the horrour of their impieties, and tragically<sup>16</sup> E 8] abufes laide open to the world (for now they sleep in the<sup>17</sup> graue of obliuion) wil at the laft, like good Conuerentes and<sup>18</sup> Penitentiaries of *Christie Iesu*, leaue of their wickednes, call for mercie at the hands of God, repent and amend. I will proceed to my intended purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Womans F.

<sup>3</sup> a taste or B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> not in F.

<sup>5</sup> <sup>5</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> <sup>6</sup> expedition F.

<sup>7</sup> curtesie F.

<sup>8</sup> munificencie B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> if at the least B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> maie bee perhappes B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> corrasive F.

<sup>12</sup> tender F.

<sup>13</sup> <sup>13</sup> haughty minds F.

<sup>14</sup> into F.

+ leaf 31. Colouryng of faces in Ailgna? B. E has a new head-line here, Abuse of the female sex.

<sup>17</sup> dust of silence and added in E, F.

<sup>18</sup> become faithfull B, E; become the faithfull F.

Coloring of  
faces with  
oyntments and  
waters.

<sup>1</sup>The Women of *Ailgna*<sup>2</sup> vse to colour their faces with certain oyles, liquors, vnguents and waters made to that end, whereby they think their beautie is greatly decored: but who feethe not that their soules are thereby deformed, and they brought deeper into the displeasure and indignation of the Almighty, at whose voice the earth dooth tremble, and at whose presence the heauens shall liquifie and melt away. Doo they think thus to adulterate the Lord his woorkmanship, and to be without offence? Doo they not know that he is *Zelotipus*,<sup>3</sup> a ielous God, and cannot abide any alteration of his woorkes, other wife then he hath commaunded<sup>4</sup>?

Adulteration  
of the Lord  
his workmaz-  
ship in his  
Creatures.

Yf an Artificer or Craftsman shoulde make any-thing belonging to his art or science, & a cobler should presume to correct the same, would not the other think him self abused, and iudge him<sup>5</sup> worthy of reprehencion?

<sup>18</sup> E 8, back]  
<sup>11</sup> leaf 31, back.  
B.\*]

And<sup>6</sup> thinkest thou (oh Woman!)<sup>6</sup> to escape the Iudgement of God, who hath fashioned thee<sup>7</sup> to his glory, when thy<sup>9</sup> great, and more then presumptuous, audacitie<sup>10</sup> dareth to alter, &<sup>11</sup> chaunge his woorkmanship in thee<sup>12</sup>?

They that  
colour their  
faces, deny the  
Lord of glory  
to bee true  
God, and so  
no God at all.

<sup>13</sup> Thinkest thou that thou canst make thy self<sup>13</sup> fairer then God, who<sup>14</sup> made vs all? These must needs be their inuentions,<sup>15</sup> or els they would neuer go about to coulour their faces with such fibber-sawces. And these beeing their inuentions,<sup>15</sup> what can derogate more from the maiestie of God in his creation? For in this dooing, they plainly conuince the Lord of vntrueth in his word, who faith he made man glorious, after his owne likenes, and the fayrest of all other terrestiall<sup>16</sup> Creatures. If he be thus faire, then what need they to make them fayrer? Therfore this their colouring of their faces importeth (as by probable conjecture may be presupposed) that they think them selues not faire enough,<sup>17</sup> and then must God needs be vntrue in his woord.

<sup>1</sup> Heading in F:—Collouring of womens faces in England.

<sup>2</sup> (many of them) use B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> deus added in B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> made them B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> the reproouer F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> doe these women thinke B, E, F.      <sup>7</sup> them B, E, F.      <sup>9</sup> their B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> audacitie A.

\* leaf 31, back. Coloured faces abhord of God. B.

<sup>12</sup> them B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> Doe they suppose that they can make themselues B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> that B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> intentions B, E, F : (suppositions for the 1st word F.)      <sup>16</sup> terrestriall F.

<sup>17</sup> els why doe thei goe about to make themselues fairer added in B, E, F.

And also they deny the Lord to be either mercifull or almighty, or bothe, and so consequently no God at all; for if hee could not haue made them faire, then is hee not almighty; and if hee could and would not, then is hee not a merciful God; and so every way they <sup>1</sup>fall in to the finck<sup>1</sup> of offence, <sup>2</sup>beeing<sup>2</sup> ashamed of the good creation of the Lord in them; but<sup>3</sup> it is to be feared least at the day of Iudgement the Lord wil be ashamed of them, & in his wrath <sup>4</sup>denounce [4 F 1] this heauie and ineuitable sentence conf'demnatorie against them: *"Departe from mee, you cursed, into euerlasting fire, prepared for the deuil and his Angels: I knowe you not: (I say) departe, for you were ashamed of mee, and of my creation in you.<sup>6</sup>"*

Sentence con-demnatory  
against those  
that coulour  
their faces.  
[5 leaf 32. B.t]

*Spud.* Wherof doo they make these waters, and other<sup>7</sup> vnctions wherwith they besmeare their faces, can you tel?

*Philo.* I<sup>8</sup> am not so skilful in their<sup>9</sup> matters of pride,<sup>9</sup> but I holde this for a *Maxime*, that<sup>10</sup> they are made of many mixtures, and fundry compounded<sup>11</sup> simples, bothe farre fetched and deer bought, cunningly couched<sup>12</sup> together, and<sup>13</sup> tempered with many goodly condiments and holosome confectiones, I warrant you; els you may be sure they woulde not applye them to their amorous<sup>14</sup> faces, for feare of harming or blemishing the same.

[Materials of  
waters, &c. for  
women's faces.]

[*Spud.* I priae you shewe me the<sup>15</sup> iudgements, and<sup>15</sup> opinions of the Fathers, concernyng these colourynges<sup>16</sup> of faces<sup>17</sup> with ointmentes and waters, that I maie the better know, what to iudge of it<sup>18</sup> my self.<sup>17</sup> B, E, F; part inserted with the pen in A.]

*Philo.* S. Ciprian, amongst all<sup>19</sup> the rest, faith, a Woman, thorow painting and dying of her face, sheweth her self to be more then whorish. For (faith hee) shee hath corrupted and defaced (like a filthie strumpet or brothel) the woorkmanship of God in her: what is this els but to turne truthe into falsehood with painting and fibber-

Inuictives of  
the Fathers  
against paynt-  
ing and cou-  
loring of  
faces.

<sup>1—1</sup> stumble at the stone of B, E, F.

<sup>2—2</sup> whiche one day will crushe them all to peeces, excepte they repent. And as they be B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> so B, E, F.

† leaf 32. Harlottes vse painted faces. B.

<sup>6</sup> in you not in F.

<sup>7</sup> other not in B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> Truly I, F.

<sup>9—9</sup> dealings.

<sup>10</sup> that not in E.

<sup>11</sup> compounde B, E; not in F.

<sup>12</sup> mingled B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> and artificially B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> amiable F.

<sup>15—15</sup> not in A, pen.

<sup>16</sup> this colouringe A, pen.

<sup>17—17</sup> not in A, pen.

<sup>18</sup> them E, F.

<sup>19</sup> all not in B, E, F.

fawces, wheras the Lord saith, “*Thou canst not make one haire white or black.*” In an other place hee saith, *Qui <sup>1</sup>se pinguunt<sup>2</sup> in hoc seculo, aliter quam creauit<sup>3</sup> Deus, metuant ne, cum dies resurrectionis vencrit, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscet.* Those which<sup>4</sup> paint or colour them selues in this world otherwise then God hath made them, let them feare, least when the day of iudgement commeth, the Lorde wil not know them for his Creatures. Againe, *Feminæ crines suos insciunt malo præfigio, capillos enim flammeos aufpicari<sup>5</sup> non metuent.* Whosoeuer doo color their faces, or their haire, with any vnaturall colour, they begin to prognosticate of what colour they shalbe in hel.

S. Ambrose saith that from the coullouring of faces spring the inticements to vices, and that they which<sup>6</sup> color their faces doo purchase to them selues the blot and stain of chastitie.

For what a dotation is it (saith hee) to chaunge thy naturall face which God hath made thee for a painted face, which thou hast made thy self? If thou beest faire, why paintest thou thy self to seeme fairer? and if thou be not faire, why doost thou hypocritically desire to seeme faire, and art nothing lesse? Can those things which, besides that they be filthie, doo cary the brand of God his curse vpon their backs for euer, make thee to seeme fayrer? I could shew you the sharp Inuections, and grounded reasons of many moe, as of Aug[u]stine, Hierome, Christofome, Gregorie, Caluin, Peter Martyr, Gualter, and of an infinite number moe; <sup>7</sup>yea, of all generally since the beginning of <sup>8</sup>the world, against this<sup>9</sup> whorish and brothellous painting and coullouring of faces; but to auoid *prolixitie* I will omit them, deferring them to further oportunite, for *pauca sapienti*,<sup>10</sup> To a wiseman few woords are sufficient.

*Spud.* It must needs be graunted, that the dying and coullouring of faces with artificiall colours, and vnnaturall Oyntments, is moste offendive to God, and derogatorie to his Maiestie: [And when thei haue doen all that thei can, and the cunningest artist that euer liued besides, yet shal thei neuer be able to make so splendent, so orient, and

<sup>2</sup> pingunt E..      \* leaf 32, back. Colouryng of faces detestable. B.

<sup>4</sup> that F.      <sup>5</sup> auspicare F.      <sup>6</sup> which comes before that in F.

† leaf 33. Painted faces, the Deuilles nets. B.

<sup>9</sup> those E.

<sup>10</sup> sapientia B., E., F.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 32, back.  
B.<sup>2</sup>]  
[<sup>3</sup> F 1, back]

[St. Cyprian  
against face-  
painting]

No painting  
can make any  
to seem fairer,  
but fowler.

[7 F 2]

[<sup>8</sup> leaf 33 B.]

† Colouring of  
faces, the deuils  
net.

so naturall a colour, as dame Nature hath giuen to the herbes in the feeld. Then if God hath imprinted suche an excellent colour in the graffe of the feeld, which to-day<sup>1</sup> is standing,<sup>1</sup> and to-morrow is cut doun; how muche more hath he ingrauen a beautifull colour in man, the excellenteſt creature of all others<sup>2</sup>? Therefore ought euery one to content himself with the ſhape that God hath giuen hym, without ſekyng of alteration or change. B, E, F.] for doo they think that the God of all glorie, and who only decketh and adorneth the Sun, the Moon, the Starres, and all the hoaſt of heauen with vnspeakable glorie, and incomparable beautie, cannot make them beautiful and faire enough (if it please him) without their fibbersawces? And what are they<sup>3</sup> els then the Deuils inuentions, to intangle poore foules in the nets of perdition?

[God's own  
colouring  
of man.]

*Phil.* Then followeth the trimming and tric<sup>5</sup>king of their heds in laying out their hair to the ſhewe, which of force muſt be curled, friſled and crifped, laid out (a World to ſee!) on wreathes & borders from one eare to an other. And leaſt it ſhould fall down, it is vnder propped with forks, wyers, & I can not tel what, rather<sup>6</sup> like grime<sup>7</sup> ſterne monſters, then chaſte christian matrones. Then, on the edges of their bolſtred heir (for it ſtandeth creſted round about their frontiers, & hanging ouer their faces like<sup>8</sup> pendices<sup>9</sup> with glaſſe windowes an<sup>10</sup> euery ſide) there is layd great wreathes of gold and filuer, curiouſlie wrought & cunninglie<sup>11</sup> applied to the temples of their heads. And for feare of lacking any thing to ſet forth their pride withal, at their heyre, thus wreathed and creſted, are hanged bugles (I dare not ſay bables) ouches, rings, gold, filuer, glaſſes, & ſuch other<sup>12</sup> gewgawes and<sup>13</sup> trinckets beſides, which, for that they be innumerable, and I vnkilfull in wemens termes, I can not eaſily recount.<sup>14</sup> But God giue them grace to giue ouer these vanities, and ſtudie to adorn their heads with the incorruptible ornaments of vertue & true Godlyneſſe.

[t side-note,

p. 66, here

in B, E.]

Trimming of  
their heds.  
[5 leaf 33, back.  
B.t]

Simia erit  
simia, etiam si  
aurea gestat,  
inſignia.

Laying out of  
their haire.  
[8 F 2, back]

Gold wreathes,  
circumgyring  
the temples of  
their heads.

Gewgawes  
hanged about  
their Frontiers.

*Spud.* The Apostle *Paul* (as I remember) commaundeth wemen to cheriſh their heyre, ſaying that it is an ornament to them; &

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> standeth E.

<sup>2</sup> other F.

<sup>3</sup> but F.

<sup>4</sup> heading in F :—Attirring of wemens headeſ in England.

+ leaf 33, back. Laying out of coloured haire. B.

<sup>6</sup> rather comes before than in F.

<sup>7</sup> and added in F.

<sup>9</sup> or vailes added in B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> on F.

<sup>11</sup> cunning = (sic) F.

<sup>12</sup> other childishe B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> and foolish B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> exprefſeſ B, E; recompt F.

68 Laying out of coloured haire. The Anatomie

therfor me think this abuse of curling and laying it out<sup>1</sup> (if eyther were lawfull) is muche more tollerable than dying their faces.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 34. B.]

Curling and  
crisping and  
laying out of  
heyre.

Bought heyre  
and colored  
used to be  
worn.

[Children's hair  
cut off by women  
in London.]

[<sup>3</sup> F 3]

[Women dye  
their hair.]

[<sup>16</sup> leaf 34, back.  
B.]

<sup>2</sup> *Philo.* If curling, & laying out of<sup>3</sup> their own naturall heyre weare all (which is impious, and at no hand lawfull, <sup>4</sup> notwithstanding for<sup>4</sup> it is the<sup>5</sup> enigne of Pride, and the ftern<sup>6</sup> of wantonnes to all that behould it) it were the leffe matter; but they are not simply contente with their owne haire, but buy other heyre,<sup>7</sup> dying it of what color they lift themselues: [And if there be any poore women (as now and then, we fee God doeth bleffe them with beautie, as well as the riche) that hath faire haire, these nice dames will not rest, till thei haue bought it. Or if any children haue faire haire, thei will intice them into a secrete place, and for a penie or two, thei will cut of their haire: as I heard *that* one did in the citie of Munidnol<sup>8</sup> of late, who metyng a little child with verie faire haire, inuegled her into a house, promised her a penie, and so cutte off her haire. B, E, F.] & this they were<sup>9</sup> in the same order as you haue<sup>10</sup> heard, as though it weare their owne<sup>11</sup> natural heir: and vpon the other fide, if any haue heyre<sup>12</sup> which is not faire inough, than will they dye it into<sup>13</sup> dyuerse colors, almost chaunginge the substance into accidentes by their dyuelish, & more than thrise cursed deuyses. So, wheras their heire was geuen them as a signe of subiectiōn, and therfore they were commaunded to cherish the same, now haue they made<sup>14</sup> (as it were) a *Metamorphosis* of it, making<sup>14</sup> it an ornament of Pride, and destruction to them selues<sup>15</sup> for euer,<sup>15</sup> except they repent.

<sup>16</sup> *Spud.* This is a stfynecked People, & a rebellious, I see well, that thus dareth, in euerie respekte, to peruer the straight wayes of the Lord, digginge vp to them-selues cesterns of iniquity,<sup>17</sup> & pittes of aduersity,<sup>17</sup> which in th'end, without the great mercy of God, will be their vtter confusio[n].

<sup>1</sup> forth F. \* leaf 34. Bought haire & coloured, worne. B.

<sup>2</sup> of not in B, E, F. <sup>4—4</sup> beyng as B, E, F. <sup>5</sup> an B, E; and F.

<sup>6</sup> standerd F.

<sup>7</sup> either of Horses, Mares, or any other straunge beastes added in E, F.

<sup>8</sup> London F. <sup>9</sup> weare F. <sup>11</sup> owne owne F.

<sup>12</sup> haire of her owne naturall growyng B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> in E, F.

<sup>14—14</sup> not in B, E, F. <sup>15—15</sup> not in F.

+ leaf 34, back. Capitall ornamenteſ for heads, B.

<sup>17—17</sup> not in F,

<sup>1</sup> *Philo.* Than, on topes of these stately turrets (I meane their goodly heads wherin is more vanitie than true Philosophie now and than) stand their other capitall ornaments, as french hood, hat, cappe, kercher, and suche like; wherof some be of veluet, <sup>2</sup> some of taffatife, some (but few) of woll, <sup>3</sup> some of this fashon, some of that, <sup>4</sup> and some of this color, some of that, <sup>5</sup> according to the variable fantasies of their serpentine minds. And to such exceſſe <sup>6</sup> is it growen, as <sup>7</sup> euery artificers wyfe<sup>5</sup> (almoſt) wil <sup>6</sup>not ſtick to goe in her hat of Velvet euery day, euery marchants wyfe and meane Gentlewomen in her french-hood, and euery poore Cottagers Daughter in her taffatife hat, or els of woll at leaſt, wel lined with filk, veluet or taffatife. But how they come by this (ſo they haue it) they care not; who payeth for it they regard not, nor yet what hurt booth to them ſelues and others it <sup>7</sup>dooth bring, <sup>7</sup> they feare not, But runne daylie *a malo ad peius* (as they ſay) from one miſchiefe to an other, vntill they haue<sup>8</sup> filled vp the meſure of their euill<sup>9</sup> to their owne <sup>10</sup> perdition at that day.<sup>10</sup>

Capitall ornaments for the head.

Hattes of  
velucts: taf-  
faty worn in  
common

Trahit sua  
quenque  
voluptas.

<sup>11</sup> They haue also other ornaments besydes theſe to furnish foorth their ingeniouſ heads, which they cal (as I remember) cawles, made Netwyſe, to th' ende, as I thinke, that the clothe of gold, cloth of filuer, or els tinfell, (for that is the worſt) wherwith their heads are couered and attyred withall <sup>12</sup> vnderneath their cawles maye<sup>13</sup> appeare, and ſhewe it ſelue in the brauest maner. Soe that a man that ſeethe them (there heads glifter and ſhine in ſuche forte) wold<sup>14</sup> thinke them to haue golden heads. [And ſome weare Lattice cappes with three hornes, three corners I ſhould ſaie, like the forked cappes of Popishe Prieſtes, with their perriwincles, chitterlynges, and the like apishe toyſ of infinite varietie. B, E, F.]

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 35. B.]

Cawles made  
Netwyſe.

Thus lauifhe they foorth the goods of the Lorde, which are none of their owne (but lent them for a tymē) vpon Pride and naughti- neſſe, delighting (as it ſeemeth) in nothing ſo<sup>15</sup> muſche as in the finck- ing puddle of vanitie and finne, which will be their owne decay <sup>16</sup> at the

Golden heads  
fraught with  
leaden wit.

[<sup>15</sup> F 4]

<sup>1</sup> heading in F:—French Hoodes in England.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>3</sup> not in F.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>5</sup> it is grown that F.

<sup>5</sup> wyſe A.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> bringeth F.

<sup>8</sup> haue not in F.

<sup>9</sup> iniquitie B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> confuſion at the laſt F.      [<sup>1</sup> leaf 35. Golden heads with leaden wit. B.

<sup>12</sup> not in F.

<sup>13</sup> may the better B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> he would F.

<sup>16</sup> in the end F.

Making of holes  
in their eares  
to hang rings  
and Jewels by.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 35, back.  
B. \*]

A people who  
cut their skin  
to set precious  
stones in  
them selues.

[<sup>7</sup> F 4, back.]

Great ruffes,  
Neckerchers,  
and partlets  
vsed of Wo-  
men.

[Starche the  
deuils liquor. E.  
F.]  
Supportasses  
the pillars of  
pride.  
[<sup>4</sup> leaf 36. B. †]

last.<sup>16</sup> Another sorte of dissolute minions & wanton *Sempronians* (for I can term them no better) are so far bewitched, as they are not ashamed to make holes in their eares, wherat they hang rings, and other Jewels of gold and precious stones. But what this signifieth in them I will hould my peace, for the thing it selfe speakeith sufficiently. There is a certen kinde of People in the <sup>1</sup>Orientall parte of the World<sup>1</sup> (as Writers affirme), that are suche *Philautoi*, <sup>2</sup>louers of them selues, and so prowde with all, that, hauing plentie of precious Stones and Margarits amongest them, they cut and launce their skinnes and fleshe, setting therin these precious Stones, to the end they maye glister and shine to the eye.

So, except these Women weare minded to tread their pathes, and <sup>3</sup>folowe their direfull wayes in this cursed kind of <sup>4</sup>vnhard of <sup>4</sup>Pride, I wonder what they meane.

But because this is not so muche frequented amonegst Women as Men, I will say noe more thereof, vntill further occasion be offred.

*Spud.* Except it weare a People wedded to <sup>5</sup>the deuills eldest Daughter<sup>5</sup> Pride (for I thinke chaftitie<sup>6</sup> amonegst them maye dwell <sup>7</sup>a Virgin for any that wil marry her), and giuen ouer of God, I neuer heard the like. I am perfwaded <sup>8</sup>neither the *Libertines*, the *Epicures*, nor yet the vile *Atheists*, euer<sup>9</sup> exceeded this people in pride, <sup>10</sup>nor<sup>11</sup> the wickednes of them might euer counterpease with the wickednes of these people<sup>10</sup>: *God be merciful unto them!*

*Philo.* You heare not the tenth parte, for no pen is able so wel to discribe it, as the eye is to discry<sup>12</sup> it. The Women there vse great ruffes, & neckerchers of holland, lawne, camerrick, and such cloth, as the greatest thred shall not be so bigge as the least haire that is: then,<sup>13</sup> least they should fall down, they are smeared and starched in the deuils liquore, I meane *Starch*; after that, dried with great diligence, streaked, patted, and rubbed <sup>14</sup>very nicely, and so applyed to their goodly necks, and, withall, vnderpropopped with supportaffes (as I tolde you before) the statelie arches of pride: beyond all this they

<sup>1—1</sup> Orient F.                                    \* 1leaf 35, back. Wearyng of eare-ringes. B.

<sup>3</sup> and to F.

<sup>4—4</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>5—5</sup> not in F.

<sup>6</sup> humilitie B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> that neither B, E, F.                                    <sup>9</sup> that euer liued F.                                    <sup>10—10</sup> not in F

<sup>11</sup> nor that B, E.    <sup>12</sup> discerne F.    <sup>13</sup> and E, F.

† leaf 36. Great ruffes and minor ruffes. B.

haue a further fetch, nothing inferiour to the rest ; as, namely, three or foure degrees of *minor ruffes*, placed *gradatim*, <sup>1</sup> step by step,<sup>1</sup> one *Minor ruffe*. beneath another, and all vnder the Maister deuil ruffe. the skyrts, then, of these great ruffes are long and fide euery way, pleted and crested ful curiously, God wot. Then, laist of all, they are either clogged with golde, siluer, or silk lace of stately price, wrought all <sup>2</sup> ouer with needle woork, speckled and sparkled heer & there with [F 5] the sonne, the moone, the starres, and many other antiquities<sup>3</sup> straunge to beholde. Some are wrought with open woork down to the midst of the ruffe and further,<sup>4</sup> some with purled lace so cloyd, and other gewgawes so pestred, as the ruffe is the least parte of it self. Sometimes they are pinned vp to their eares, sometimes they are suffered to hang ouer their shouolders, like<sup>6</sup> windmil sayles fluttering in the winde ; and thus euery one pleaseth her self with<sup>7</sup> her foolish deuices, for *suis cuiusque crepitus sibi tene olet*, as the prouerb saith : euery one thinketh his own<sup>8</sup>swayes best<sup>8</sup>, <sup>9</sup>though they leade to distruktion of body and soule, which I wihi them to take heed of.<sup>9</sup> [F 10] And<sup>11</sup> amonkest many other fearfull examples of Gods wrathe against Pride,<sup>12</sup> to sett before their eyes, the fearfull Iudgement of<sup>13</sup> God, shewed upon a gentlewoman of Eprautna<sup>14</sup> of late, even the 27 of Maie 1582, the fearfull found whereof is blowen through all the worlde, and is yet fresh in euery mannes memorie. This gentlewoman beeynge a very riche Merchaunte mannes daughter : vpon a tyme was inuited<sup>15</sup> to a Bridall, or Weddyng, whiche was solemnized in that Toune, agaistne whiche daie she made greate preparation, for the plumyng of her self in gorgious arraie, that as her body was moft beautifull, faire, and proper, so her attire in euery respekte might bee corespondent<sup>16</sup> to the same. For the accomplishment whereof, she curled her haire, she died her lockes, and laied them out after the best maner, she coloured her face with waters and Ointmentes : But in no case could she gette any (so curious and daintie she was) that could starche, and sette her Ruffes, and Neckerchers to her mynde : wherefore she sent for a couple of Laundreffes,

The great  
curioſty of  
ruffs and  
neckerchers.

[<sup>13</sup> leaf 36, back.  
B. F.]

[Antwarpe. E.]

[A fearfull  
example against  
pride shewed  
vpon a gentle-  
woman in  
Antwarpe. E, F.]

[Womens  
lubricious  
minded never  
content with  
anythinge when  
it is well. E.]

<sup>1—1</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> antiques B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> some with close woork, added in B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> in E.

<sup>6</sup> flagges or added in F.

<sup>7</sup> in B, E, F.

<sup>8—8</sup> foist the sweetest F.

<sup>9—9</sup> not in F.

<sup>10</sup> added in B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> But F.

<sup>12</sup> I would wish them added in F.      † leaf 36, back. *No head-line*. B.

<sup>14</sup> Antwarpe F.      <sup>15</sup> inuited A ; inuited F.      <sup>16</sup> answerable F.

[The fearful  
end of the proud  
Antwerp lady.]

who did the best thei could to please her humors, but in anywise thei could not. Then fell she to sweare and teare, to curfse and banne, castyng the Ruffes vnder feete, and wifhyng that the Deuill might take her, when she<sup>1</sup> weare any of those Neckerchers againe. In the meane tyme (through the sufferaunce of God) the Deuill, transformyng himself into the forme<sup>2</sup> of a young man, as braue, and proper as she in euery poincte in outward appearaunce, came in, fainyng hymself to bee a woer or futer vnto her. <sup>3</sup> And seyng her thus agonized, and in such a pealtyng chafe, he demaunded of her the cause thereof, who straight waie tolde hym (as women can conceale no thyng that lieth vppon their stomackes) how she was abused in the setting of her Ruffes, which thyng beeyng heard of hym, he promised to please her minde, and thereto<sup>4</sup> tooke in hande the setting of her Ruffes, whiche he performed to her greate contention, and likyng, in so muche as she lokyng her self in a glasse (as the Deuill bad her) became greatly inamoured with hym. This dooen, the yong man kissted her, in the doyng whereof, he writhe her necke in fonder, so she died miserably, her bodie beyng<sup>5</sup> Metamorphosed, into blacke and blewe<sup>5</sup> colours, most vgglesome to behold, and her face (whiche before was so amorous) became mooste deformed, and fearfull to looke vpon. This being knownen,<sup>6</sup> preparaunce<sup>6</sup> was made for her buriall, a riche coffin was prouided, and her fearfull bodie was laied therein, and it<sup>7</sup> couered verie sumptuously. Foure men immediatly assaied to lifte vp the corps, but could not moue it, then fixe attempted the like, but could not once stirre it from the place, where it stooode. Wherat the standers by marueilysing, caused the Coffin to bee opened, to see the cause thereof. Where thei founde the bodie to be taken awaie, and a blacke Catte verie leane and deformed sittynge in the Coffin, setting of greate Ruffes, and frizlyng of haire, to the greate feare, and<sup>8</sup> wonder of all the beholders. This wofull spectacle haue I offered to their viewe, that by looking into it, in stead of their other looking Glasses

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 37. B.\*]

[The deuil  
pleaseth women  
better then any  
bodie els. E, F.]

[The deuil found  
setting of great  
Ruffes. E.]  
[<sup>8</sup> leaf 37, back.  
B.t]

<sup>1</sup> shee did F.

<sup>2</sup> shape F.

\* leaf 37. No head-line B. E has head-line, A fearfull example agaynst Pride.

<sup>4</sup> so F.

<sup>5—5</sup> straight waies changed into blew and black F.

<sup>6—6</sup> in the cittie, great preparation F.

<sup>7</sup> it not in F.

† leaf 37, back. Women wearyst Dublets. B. E has The deuil found setting of ruffes.

thei might see their own filthinesse, & auoyde the like offence, for feare of the same, or worser iudgement: whiche God graunt thei maie doe<sup>1]</sup>.]

*Spud.* As in a *Camelion* are said to be all coulours, faue white, so I think in theſe people are all things els<sup>2</sup>, faue Vertue and chriftian ſobrietie. *Proteus*, that Monſter, could neuer chaunge him ſelf into *Proteus*. ſo many fourmes & ſhapes as theſe women doo: belike they haue made an obligation with hel, and are at agreement<sup>3</sup> with the deuil, els they would neuer outrage thus, without either feare of God or reſpect to their weak Bretheren, whom heerin they offend.

<sup>4</sup> *Philo.* The Women alſo there haue dublets & Ierkins, as men haue heer, buttoned vp the <sup>5</sup>breſt, and made with wings, welts, and pinions on the ſhoulder points, as mans apparel is <sup>6</sup>for all the world<sup>6</sup>; & though<sup>7</sup> this be a kinde of attire appropriate<sup>8</sup> onely to man, yet they bluſh not to wear it; and if they could as wel chaunge their ſex, & put on the kinde of man, as they can weare apparel affiſned onely to man, I think they would as verely become men indeed, as now they degenerat from godly, sober women, in wearing this wanton lewd kinde of attire, proper onely to man.

It is written in the <sup>22</sup> of *Deuteronomie*, that what man ſo euer weareth <sup>9</sup>womans apparel is accuſed, and what woman weareth mans apparel is accuſed alſo. Now, whether they be within the <sup>10</sup>bands and lymits<sup>10</sup> of that curſe, let <sup>11</sup>them <sup>12</sup>fee to it them ſelues<sup>12</sup>. <sup>11</sup> Our Apparel was giuen vs<sup>13</sup> as a ſigne diſtinctiue to diſcern betwixt ſex and ſex, & therfore one to weare the Apparel of another ſex is to participate with the ſame, and to adulterate the veritie of his owne kinde. Wherefore theſe Women may not improperly be called *Hermaphroditi*, that is, Monſters of bothe kindes, half women, half men.<sup>14</sup>

Women wear-  
ing dublets  
and Ierkins  
[<sup>5</sup> F 5, back]

A curse to  
them that  
weare contrary  
apparel to  
their ſex.  
[<sup>9</sup> leaf 38. B. t.]

*Hermaphro-*  
*diti.*

*Spud.* I neuer read nor heard of any people, except drunken with

<sup>1</sup> added in B, E, F.      <sup>2</sup> els not in E.      <sup>3</sup> a league F.

<sup>4</sup> heading in F:—Doublets for Women in England.      <sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> in all respects F.

<sup>7</sup> although F.      <sup>8</sup> proper F.      † leaf 38. A curse for Apparel. B.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> compasse F.      <sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> they themſelves judge F.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> take heede B, E.

<sup>13</sup> us not in E, F.

<sup>14</sup> Who if thei were naturall women, and honest matrones, would bluſhe to go in ſuche wanton and leude attire, as is proper\* onely to man added in B, E, F. (\* incident F.)

[<sup>x</sup> F 6]The diuersity  
of Gounes.

*Cyrces* cups, or poysoned with the *exorcisms* of *Medea*, that famous and renoumed Sorcereffe, that euer woulde weare suche kinde of attire as is not onely <sup>1</sup>ftinking before the face of God,<sup>2</sup> offendive to man, but also<sup>3</sup> painteth out to the whole world the <sup>4</sup>venereous inclination<sup>4</sup> of their corrupt conuerteration.

<sup>5</sup> *Philo.* There Gownes be no leſſe famous also<sup>6</sup>; for ſome are of filk, ſome of veluet, ſome of grogram, ſome of taffetie, ſome of scarlet, and ſome of fine cloth, of ten, twentie, or fortie ſhillings a yard. But if the whole gowne be not filke or veluet, then the ſame ſhall<sup>7</sup> be layed with lace, two or three fingers broade, all ouer the gowne, or els the moſte parte.

[<sup>8</sup> leaf 38, back.  
B. t.]

Costly gownes.

Or, if not ſo (as lace<sup>8</sup> is not fine enough ſometimes<sup>9</sup>), then it muſt be garded with great gardes of veluet,<sup>10</sup> foure or fix fingers broad at the leaſt, and edged with costly lace; and as theſe gownes be of diuers and fundrie colors, ſo are they of diuers fashions, changing with the Moon, for ſome be of the new fashion, ſome of the olde, ſome of this fashion, and ſome of that, ſome with ſleeues hanging down to their skirts, trayling on the ground, and caſt ouer their ſhoulders, like Cowtayles.

Some haue ſleeues much ſhorter, cut vp the arme,<sup>11</sup> and pointed with filk-ribons very gallantly, tyed with true-looues knottes (for ſo they call them).

[<sup>x</sup> F 6, back.]

Petticots.

Some haue Capes reaching downe to the middeft of their backs, faced with Veluet, or els with ſome fine wrought filk<sup>12</sup> Taffaties<sup>13</sup> at the leaſt, and fringed about very brauely; & (to ſhut vp all in a word) ſome are pleated & ryuelled<sup>14</sup> down the back wonderfullly, with more knacks than I can declare.<sup>15</sup> Then haue they Petticots of the beſt cloth that can be bought, and of the faireſt dye that can be made. And ſometimes they are not of cloth neithier, for that is thought to bafe, but of scarlet, grograin, taffaties, filk, and ſuche like, fringed about the

<sup>2</sup> and added in B, E, F.    <sup>3</sup> ſuch as added in F.    <sup>4—4</sup> dissolutenesse F.

<sup>5</sup> heading in F:—Womens Gownes in England.

<sup>6</sup> then the rest for also B, E, F.    <sup>7</sup> muſt F.

† leaf 38, back. The great exceffe in Gownes. B.    <sup>8</sup> now and then F.

<sup>10</sup> every gard added in B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> drawne out with diuers and ſundry collours added in F.

<sup>12</sup> ſilk not in F.    <sup>14</sup> creasted F.

<sup>15</sup> exprefſe F.

skirts with silk fringe of chaungable coloure. But which is more vayn, of whatfoeuer their petticoats be, yet muſt they haue kyrtles Kyrtles. (for ſo they call them), eyther of ſilk, velvet, grograin, taffatice, faten, or ſcarlet, borde<sup>1</sup>red with gards, lace, fringe, and I cannot tell what [<sup>1</sup> leaf 39. B.<sup>2</sup>] beſydes. So that when they haue all theſe goodly robes vpon them, women ſeeme to be the finallef part of themſelues, not naturall women, but artificiall Women; not Women of flesh & blod, but rather puppits or mawmets of<sup>2</sup> rags & clowtes compact together. Women the  
least part of  
themselves.

So<sup>3</sup> farre hath this cancker of pride eaten into the body of the common welth, that euery poore Yeoman his Daughter, euery Husband man his daughter, & euery Cottager his Daughter, will not ſpare<sup>4</sup> Poore Mens  
Daughters  
exceſſe. to flaunt it out in ſuche gownes, petticoats, & kirtles as theſe. And not withſtanding that their Parents owe a braſe of hundred pounds more than they are worth, yet will they haue it, *quo iure quae iniuria*, eyther<sup>5</sup> by hooke or<sup>6</sup> crooke, by right or wrong, as they [<sup>5</sup> F 71] ſay, wherby it commeth to paſſe that one can ſcarlī know who is a noble woman, who is an honorable or worshipfull Woman, from them of the meaner forte.

*Spud.* Their parents & Freinds are muche to be blamed for ſuffering them to go in ſuche wanton attyre. They ſhould not allowe them ſuch large pittance, nor ſuffer them to meaſure their apparell after their own licentious yardes of ſelfe will, and wicked deſires.<sup>7</sup> Parents to  
blame.

*Philo.* Than ſhall they<sup>8</sup> be ſure neuer to haue good day with them, For they are fo impudent<sup>9</sup> that, all be it their poore Parents haue but one cow, horſe, or ſheep, they wil neuer let them reſt til they be ſould to maintain them in their braueries,<sup>10</sup> paſt all tongue can tell.<sup>10</sup> The impud-  
ency of proud  
harlots.  
[<sup>9</sup> leaf 39, back.  
B.1]

And, to ſay the truth, ſome Parents (worthie to be inaugured<sup>11</sup> with the lawrell Crowne of triple follie,) are fo buxome to their shameleſſe deſires, and fo exorable to their proſtitute requeſts, that they graunt to their too too nice daughters more than they can<sup>12</sup> deſire

\* leaf 39. The impudencie of Harlottes. B.

<sup>2</sup> conſiſting of B, F.

<sup>3</sup> Yea, ſo F.

<sup>4</sup> ſtick E, F.

<sup>6</sup> or by F.

<sup>7</sup> then ſhould thei not rage† ſo farre as thei doe *added in* B, E, F; *but E F have could;* †F has exceede, *which comes after far.*

<sup>8</sup> theyr Parents F.

‡ leaf 39, back. What makes youth wicked. B.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> beyond all meaſure B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> for fooles *added in* E, F.

<sup>12</sup> do E, F.

Our remisse  
leuitie of Pa-  
rents to their  
Children.

[<sup>5</sup> F 7, back]

<sup>8</sup> what maketh  
whores and  
strumpets.<sup>9</sup>

[<sup>12</sup> leaf 40. B.\*]

Netherstocks  
of gernsey or  
silk.

themselues, taking a singular felicity &<sup>1</sup> surmounting pleasure in f[ee]ing them <sup>2</sup> to go plumed and decked<sup>2</sup> in the Feathers of deceiptfull vanity.

*Sp.* This ouer great lenitie & remisse libertie in<sup>3</sup> the education of youthe, in respect of the euent and succeſſe<sup>4</sup> in the end, maye rather be counted an extrem cruelty, than a Fatherly<sup>5</sup> pitie<sup>6</sup> of them towards their children; For what maketh them ſo foone whores, ſtrumpets,<sup>7</sup> and bawdes, as that cockering of them doth?

What maketh them apt & prone to all kind of naughtynesse but this? Nothing in the World ſoe muche; For, giue a wild horſe the libertie of the head neuer ſo little, and he will runne headlonge to thyne and his owne deſtruſion alſo.

So long as a ſprigge, twiſt,<sup>9</sup> or braunche, is yong, it is flexible and bowable<sup>10</sup> to any thing<sup>10</sup> a man can deſire; but if we tarie till it be a great tree, it is inflexible and vnbowable. If wax be taken whyleſt it is hote, anye chaſter maye be eaſilye imprinted<sup>11</sup>; but tarying till it be hard, it re<sup>12</sup>ceueth no printe at all.

So, correct Children in their tender yeres, and you may bow them to what good lore you will your ſelfe; but tarie till they be old, than<sup>13</sup> is it<sup>13</sup> to late, as experience teacheth daylie.

<sup>14</sup> *Philo.* Their neitherſtockes, in like maner, are either of filke gearnſey,<sup>15</sup> worſted, crewell, or, at leaſt, of as fyne yarn, thread, or cloth, as is poſſible to be had, [yea thei are not aſhamed to weare hofe of all kinde of chaungable colours, as greene, red, white, rufſet, tawny, and els what,<sup>16</sup> whiche wanton light colours, any<sup>17</sup> sober chaſte Christian<sup>18</sup> (except for neceſſitie fake)<sup>18</sup> can hardly, without any<sup>19</sup> ſuſpition of lightnesſe, at any tyme weare; but whatſoeuer is a deformitie or shame in<sup>20</sup> others is an ornament to them that be paſt all shame. Then theſe delicate hofen muſt bee, B, E, F] cuſtinelye knit and curi-

<sup>1</sup> and farre B, E, F.

<sup>2—2</sup> decked and plumed B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> of theirs in B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> that it bringeth added in F.

<sup>5</sup> loue or pittie B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> Harlots added in F.

<sup>6—8</sup> not in E, F.

<sup>9</sup> a twiſt F.

<sup>10—10</sup> which way F.

<sup>11</sup> in it added in F.

\* leaf 40. New fashions euery daie. B.

<sup>13—13</sup> it is F.

<sup>14</sup> heading in F :—Netherſtockes of women in England.

<sup>15</sup> Iarnſey F.

<sup>16</sup> what not F.

<sup>17</sup> no F. <sup>18—18</sup> not in F.

<sup>19</sup> any not in E, F.

<sup>20</sup> to F.

ously indented in euery point<sup>1</sup>: wherto they haue korked shooes, pinsnets, pantoffles, and <sup>2</sup>slippers, some of black velvet, some of white, some of greene, and some of yellowe; some of spanish leather, and some of English lether,<sup>3</sup> stitched with silk,<sup>4</sup> and imbrodered with Gold and siluer all ouer the foote, with other gewgawes innumerable. All which, if I shoulde<sup>5</sup> endeououre my selfe<sup>5</sup> to expresse, I might<sup>6</sup> with more<sup>7</sup> facilitye<sup>8</sup> number the fands of the Sea, the Starres in the skye, or the graffe vpon the Earth, so infinit and innumerable be their abuses. For ware I neuer soe experte an Arithmetician<sup>9</sup>,<sup>10</sup> or<sup>11</sup> Mathematician<sup>10</sup>, I weare neuer<sup>12</sup> capable of<sup>12</sup> the<sup>13</sup> halfe of them, the deuill brocheth soe many new fashions euery day.

Wherfore to their *Author* I leauie them, not omittinge to tell you by the way (<sup>14</sup>as an *interim*<sup>14</sup>) of a certen kynde of sweete Pride vsed amongest<sup>15</sup> Gentlemen and Gentlewomen in *Ailgna*.

*Spud.* I haue learned out of the Booke of God, that all Pride is stincking before the face of God; wherfore I greatlye desyre to knowe what abortyue Miscreant this is,<sup>16</sup> for it is some portenteous mishapen monster, I am<sup>17</sup> perswaded.

<sup>18</sup>*Philo.* Is not this a certen<sup>19</sup> sweete Pride to haue cyuet, muske, sweete powders, <sup>20</sup>fragrant Pomanders, odorous perfumes, & such like, wherof the smel may be felt and perceiued, not only all ouer the house, or place, where they be present, but also a stones cast of almost, yea, the bed wherin they haue layed their delicate bodies, the places where they haue sate, the clothes, and thinges which they haue touched, shall smell a weeke, a moneth, and more, after they be gon. But the Prophet *Ezaias* telleth them, instead of their Pomaunders, <sup>21</sup>*Esai, Cap. 3.*

<sup>1</sup> with quirkes, clockes, open seame, and every thing els accordingly added in B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> lether not in B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> with silke repeated in F.    <sup>5—6</sup> take vpon me F.    <sup>6—8</sup> as easily F.

<sup>7</sup> like B, E.    <sup>†</sup> leaf 40, back. Costly Perfumes and Muskes. B.

<sup>9</sup> Arithmetrician A.    <sup>10—10</sup> not in F.    <sup>11</sup> never so skilfull a added in B, E.

<sup>12—12</sup> able to recompt F.

<sup>13</sup> the one B, E, F.

<sup>14—14</sup> comes after you in B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> amongst the B, E, F.

<sup>16</sup> may be B, E, F.

<sup>17</sup> am fully B, E, F.

<sup>18</sup> heading in F:—Muske, Ciuet, and sweet powder in England.

<sup>19</sup> certen not in E, F.

<sup>21</sup> in tyme added in B, E, F.

Corked shoes,  
pinsnets, pan-  
toffles, &  
such like, for  
women.  
[<sup>2</sup> F 8]

The innumer-  
able fashions  
of women's  
attire  
[§ leaf 40, bac.  
B. t.]

Pride stinking  
before the face  
of God.

[<sup>20</sup> F 8, back]  
The haungi of  
ciuet, musk,  
and other  
perfumes, a  
sweet kind of  
Pride.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 41. B.\*]  
Nosegayes &  
posies of flow-  
ers worn and  
caried abroad.

Beware the  
Spanish pip.

[<sup>3</sup> G 1]

These<sup>11</sup> curious  
smelles obnu-  
bilat the  
spirits &  
darken the  
sences.

Sweet smells  
of musks,  
cuyets, and such  
like, do<sup>21</sup> annoy  
the spirits.

[<sup>22</sup> leaf 41, back.  
B.†]

The vain  
gestures &  
coynes of  
women in the  
middest of

And in the Sommer-time, whilst floures be greene and fragrant, yee shall not haue any<sup>1</sup> Gentlewoman almost, no nor yet any droye or puffle in the Cuntry, but they will carye in their hands nosegayes and posies of floures to smell at; and which is more, two or three Nosegayes<sup>2</sup> sticked in their brests before, for what caufe I cannot tel, except it be to allure their<sup>3</sup> Paramours to catch at them,<sup>4</sup> wherby, I doubt not, but they get many a slabbering kiffe, and, paradeuenture, more freendship besides: they know best<sup>5</sup> what I mean.

*Spud.* You wil be thought very straight laced to speake against these thinges, for I haue heard it said, that these<sup>6</sup> sweet smels<sup>7</sup> are bothe corroboratiue to the fences, and confortatiue<sup>8</sup> to the spirits, and which doo viuifie and recreate aswel the body as the minde.<sup>7</sup>

*Philo.* They are so far from comforting the braines<sup>9</sup>, or lightning<sup>10</sup> the spirits of men<sup>12</sup>, that as mystes and exhalations which euaporate from these earthly bodyes, and are drawen vp by the attractiue power of the Sun, Moon, and starres, doo rather<sup>13</sup> obnubilate<sup>14</sup> and darken the beames of the Sun,<sup>15</sup> not suffering his radiations to disparele abrode<sup>15</sup>; So these (in a maner) palpable odors, fumes, vapours<sup>16</sup>, smells of these<sup>17</sup> musks, cuyets, pomanders, perfumes, balmes, & fuche like, ascending to the braine, do rather denigrate<sup>18</sup>, darken, and obscure the spirit<sup>19</sup> and fences, then either lighten them, or comfort them<sup>20</sup> any manner of way. But howsoeuer it falleth out, sure I am they are ensignes of pride, allurements to<sup>22</sup> finne, and prouocations to vice. After all this, when they haue attired them selues<sup>23</sup> in the midst of their pride, it is a world to consider their coynesse in gestures, their misfenes in woords and speaches, their gingerlynes<sup>24</sup> in trippinge on toes like yong goats, their demure nicitie and babishnes, and withall their

\* leaf 41. Sweete smelles, hurtfull. B.

<sup>2</sup> nosegayes not in B, E, F.      <sup>3</sup> their amorous B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> and to smell at their breastes added in F.      <sup>5</sup> best not in E, F.

<sup>6</sup> these not in B, F; the for that these in E.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> doe corroborate the sences, comfort the spirits, and recreate both the body & mynd of man greatly, doe they not so? B, E, F.      <sup>9</sup> braine F.

<sup>10</sup> illuminating E; reuiuing F.      <sup>11</sup> The F.      <sup>12</sup> man F.

<sup>13</sup> doo rather not in B; rather not in E, F.      <sup>14</sup> obnubilate not in F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> not in F.      <sup>16</sup> vapours and B, E, F.

<sup>17</sup> these not in B, E, F.      <sup>18</sup> denigrate not in F.      <sup>19</sup> spirites F.

<sup>20</sup> by any B.

<sup>21</sup> do not in F.

† leaf 41, back. Looking glasses, the deuils spectacles. B.

<sup>23</sup> thus added in B, E, F.      <sup>24</sup> gingernes B, E, F.

hawtie stomackes and more than Cyclopicall countenances. their fingers are<sup>1</sup> decked with gold, siluer and precious stones, their wristes with bracelets and armlets of gold, and other preciouſe<sup>2</sup> Jewels: their hands are<sup>3</sup> couered with their fweet waſhed gloues, imbrodered with gold, siluer, and what not; & to ſuch abhomination is it<sup>5</sup> grown, as they muſt haue their looking glaſſes caryed with them wherſoever they go. And good reaſon, for els how cold they ſee the deuile in them? for no doubt they are the deuils ſpectacles to allure vs to pride, & conſequently to diſtruſtion for euer. <sup>6</sup>and aboue al things they muſt<sup>6</sup> haue their filk ſcarffes caſt about their faces, & fluttering in the winde, with great taffels at euery end, either of gold, siluer, or filk. But I know wherfor they wil ſay they weare theſe ſcarffes; namely, to keep them from Sunburning; But I wold aſke theſe Nicelings one queſtion, wherin if they can reſolute mee, then I will ſay, as they ſay, *that ſcarffes are neceſſary, and not flags of pride.* Can that thing which is moſte glorious & fair of it ſelf, make any thing foul or illauored? the Sun is a moſt glorious & fair creature, & therfor cannot make them foulere then they are of their own naſure. From whence then is it<sup>8</sup> *that the Sun burneth them, & altereth their orient colour into woorter hue?* The cauſe therof proceedeth from their own genuine corruption and natural imperfection<sup>9</sup>; for no more is their fowlenes to be ascribed to the ſtelliſerous<sup>10</sup> beames of the glittering<sup>11</sup> Sun, then the ſtench of a dead caraffe may be ſaid to come of<sup>12</sup> the Sun, & not rather of it own corruption & filthines. They bufie themſelues in

their pecok feathers.  
Fingers clog-  
ged with rings.  
Womens trinkets.  
Sweeted gloues.  
Looking glasses, the  
œuills ſpecta-  
cles.  
[¶ G 1, back]

Silk ſcarffes.

A queſtion to  
ſcarffe wearers.

<sup>1</sup> muſt be B, E, F.    <sup>2</sup> costly B, E, F.    <sup>3</sup> are *not in* B, E, F.    <sup>5</sup> it is F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> *Spud.* The deuill could neuer haue found out a more pestilent euill then this, for hereby man beholding his face, and being naturally giuen to flatter hymſelf too muche, is easely drawnen to thinke well of hymſelf: and yet no man ſeeth the true proportion of his face, but a counterfaite effigie, and false image therof in the glasse, whiche the Deuill ſuffereth hym to ſee, that thereby he maie riſe into Pride, and ſo [ſo *not in* E, F] offend the Diuine Maiestie. Therefore maie theſe looking glaſſes <sup>7</sup>be called the deuils bellowes, wherewith he bloweth the blaſt of Pride into our hartes: and thoſe that looke in them may be ſaid to looke in the Deuilles arſe, whilſt he infuſeth the venemous winde of Pride into their ſoules. *Philo.* \* Then muſt thei B, E, F. \* *Heading in F:*—Scarfes and Maskes in England.

[Looking-glasses  
the deuils  
bellowes. E, F.]  
[¶ leaf 42. B.†]

† leaf 42. Silke Scarffes in Ailgna, B.

<sup>8</sup> it is F.    <sup>9</sup> prauitie F.    <sup>10</sup> ſplendent F.    <sup>11</sup> glittering *not in* F.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> proceed of B, E, F.

[<sup>1</sup> G 2]  
[<sup>2</sup> leaf 42, back.  
B. \*1]

Visors or  
invisories of  
veluet to ride  
abrode in.

Sues volunta-  
bris versantur.

preferring the beautie of their bodyes, which lasteth but for a time, & in time <sup>1</sup>is cause of his<sup>2</sup> own corruption, & which, <sup>3</sup>in effect, is nothing els then<sup>4</sup> putrifaction it self, & a dunghill couered with white & red; but for the beautie of the soule they care nothing at all. When they vse to ride abrod, they haue <sup>5</sup>invisories,<sup>6</sup> or <sup>5</sup><sup>7</sup> visors made of veluet,<sup>8</sup> wherwith they couer all their faces, hauing holes made in them against their eyes, whereout they look. So that if a man, that knew not their guise before, should chaunce to meet one of them, hee would think hee met a monster or a deuil; for face hee can see<sup>9</sup> none, but two brode holes against her<sup>10</sup> eyes with glaffes in them. Thus they prophan the name of God, & liue in al<sup>11</sup> kinde of voluptuousnes & pleasure, wursfe then euer did the hethen.

*Sp.* What think you, are not the inuentors & first finders out of these new toyes & dyuelish deuices, in great daunger, and partakers with them of the euill committed?

[† side-note here  
in B.]

*Philo.* It cannot be but the Inuentors of these new toyes are in great daunger before God, as they who shall render accounts to god, not only for the inuention of them, but also for the euil committed by them. For whosoeuer is author of any euil must needs answere for the euil. And surely the authors<sup>12</sup> of these newfangles are<sup>13</sup> not vnworthy<sup>13</sup> to be canonized saints when the yeere of *Iulilie* commeth (I meane saincts of fathan); for<sup>14</sup> there is no<sup>14</sup> deed so flagicious, no<sup>15</sup> fact<sup>16</sup> so dangerous,<sup>17</sup> nor any<sup>17</sup> thing<sup>18</sup> so hainous, which<sup>19</sup> with alacritie is not plausibly committed for the<sup>20</sup> maintenance of these Diuelish toyes and deuices: And albeit that the Persons themselues who offend this way shal dye in their finnes, their owne bloud being powred vppon their owne heads, yet the *Authors* of these new toyes, wherthorow they offended, shalbe giltie of their deathes, and surely answere for their destruction in the day of the Lord.

*Spud.* But say they, ‘if I make them not, an other wil, & it is as good for me to make them as an other; & it is my lyuing; wherfore

<sup>2</sup> it B, E, F.      \* leaf 42, back. Velvet Visours to ride with. B.

<sup>4</sup> but E, F.      <sup>5—5</sup> not in B, E.      <sup>6</sup> masks F.      <sup>7</sup> and F.

<sup>8</sup> (or in my judgement thei maie rather be called invisories) added in B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> shew F.      <sup>10</sup> their E, F.      <sup>11</sup> all in B, E.      <sup>12</sup> author F.

<sup>13—13</sup> worthy F.      <sup>14—14</sup> what B, E, F.      <sup>15</sup> what B, E, F.      <sup>16</sup> attempt F.

<sup>17—17</sup> or what B, E, F.      <sup>18</sup> fact F.

† leaf 43. A Cauet for Artificers. B.

A vaine  
excuse.

I am discharged of blame, if I make them (being commaunded) with sweat of my face, and with trauaile and paine to get my lyuing.'

*Philo.* We are commaunned (*sic*), indeed, to get our lyuing with the fweate of our face; but how? Not in doing those things which are euill of themselues, and also drawe and intice others to euill, but in things lawful and good,<sup>1</sup> & which induce to goodnesse.<sup>2</sup> And to say 'others will make them, if I<sup>3</sup> do not,' no more excuseth them of offence,<sup>4</sup> than for a Murtherer or<sup>5</sup> Thief to say, if I had not robbed, or killed this man, another wold, dischargeth him from the penaltie of the iudicall<sup>6</sup> lawe<sup>7</sup> to be inflifted against<sup>8</sup> him.<sup>7</sup> Is it lawfull for vs to do euill because others do it? Or dooth the wickednes of an other delyuer me<sup>9</sup> from blame, if I<sup>10</sup> commit the same offence? no, nothing leise. Wherfore let Taylers and Artificers be<sup>11</sup>ware how<sup>12</sup> they eyther inuente or make these new deuyces and Dyuelish fashions euery day: And being requested to make them, if they perceiue them<sup>13</sup> tende to vice, and<sup>14</sup> allure to finne, let them refuse them in the name of God, more tendering the saluation of many, than the priuat commoditye of themselues alone: which thing, if euery one wold do, he should delyuer his own soule, & support an infinit number from falling into the gulphe of finne; and so in short tyme these new toyes, fond deuyces, and childish babelries (new fashions I should say) wold foone vanish away and come to naught<sup>15</sup>: which God graunt may<sup>16</sup> once be seene!<sup>16</sup>

*Spud.* Did the women of the former world attire themselues in siche sorte as these women do?

*Philo.* The Women of the former age, you may be sure, neuer appareled themselues like one of these. But least you should thinke that the Godly onelie lyued thus austery, you shal heare how litle the very hether and barbarian Women haue, and do at this present, esteeme of apparell; as *Stuperius* witnesfeth, whose words are these,

We are bound  
to get our  
lyuing in well  
doing, not in  
euill doing.

A caueat to  
Artificers that  
inuent new  
fashions.

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 43, back.  
B. f.]  
[<sup>12</sup> G 3]

[A caueat for  
Tailours and  
Artificers. F.]

[Heathen women  
despise dress.]

<sup>1</sup> honest F.

<sup>2</sup> godlinesse E, F.

<sup>3</sup> they B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> before God added in F.

<sup>5</sup> or a F.

<sup>6</sup> not in F.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> or guilt of the fact F.

<sup>8</sup> upon B, E.

<sup>9</sup> vs E, F.

<sup>10</sup> we E, F.

<sup>11</sup> leaf 43, back. Mans saluation to be regarded. B.

<sup>12</sup> to added in E, F.

<sup>13</sup> and to F.

<sup>15</sup> naughe (*sic*) F.

<sup>16</sup>—<sup>16</sup> come to passe E, F.

<sup>17</sup> heading in F: The meane attire of both Heathen and other Women in olde time.

## 82 Wommens habit, in other cuntries. The Anatomie

[Egyptian and  
other heathen  
women are  
modest in dress.]

speking of the Egypitian women : “*Vestimenta sciunt nec noua pristinis  
mutare, verum semper his in cultibus gaudent perpetuo tempore congregari,  
quascunque gentes hunc per orbem visitent;* Which may be thus turned  
into English verfe:

[<sup>1</sup> G 3, back]

<sup>1</sup> *The Egypitian Matrones neuer vſe  
Their fashions<sup>2</sup> of attyre to change,  
<sup>3</sup> But euer keep one forme to chuse,  
Although they viſite Nations ſtrange.*

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 44. B.\*]

AND as all Writers doo affirme, all the Women there indifferently go  
with their haire hanging downe, with a broade hat vpon their heads,  
and other attyre as playne as the reſt, ſoo farre are theſe People from  
Pride, and hunting after ſtrange fashions as our Women doo.

[The meannes  
of other Nations  
in attire. B, E,  
F; with maners  
for meannes.]

The Women of *Affrica* are witneſſed, by the ſame *Stuperius*, and  
others, to be ſo farre from affecting<sup>4</sup> ſtrange fashions, or curioſity in  
aparel, that they cloth themſelues, in a manner, all ouer *ferinis pellibus*, with  
beaſts ſkinnes, furres, and ſuch like. And this they think  
ſo riche attire, as they vſe it altogether when they celebraſt their  
festiuall ſolemne daies, or when they go abrode to be ſeenē.

The *Braſilian* Women eſteeme ſo little of apparell alſo, as they  
rather choſe to go naked (their ſecret partes onely being couered)  
then they wold be thought to be proud, or defirouſe of ſuch vanities.<sup>5</sup>

[German women  
dress plainly.]

The *Cantabrian* Women likewyſe, with many others,<sup>6</sup> do the fame.  
In High *Germany*, the Women vſe in effect one kind of apparel or  
habite, without any diſference at all, nothing like other Nations de-  
lighting in new fangles,<sup>7</sup> yea, the wiues there are ſo far from pride  
that they will not diſdaine to carie all their househould ſtuffe, and  
other trinckets<sup>8</sup> about with them vpon their backs in tyme of  
extremitie.<sup>9</sup> Theſe<sup>10</sup> Mayds & Virgins go very plain, with kerchers  
only on their heads, their<sup>11</sup> haire hanging downe behinde, in token of  
Virginitie.

[<sup>7</sup> G 4]

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 44, back.  
B.†]

Thus, you ſee, euery Nation, how barbarous ſoeuer, are much  
inferior to the people of *Aiglina* in pride & exceſſe of apparell ; and

<sup>2</sup> fashions F.      \* leaf 44. Wommens habit, in other Countries. B.

<sup>4</sup> affeſting of E, F.      <sup>5</sup> vanity F.      <sup>6</sup> other F.

<sup>8</sup> ſupellec̄tiles E, F.      <sup>9</sup> neceſſity F.      <sup>10</sup> Their B, E, F.

† leaf 44, back. Brutish Attire not commendable. B.

yet these examples I alledge not to th' end I wold wish all others to vse the same, or the very like brutifh<sup>1</sup> kind of austre<sup>2</sup> habite, but to shew how farre they be from Pride, & how much the other be wedded to the same. And as for the vertuous, & godly christian women: from the beginning of the world they haue so litle cared for the vain glory of apparell, & so litle (or rather nothing at al) were they acquainted therwith, as they hunted for nothing els so much as for the ornaments of the mind, as wisdom, contynency, chastitie, & true godlynnesse, thinking the same bewtie sufficient. They counted it great shame to cloth their bodies with sumptuous apparel, & their minds to be naked, & voide of true vertue. So, if these women wold seek after the bewtie of the mind, they wold not affect apparell so much; for if they be faire in body alredy, than need they not gorgeous apparel to make them fairer: & if they be deform<sup>3</sup> in body, it is not the apparell <sup>[4 G 4, back]</sup>that can make them fairer. And either [5 leaf 45 B.t] their bewtie confisteth in them, or in their apparel: If in them, than not in the Apparel, & so it is meere foolery to were them; And if in apparel, than not in them, and so cannot the garments make them fayre whome God & na<sup>5</sup>ture hath made otherwise: wherfor look in what shape, forme, or condition, euerye one is created by God, let him content himselfe with the same, without any alteration or chaunge, with praise to his Creator.

*Spud.* They hold (notwithstanding) that it is the pride of the heart, which God so muche hateth and detesteth.

*Philo.* It is verye true that God punisheth the pride of the heart with eternal damnation (if they repent not), for he will be serued and obeyd either with the whole man, or els with none. Than, if he punish the pride of the heart with euerlasting damnation, he must needs (in iustice) punish the pride of Apparel with the like, being booth ioyned in one predicament of finne, and the pride of apparell much more hurting before the world than the other.

Also it is manifest that the pride of apparel riseth first from the corruption of the heart, as the effects from the cause, the fruite from the roote of the tree: than, if the pride of the heart which, notwithstanding it hurteth not outwardly, but is secret betwixt God and him-

[The contempt  
of apparell of  
the former  
age. B, F.]

<sup>1</sup> sausage F      <sup>2</sup> not in F.      <sup>3</sup> deformed F.

† leaf 45. Pride of the harte, and of Ap[parell]. B.

Pride of the  
heart.

Pride of appa-  
rel equivalent  
with Pride of  
the heart.

[<sup>1</sup> G 5][Pride of apparel  
more damnable  
than pride of  
heart.][<sup>2</sup> leaf 45, back.  
B.\*]

<sup>1</sup> selfe, be damnable in it owne nature before God, than must it needs be that the Pride of apparell (which sheweth its selfe to the world, both offensiu to God, and hurtfull to man, and which also is the fruite of the pride of the heart, and throweth almost as many as behold it, at leaft as many as followe it, into the deep dungion of hell,) is <sup>2</sup>much more pernicious and damnable than the other.

*Spud.* Hath the Lord plagued this finne of pride with any notable torture<sup>3</sup> or punishment euer from the beginning of the World vnto this day, or hath he <sup>4</sup>omitted the reuenge therof<sup>4</sup> as a thing of small force, or<sup>5</sup> importance?

<sup>6</sup> *Philo.* Moft fearfull plagues and dreadfull iudgements of God haue in all ages beeene powred vpon them that offended herein, as all Histories, both holy and prophane, do beare record. For prooife wherof I will geue you a taste but of a few, wherby may appeare how wonderfully the Lord, in all ages, tymes, kinreds, & peoples, hath punished thos that thorow pride (like wicked recusants<sup>7</sup> and back-flyders from God) haue rebelled against his maiestie. The deuill, who before was an Angell in Heauen, arrogating to himselfe the imperial throane of the maiesty of God, was cast downe into the depth<sup>8</sup> of Hell, burning with fire<sup>9</sup> and sulphur for euer.

Examples of  
God his  
punishments  
executed  
vpon them  
that offended  
in Pride in all  
ages.[<sup>10</sup> G 5, back.]

*Adam,* desiring to be a God (for the serpent <sup>10</sup>tould him, he should be as God, knowing both good & euill), was for the fin of Pride throwne downe to the bottome of Hell, & not onely he but all his posteritie to the end of the World. The hoast of *Core, Dathan, and Abiram*, for their exceeding pride in stirring vp mutenie,<sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup>rebelling

against their lawfull Magistrate, were swallowed vp<sup>13</sup> quick into hell, the earth opening her mouth & deuouring them, <sup>14</sup>with all their complices whatsoeuer. The People of *Babylon*, intending to builde a tower, whose top shoud<sup>15</sup> tutche the Skye,<sup>15</sup> thinking that if God shoud drown the world againe with water, they would be sure inough on the toppe of their high turrets ; yea, they intending<sup>16</sup> to

[The Tower of  
Babel.]

\* leaf 45, back. Gods punishments for Pride. B.

<sup>3</sup> plague F. <sup>4—4</sup> passed it ouer F. <sup>5</sup> force or *not in* F.

<sup>6</sup> heading in F:—Pun[i]shments of pride in all ages.

<sup>7</sup> runnagats F. <sup>8</sup> lake E, F. <sup>9</sup> brimstone B. <sup>11</sup> mutinies F.

<sup>12</sup> and rebelling B ; and rebellion E ; and rebellions F. <sup>13</sup> up *not in* E.

† leaf 46. Punishments for Pride. B. <sup>15—15</sup> reach the heauens F.

<sup>16</sup> intended F.

fit with God himselfe (if need weare) weare all confounded, and a diuerse lauguage put into euery mans mouth, that none knew what an<sup>1</sup> other spake. And thus were they forced to leaue there building, and dispersed themselues abroad vppon the face of the earth, wherof<sup>2</sup> sprang the first diuersitie of languages in the world. Wherfore when we heare any language spoken we<sup>3</sup> know not, it may be a *memento* to put vs in minde of our Pride, which was the cause therof.

A memoran-  
dum.

*Goliah*, the great Gyant, the huge Cyclops, and sworne enemy to the Children of *Israell*, for his pride against the Lord was flaine by *Dauid*, the fait[h]full Seruaunt of the Lord.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiochus*, intending to ouerthowre and facke *Ierusalem*, to spoile the Sanctuarie and Temple of the Lord, and to kill the people of God, was for his pride ouerturned in his chariet, ryding thetherward, his belly brust,<sup>6</sup> and filthy wormes crawled<sup>7</sup> out mooste lothfomly; and, in fine, beganne so to stinke and fwell,<sup>8</sup> as neither his Seruants, nor he himselfe, cold abide his owne sauoure; and thus ended his lyfe in great miserie and wretchednesse.

*Antiochus*  
[5 G 6]

*Nabuchodonosor*<sup>9</sup> was for his pride cast out of<sup>10</sup> his Kingdom, and<sup>11</sup> forced to eat grasse with wild beasts in the wildernesse.

*Nabuchodo-*  
*nosor. Daniel 4.*  
[<sup>10</sup> leaf 46, back  
B. 1.]  
K. [Saul.]

King *Saule*, for his pride and disobedience, was deposed of his principalltie and Kingly regimenter, and in the end flewe him self on mounte *Gelboe* most desperatly.

*Sodoma* and *Gomorra* were both destroyed with fire & brimstone from heauen for their sin of pride & contempt of the Lord. All the world in the daies of *Noah* was drowned with<sup>12</sup> vniuersall deluge for pride & contumacy of heart.

King *Hesekiahs*<sup>13</sup> for his pride in shewing to the Ambassadours of the king of *Babylon* all his treasure (for he sent Messengers vnto him with gifte<sup>14</sup> & lettres, congratulatorie<sup>15</sup> for the recouerie of his helth) lost al his iewels, trespures, & riches, with his owne<sup>16</sup> sonnes also, being transported captiues into *Babilon*. K. *Dauid*, for his pride in numbring the people contrary the wil of god,<sup>17</sup> was greuouslie pun-

[7 G 6, back]

<sup>1</sup> an not in E, F.    <sup>2</sup> and hereof F.    <sup>3</sup> that we B, E; that me (*sic*) F.

<sup>4</sup> vnto F.    <sup>6</sup> bursting B, E, F.    <sup>7</sup> crawling B, E, F.    <sup>8</sup> smell E, F.

<sup>9</sup> Nabuchadnezar F.    <sup>11</sup> and and (*sic*) F.    <sup>12</sup> with an B, E, F.    <sup>13</sup> Ezekiah F.

<sup>14</sup> gifte F.    <sup>15</sup> rejoycing added in F.    <sup>16</sup> owne not in B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel 1, c.  
24, Ver. 15.

ished, and threescore and ten thousand of his People slaine with a greeuous pestilence for the same.

King *Pharao*, for his pride against the Lord (for he thought him selfe a God vpon the Earth, and therfore asked he *Moyes*, in derision, who is the Lord?), was drowned in the read Sea with all his host. The proude *Pharisey*, iustifying himselfe, for his pride was reproved of the Lord, and reiected.

The proude  
Pharisey.

K Herode.  
[<sup>x</sup> leaf 47. B.]

King *Herode*, for attirring himselfe in sumptuous aray & not ascribing glory to the <sup>1</sup>Lord, was ftrucken <sup>2</sup> dead by an Angel, and wormes consumed his flesh immediatly. Al these, with infinit millions moe in al ages, haue perished thorow pride; and therfore let not this people think that they shall escape vnpunished, who drinke vp pride as it weare sweet wyne, feede vppon it as vppon delicious meats, and wallowe in it as a <sup>3</sup> filthie swyne doth in the dirtie <sup>4</sup> myre. will the Lord punish his peculiare people and elect vessells, and let them goo free?

Wherfore I wold wyshe them to be warned, for it is a terrible thing to fall into the hands of Gon, who is a consuming fire & a fearfull God. His bowe is bente, his arrowes of iudgements <sup>5</sup> are drawen to the head, his fire is kyndled, his wrath is gone out, & ready to be powred vpon the contemners of his lawes. Tempt not the Lord any longer; prouoke not <sup>6</sup> his wrath, exasperate not his iudgements towards thee; for as mercy proceedeth from him, so doth iustice also; And, be sure of it, he payeth home at the laft. For as in mercie he suffreth no good deed to be vnrewarded, so, in his iust iudgments, there is no wickednes <sup>7</sup> which he leaueth vnpunished. And yet, notwithstanding, their wickednesse and pride is such as stincketh before the face of God, and maketh the Enemies to blasphemē and speake euill of the wayes of the Lord: for, say they, the men of *Ailgna* are wicked & licentious <sup>8</sup> in all their wayes, which easilly appeareth by their apparell & <sup>9</sup>new fangled fashions euery day inuented. The beastly Epicures, the Drunkards & swilbowles, vpon their ale benches, when their heads are intoxycat with new wine,<sup>10</sup> wil

God his Plagues  
are prepared, if  
we repent not.

[<sup>6</sup> G 7]

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 47, back.  
B.]

\* leaf 47. Gods iudgements for Pride. B.      <sup>2</sup> striken F.      <sup>3</sup> a not in E, F.

<sup>4</sup> dirtie not in F.      <sup>5</sup> judgement F.      <sup>7</sup> without repentance added in F.

<sup>8</sup> dissolute F.      † leaf 47, back. Our liues, a slander to the Gospell. B.

<sup>10</sup> and strong drinke added in F.

not stick to belch foorth and say, that the inhabitantes of *Ailgna* go brauelye in Apparell, chaunging fashions euerie daye, for no cause so much as to delight the eyes of their harlots<sup>1</sup> withall, and to inamoure the mindes of their fleshly paramours. Thus be this People a laughing stock to all the world for their pride, a flaunder to the word of God & to their profession, scandalles to their brethren, a dishonor and reproch to the Lord, and very caterpillers to themselues in wasting and consuming their goods and treasures vpon vanities & trifles.

Our new  
fangles and  
toies are occa-  
sions why all  
nations mocke  
and floute vs.

Our lyuing a  
slander to  
the truth.

[<sup>2</sup> Spud. I perceiue these are nice dames, I pray you what exercisefollowe thei, for the moſte parte beyng thus clothed in their robes, and how doe thei ſpende the tyme? For I ſtand in doubtē thereof:<sup>3</sup>

*Philo.* You neede not to doubt. For thei ſpend their time very well, I warrant you, and to their owne contentation.<sup>4</sup> For ſome of them lye in bed (I will not faie with whom) till nine or tenne of the clocke every mornyng; then, beyng rouzed forthe of their dennes, thei are twoo or three howers in putting on their Robes, which bee-ying<sup>5</sup> doen, thei go to dinner, where no delicates either of wines or meates are wanting. Then their bo<sup>6</sup>dies bee-ying ſatiſfied, and their headeſ pretely mizzled with wine, thei walke abrode for a time, or els confer with their familiars (as women you know are talkative enough, & can chat like Pies) all the world knoweth it. Thus ſome ſpende the daie till ſupper tyme, and then the night, as before. Other ſome ſpende the greateſt parte of the daie, in fiftyng at the doore, to fhewe their braueries, to make knownen their beauties, to beholde the paſſengers by, to viewe the coaſt, to ſee fashions, and to acquainte themſelues with the braueſt fellowes: for if not for theſe cauſes, I ſee no other cauſes why thei ſhould fitt at their doores, from Mornyng till Noone (as many doe) from Noone to Night; thus vainly ſpendyng their golden daies in filthie idleneſſe and finne. Againe, otherſome being weary of that exercife, wil<sup>7</sup> take occaſion (aboute vrgent affaires you muſt ſuſpoſe) to walke into the Towne; & leaſt any thing

[The great  
paynes that  
theſe gentle-  
women take. E.]

[leaf 48 B.]

[Exercises and  
practices of the  
gentlewomen of  
Munidnol. B, E.]

<sup>1</sup> whorish mates F.

<sup>2</sup> From here to p. 89, l. 24, is from B: it's not in A. Heading in F:—The dayly exercisef of the Women of England.

<sup>3</sup> they ſcarſe ſpend it wel instead of thereof F.      <sup>4</sup> contentments F.

<sup>5</sup> bee-ying not in F.

† leaf 48; no head-line B. E has Hand baskets clokes to ſinne.

<sup>7</sup> wil not in E, F.

[This page is  
not in A.]  
[Hand baskets  
clokes to  
sunne. E.]

[might bee gathered, but that thei goe about fereous matters indeede,  
thei will<sup>1</sup> take their baskets in their hands, or vnder their armes; vnder  
which pretence, pretie conceites are practized, and yet maie no man  
faie blacke is their eye. But if al other waies faile them, yet haue  
thei one which be fure will spedee.

*Spud.* What waie is that, I pracie you declare vnto me.

<sup>2</sup>*Philo.* Seyng you are so desirous to knowe I will tell you. In the  
Feeledes and Suburbes<sup>3</sup> of the Cities thei haue Gardens, either palled,  
or walled round about very high, with their Harbers and Bowers fit  
for the purpose. And least thei might bee espied in these open places,  
they haue their Banqueting houfes with Galleries, Turrettes, and  
what not els therin sumptuously erected: wherein thei maie (and  
doubtlesse doe) many of them plaie the filthie persons. And for  
that their Gardens are locked, some of them haue three or fower  
keyes a peece, whereof one they keepe for themselues, the other their  
Paramours haue to goe in before them, least happely they shoud<sup>4</sup> be  
perceiued, for then were all their<sup>5</sup> sporte dasht. Then to these Gar-  
dens thei repaire when thei list, with a basket and a boy, where thei,  
meeting their sweete hartes, receiue their wished desires. These  
Gardens are exelent places, and for the purpose; for if thei can speake  
with their dearlynges no where els, yet there thei maie be sure to  
meete them, and to receiue the guerdon of their paines: thei know  
best<sup>6</sup> what I meane. But I wishe them to amende, for feare of Gods  
heauie wrathe in the daie of vengeance.

*Spud.* Why? doe you condemne the vfe of Gardens<sup>7</sup> and houfes<sup>7</sup>  
then altogether?

*Philo.* No nothyng lesse. For I knowe they bee very healthful,  
comfortable, and holosome for mans bodie, and suche thynges, as the  
vfe whereof we can<sup>8</sup> not lacke. But I condemne these abuscs, these  
corruptions, and enormities there vsed,<sup>9</sup> and I pray God thei maie be  
reformed. There is no thyng so good but it maie be abused: yet I  
am not so precise that I would haue the thyng remoued for the abuse,  
but the abuse to be taken awaie, whereby the thyng it self is made

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 49. B. f.]  
[Euery thing  
abused, is not to  
be remoued, but  
the abuse to be  
taken away  
only. E.]

<sup>1</sup> will not in E. F.      <sup>2</sup> heading in F:—Gardens in Englande.

\* leaf 48, back; no head-line B. E has Gardens places of baudrie.

<sup>4</sup> might F.      <sup>5</sup> the F.      <sup>6</sup> best not in E. F.      <sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> and garden houses F.

<sup>8</sup> can we F.      † leaf 49; no head-line B. E has Women good and badd.

[worse. Nor I speake not against the good and Godly women, for I knowe there bee a greate number,—and the Lorde increase the number of them that are chraft, wife, sober, continent, and verteous Matrones, and voyde of all these corruptions!—But against those light, leauade,<sup>1</sup> and incontinent Harlottes (as it is well knowne there bee too many) that runne to those places, as fast as euer did the brothelles to the Stewes. And truely I thinke some of these<sup>2</sup> places are little better then the Stewes and Brothell houses were in tymes past: I beseeche the Lorde to make<sup>3</sup> them cleane, either with the Olieue braunch of his mercie, or with the broome<sup>4</sup> of his iudgement, that this wickednesse maie be doen<sup>5</sup> awaie.

*Spud.* Are these<sup>6</sup> nice Dames, gentle, sober and discrete, or otherwise, giuen to chiding, braulyng, and vnquietnesse: For thei shewe themselues abroade (by reporte) as though butter would not melt in their mouthes.

*Philo.* There are some, sober, wife, gentle, discrete, and verteous Matrones, as any be in al the worlde. And there be other some (yea *maior numerus*) that are neuer well, but when thei be, either brawlyng, scoldyng, or fightyng with<sup>7</sup> some<sup>8</sup> of their housholde<sup>9</sup>: and such deuilles, as a man were better to be hanged then to dwel with them. But because I haue small experience hereof<sup>10</sup> my self; <sup>11</sup>but onely by<sup>11</sup> reporte of them that haue made triall thereof themselues, I will saie no more, committynge them ouer to the Lorde, to whom thei either stand if thei doe well, or fall if thei doe euill. B, E, F.]

[This page to L  
24, is not in A.]

[I denounce the  
lewd Harlots, not  
the virtuous Ma-  
trons.]

*Spud.* Seeing that by diuyne affistance you<sup>12</sup> haue now finished F<sup>12</sup> G<sub>7</sub>, back] your tractation<sup>13</sup> of the Apparell of *Ailgna*,<sup>14</sup> shew me (I pray you) what other abuses be there vfed; for I am perswaded that pride, the Mother of all<sup>15</sup> finne, is not without her Daughters of finne<sup>16</sup> semblable to her selfe.

<sup>1</sup> lewd F.      <sup>2</sup> those F.      <sup>3</sup> sweepe E ; purge F.      <sup>4</sup> sharpe rod F.

<sup>5</sup> put F.      <sup>6</sup> those F.

<sup>7</sup> eyther with F.

\* leaf 49, back. Horrible whordome in Ailgna. B.

<sup>9</sup> or some others added in F.

<sup>10</sup> therof E, F.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> saue onely by the E, F.

<sup>13</sup> discourse F.

<sup>14</sup> This is always printed England in F.

<sup>15</sup> all not in B, E, F.

<sup>16</sup> of sinne not in B, E, F.

[Womes good  
and bad, but the  
greater number  
naught. E, F.]

[leaf 49, back.  
B.\*]

*The horrable vice of Whordome in Ailgna.*

*Philo.* THE horrable vice of Whordome also<sup>1</sup> is ther too too much frequented, to the great dishonor of God, the prouoking of his iudgements against them, the staine and blemish of their profession, the euill example of all the world, and finally to their owne damnation for euer, except they repente.

*Spud.* I haue heard them reason,<sup>2</sup> that mutuall coition betwixt man and woman is not so<sup>3</sup> offendisue before God; For do not all Creatures (say they) as wel *reptilia terræ* as *volatilia Cæli*, the<sup>4</sup> creping things vpon the earth, as the<sup>4</sup> flying<sup>5</sup> Creatures<sup>6</sup> in the aire, and all other Creatures in generall, both small & great, ingender together? hath not nature and kynd ordained them so? & geuen them members incident<sup>7</sup> to that vse? & doth not the Lord (say they) (as it were with a stimule or prick, by his mandat, saing *crescite & multiplicamini* & *replete terram*: increase, multiplie & fill the earth,) stirre them<sup>8</sup> vp to the same? Otherwyse the World wold become barren, and foone fall to decay: wherfore they conclude that whordome is a badge of loue, a cognizance of amitie, a tutch of lustie youth, a frendlie daliance, a redintegration of loue, and an ensigne of vertue,<sup>9</sup> rather meritorious than damnable: these, with the like, be<sup>10</sup> the<sup>11</sup> exceptions<sup>10</sup> <sup>12</sup> which I haue hard them many times to obiect<sup>13</sup> in defence of their carnal pollutions.

*Philo.* Curfed be those mouthes that thus<sup>14</sup> blasphemē the mightie God of *Israell* and his sacred word, making the same, clokes to couer their finne withall: <sup>15</sup>worse are they<sup>15</sup> than Lybertines who thinke all things lawfull, or Atheistes who denie there is any God. The diuellis themselfes neuer finned so horribly nor erred so grossly as these (not Christians, but dogges) do, that make whordom a vertue and meritorious: but because you shal see their deceptions displayed & their damnable abusē more plainly discouered, I will reduce you to the

<sup>1</sup> also *not in F.*<sup>2</sup> reason thus B, E, F.<sup>3</sup> so much F.<sup>4</sup> the *not in F.*<sup>5</sup> leaf 50. Libertines defend whordome, B.<sup>6</sup> Creatures *not in F.*<sup>7</sup> proper F.<sup>8</sup> good will B, E, F.<sup>10—10</sup> their ridiculous reasons F.<sup>11</sup> their childeſhe B, E.<sup>12</sup> and fruiulous objections *added in B, E.*      <sup>13</sup> pretende B, E; alleadge F.<sup>14</sup> dare to *added in B*; care *in E*; do *in F.*      <sup>15</sup> They are much worser B, E, F.

Whordome in  
Ailgna too too  
rife.

Vain and vn-  
godly reasons  
pretending  
that whor-  
dome is no  
sinne.  
[5 leaf 50. B.†]

Oh wicked  
Lybertynes!  
[3 G 8]

[Those that  
make whordome  
lawfull, are  
worsē than  
Deuills. E.]

first institution<sup>1</sup> of this Godly ordenance of matrimony. The Lord our God, hauing created all things in Heauen, earth or Hell whatsoeuer, created of euery sex two, male & female<sup>2</sup> of both kindes<sup>2</sup>; and l ist of al other creatures he made man after his own likenesse & similitude, geuing him a woman, made of a ribbe of his own body, to be his<sup>3</sup> companion, & comforter<sup>4</sup>; & lincking them together in the honorable stafe of<sup>5</sup> venerable wedlocke, he bleisfed them both, saying 'crescite, multiplicamini & replete terram'; Increase, multiplie, & replenish the earth: wherby it is more than apparent that the Lorde, whose name is *Iehouah*, the mightie God of *Israell*, is the Author of Godly matrimony, instituting it in the tyme of mans innocency<sup>6</sup> in *Paradice*; and that, as mee seemeth, for foure causes. First, for the auoydaunce of whordom; Secondly, for the mutuall comforde & consolation that the one might haue of the other in all aduersities & calamities whatsoeuer: Thirdly, for the<sup>7</sup> procreation and Godly<sup>7</sup> propagation of Children in the feare of the Lord, that both the world might be increased therby, and the Lord also<sup>8</sup> in them glorified.<sup>8</sup> And, fourthlie, to be a figure or type of our spirituall wedlocke betwixt Christ and his church, both militant and triumphante. This congreSSION, and mutuall copulation, of those that be thus ioyned together in the Godlye stafe of blessed matrimony is pure virginitie, and allowable before God and man,<sup>9</sup> as an action wherto the Lorde hath promised his blessing thorow his mercy, not by our merite, *ex opere operato*, as some shame not to say. All other goinges together and coitions are damnable, pestiferous, and execrable. So, now you see that wheras the Lord faith 'increase, multiplie, & fill the earth,' he alludeth to those that are cheyned<sup>10</sup> together<sup>11</sup> in the<sup>12</sup> Godly stafe of<sup>12</sup> matrimonie and wedlock, and not otherwyse: For to those that go together after any other sorte, he hath denounced his curse and wrath for euermore, as his alsauing word beareth record. And wheras they say that all creatures vpon the Earth do ingender together, I graunte it is true; But how? *in suo genere*, in their owne kinde. There is no

The first institution of matrimoni.  
[<sup>1</sup> leaf 50, back.  
B.\*]

Gene. 2.  
Mat. 19.  
Marc.  
Luc. 16.  
1 Cor. 6.  
Ephe. 5.

[<sup>5</sup> G 8, back]

Marriage in-  
stituted for  
4 causes. x.  
2.

3. [Procreation.]

4. [As type of  
Christ and his  
Church.]

All mutuall  
copulation ex-  
cept mariage  
is unlawfull.  
[<sup>xx</sup> H 1.]

How all  
creatures do  
goe together in  
their kinde.

\* leaf 50, back. Gods curse for Whordome. B.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> not in E, F.

<sup>3</sup> a for his E, F.

<sup>4</sup> vnto him added in E, F.

<sup>6</sup> inconcency A; innocencie B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> be glorified in him E, F. (be not in F.)

+ leaf 51. Fidelitie in maried couples. B.

<sup>10</sup> linked F.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> state of godly F.

92 The Heathen detest whoredome. The Anatomie

creature creeping on the earth, or flying in the aire, how irrationalle  
foeuer, that dooth<sup>1</sup> degenerate as man dooth, but keepethe the same  
state and order wherein they were made at the first; <sup>2</sup>and so<sup>2</sup> if man  
did, he shoulde not commit<sup>3</sup> abhominable whordome and filthie finne  
as hee dooth. It is faid of thosse that write *de natura animalium*, that  
(almost) all vnreasonable beasts and flying fowles, after they haue  
once linked and vnitid them selues together to any one of the same  
kinde, and after they haue once espoused them selues the one to the  
other, wil<sup>4</sup> neuer after<sup>5</sup> ioyne them selues with any other, til the one  
be dissolued from the other by death. And thus they keepe the knot  
of matrimonie iniuio<sup>6</sup>lable to the end. And if any one<sup>7</sup> chaunce to  
reuoalte, and go togither with any other, during the life of his first  
mate, al the rest of the same kind assamble togither, as it were in a  
council or parliament, and either kil or greeuously punish the adul-  
terer or adulteresse, whether [so]euere<sup>8</sup> it be; which lawe I<sup>9</sup>would  
God were amongst Christians establisched. By all which it may appeare  
how horrible a finne whordome is in nature, that the very vnreason-  
able creatures doo abhorre it. The Heathen people, who know not  
God, so much lothe this stinking finne of whordome, that some burne  
them quick, some hang them on gibbets, some cut off their heds,  
some their armes, legs and hands; some put out their eyes, some  
burne them in the face, some cut of their noses, some one parte of  
their bodye, some another, and some with one kind of torture, and  
some with another; but none leaueth them vnpunished: so that we  
are set to schoole to learn our<sup>10</sup> first rudiments<sup>10</sup> (like yung Nouices or  
Children scarce crept out of the shel<sup>11</sup>) how to punish whordome, euen  
by the vnreasonable creatures, and by the heathen people<sup>12</sup> who are  
ignorant of the deuine goodnes. <sup>13</sup>*God be merciful vnto vs / 18*

*Spud.* I pray you rehearfe some places out of the woord of God,  
wherin this cursed vice of whordome is forbidden, for my better  
instrucion.

*Philo.* Our Sauiour Christe, in the eight of *John*, speaking to the

<sup>1</sup> doeth so B, E, F.    <sup>2—2</sup> whiche thing B, E, F.    <sup>3</sup> commit such E, F.

<sup>4</sup> thei wil B, E, F.    <sup>5</sup> after *not in* B; follows themselves in E, F.

† leaf 51, back. The Heathen detest whoredome. B.    <sup>7</sup> one *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> soeuere B, E, F.

<sup>10—10</sup> A. B. C. *in* F.

<sup>11</sup> swadling cloathes F.

<sup>12</sup> people themselves B, E, F.

<sup>13—13</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

The fidelite of  
vnreasonable  
creatures in  
marriage one  
towards an  
other.  
[6 leaf 51, back.  
B.†]

[9 H x, back]

How much  
the Heathen  
haue detested  
whordome.

Sundery pu-  
nishments of  
whordome  
amongst the  
Heathen.

woman whom the mal<sup>icious</sup> *Iewes* had apprehended in adulterie, bad her go her way, and sin no more. If it had not been a moſte greeuous sin, he would neuer haue bid her <sup>2</sup>to ſin therin <sup>2</sup> no more.

Testimonies  
out of the  
word of god  
wherin whor-  
dome is forbad.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 52. B.\*]  
[<sup>3</sup> H 2]  
Mat. 5.

<sup>3</sup> In the fift of *Mathew* he faith, ‘Who ſo luſteth after a woman in his hart, hath committed the fact alredy, and therfore is guiltie of death for the fame.’ To the *Pharifes*, asking him whether a man might not put away his wife for any occation? *Christe* anſwered, ‘for no caufe, faue for whordome onely’; inferring that whordome is ſo hainous a finne, as for the perpetration therof it shalbe lawfull for a man to fequeſter<sup>4</sup> him ſelf from his owne wife, and the wife from her owne husband. The Apostle *Paul* fayth, ‘know you not that your bodyes are the members of *Christe*? shall I then take the members of *Christe* (faith he), and make them the members of an whore? *God forlid!* knowe yee<sup>5</sup> not that he who coupleth him ſelf with a<sup>6</sup> harlot is become one body with her?’ ‘flee<sup>7</sup> fornication (faith he), therfore, for euery finne that a man committeth is without the body, but who committeth fornication, finneth againſt his owne body.’ And in an-other place: ‘knowe you not that your Bodyes are the temples of the holy ghoſt, which dwelleth within you? And who ſo deſtroyeth the Temple of God, him ſhall God deſtroy.’

Mat. 19; Mat.  
10, Luc. 10.

1 Cor. 6.

[The Bible  
againſt whore-  
dom.]

In an other place he faith: ‘be not deceiued, for neither Whoremonger, Adulterer, Fornica<sup>8</sup>tor, incestuous person, nor ſuch like, ſhall euer enter into the kingdome of heauen.’ Again, ‘*Coniugium honoraſile eft inter omnes:*<sup>9</sup> Mariage is honorable amongst all men, and the bed vndefiled; but whooremongers and adulterers, God ſhall iudge.’ In the Reuelation of Saint *John* it is ſaid, that they who were not defiled with women doo waite vpon the Lamb, whetherſoever he goeth. The Apostle *Paul* willeth vs to be ſo far from fornication, that it<sup>10</sup> be<sup>11</sup> not once named amongst vs, as becommeth Saints; with infinit ſuch places, which for breefnes<sup>12</sup> I omit, referring you in the olde Teſtament to theſe and ſuch like<sup>13</sup> places, namely, the 20 of *Exodus*, 20 of *Leuiticus*, <sup>14</sup>*Deutronomie* 22, *Deutro.* 27, 2 *Reg.*<sup>14</sup> 11,

[8 leaf 52, back.  
B.]

[9 H 2, back]

\* leaf 52. Examples againſt whoredome. B.      <sup>2—2</sup> ſin F.

<sup>4</sup> deuide F.      <sup>5</sup> you F.      <sup>6</sup> an F.      <sup>7</sup> Flie F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 52, back. The rewarde of chaste liuers. B.

<sup>10</sup> it maie B, E, F.      <sup>11</sup> be comes after once in F.      <sup>12</sup> breuitie F.

<sup>13</sup> like not in E, F.      <sup>14—14</sup> 22. Deuteronomy. <sup>‡</sup> 27. 2. Kinges F.      (<sup>#</sup> 22 Deuteronomie for Deuteronomie 22, Deutro. in B, E.)

94 Punishmentes for Whordome. The Anatomic

[Bible bits  
against whor-  
dom.]

Genesis 7, 8.

Punishments  
of whordom in  
all Ages.

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 53. B.]

Genesis 19 ;  
Genesis 24

Genesis 20.  
[<sup>7</sup> H 3]

G. 26.

Ge. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Reg 16.

[Absalon,

Ge. 29.

Reuben,]

Iudi. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Reg. 13, 12.

[David,

Solomon,]

[<sup>1</sup> Reg. 11. B,  
E, F.]

Leuit. 18,<sup>1</sup> Exodus 22. Num. 5, Eccle. 9, Pro. 23, Pro. 7<sup>2</sup> verfe, 24.

*Spud.* As you haue now prooued by inuincible testimonies of holy Scripture, that whordome is forbidden by the Lord, so, I pray you, shew mee the greeuousnes thereof by some feuere & rare examples of Gods iust iudgement, executed<sup>3</sup> vpon the same from the begining.

<sup>4</sup> *Philo.* The whole world was destroyed with water, not any liuing thing left vpon the erth (saue in the Ark of Noah,<sup>5</sup>) for the sin of whordom, incest, & brothelry, vsed in those daies. *Sodoma* and *Go-morra*, two famous Cities, were consumed with fire and brimstone from heauen for the like sin of whordom, adulterie, and fornication. The citie of the *Sichemits*, man, woman, and childe, weare put to the edge of the <sup>7</sup>swoord for the rauishing of *Dina*, the daughter of *Iacob*. The Lord also tolde *Abimelech* that if he did not let go vntouched *Sara*, *Abraham* his<sup>6</sup> wife, bothe he and all his housholde shoulde<sup>7</sup> dye the death, notwithstanding he did it ignorantly. The very same hapned to *Isaac* also. *Iudah*,<sup>10</sup> vnderstanding that his daughter in law was impregnate and great with childe, and not knowing by whom, commanded that she should be burned without any further delay.<sup>11</sup> Was not *Alfon*, king *Dauid* his sonne, plagued all his life for going into his Fathers Concubines? And did not *Achitophel*, who gaue counceal so to do, hang himself? Was not *Ruben*, the first borne sonne of *Iacob*, accursed for going vp to his Fathers bed; and lost he not his birth-right, his dignitie, his<sup>12</sup> primacie, ouer his Bretheren for the same? Were there not abooue threescore and fve thousand men slain for the adulterie doon with one *Leuits* wife? Was not king *Dauid* punished all the daies of his life for his adultery doon with *Bersabe*, *Vrias* his wife? Was not his sonne *Amon*, for lying with<sup>13</sup> *Thamar*, slain? Was not *Salomon*, beeing peruerted with<sup>14</sup> hethen women, cast out of the fauour of God, notwithstanding being otherwise the wifest Prince in all the world? <sup>15</sup> Did not<sup>15</sup> *Achab*, at the perswa-

<sup>1</sup> Leuiticus 11 B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Prouer. 7 B, E. <sup>3</sup> poured forth E, F.  
<sup>4</sup> heading in F :—Examples of whoredom punished in all ages.

<sup>5</sup> Noah F. <sup>6</sup> leaf 53. Punishmentes for Whordom. B.

<sup>8</sup> Abrahams F. <sup>9</sup> shall F. <sup>10</sup> Iudas A. <sup>11</sup> de-delay (*sic*) F.

<sup>12</sup> and B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> his Sister added in F. <sup>14</sup> with many F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> not in F.

sions of *Iesabel*, his cursed wife, falling <sup>1</sup> to Idolatrie and woorschiping of Idolles <sup>2</sup>and deuils, suffer<sup>3</sup> moste cruel punishment in this life all his dayes; besides, what he suffereth now, God onely knoweth. Were not the *Israelite* and *Madianitish* woman both slain<sup>4</sup> by that worthy man *Phinees*, who ran them both thorow the<sup>5</sup> priuy members with his Iauelin or swoord? Was not *Sampson* brought to a miserable end, his eyes beeing bothe put out, and he made to be a laughing stock to all men, thorow his too much fauouring of wanton women? Was not king *Pharaeo* wunderfully plagued, but for intending euil in his hart towards *Sara*, *Abraham* his wife? Did not the Lord slay (with a moste greeuous mortalitie) foure & twentie thousand of the *Israelites* in one day, for whordome and adulterie with the women of the *Moabites* and *Madianits*? [Reg 21.  
leaf 53, back.  
H 3, back]  
Num. 25.  
Jud. 16.  
[Sampson,  
Pharaoh,  
Gene. 12.  
24,000 Israelites]

By these, and such like fearful Examples of the iustice of God powred vpon these whoremongers & adultrers, we may learn to know the greeuousnes of the same, and the punishment due to all whoremongers and fornicatours, either in this life, or in the World<sup>6</sup> to come, or els in both: for if the Lord deferre the punishment of whordome in this life, hee reserueth it for the world to come, suffering the wicked to wallow in their finne, and to fil vp the measure of iniquitie, that their damnation may be iuft. And if the Lord left not sin vnpunished, no, not in <sup>7</sup>his most deer Saints, <sup>8</sup>what he wil<sup>9</sup> doo in them who dayly crucifie him anew, let the world<sup>10</sup> judge. [leaf 54. B. 11.  
H 4.]

*Spud.* Now am I fully perswaded, by your inuinible reasons, that there is no sin greater before the face of God then whordome; wherfore, *God graunt that all his may avoid it.*

*Philo.* You haue said true, for there is no sinne (almost<sup>11</sup>) comparable vnto it; for besides that it bringeth euerlastinge damnation to all that liue therin to the end without repentance, it also bringeth these inconueniences, with many mo: *videlicet*, it dimmeth the sight, it impaireth the hearing, it infirmeth the finewes, it weakneth the ioynts, it exhausteth the marrow, consumeth the<sup>12</sup> moisture and supplement of the body, it riualeth the face, appalleth the countenance, it dulleth

What evils  
whordome  
bringeth to  
mans body in  
this life.

\* leaf 53, back. Examples for Whoremongers. B.

<sup>3</sup> should be suffer'd in F.      <sup>4</sup> for Whoredome added in F.

<sup>5</sup> their B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> leaf 54. Many euils come by whordome. B

<sup>10</sup> godly E, F.

<sup>6</sup> life E, F.

<sup>9</sup> wil B; shall E, F.

<sup>11</sup> almost not in F.

<sup>12</sup> the radicall F.

the spirits, it hurteth the memorie, it weakneth the whole body, it bringeth <sup>1</sup>it into a<sup>1</sup> consumption, it bringeth<sup>2</sup> vlcerations,<sup>3</sup> scab, scurf, blain, botch, pocks, & biles ; it maketh hoare haires &<sup>4</sup> bald pates ; it induceth olde age, &, in fine, bringeth death before nature vrge it, malady enforce it, or age require<sup>5</sup> it.

*Sp.* Seeing that whordome bringeth such soure fauce with it, namely,<sup>6</sup> death euerlasting after this life, and so many discommodities besides in this life, I wunder that men dare commit the same so securely as they doo now a dayes.

*Philo.* It is so little feared in *Ailgna*, that, vn<sup>7</sup>till<sup>8</sup> euery one hath<sup>8</sup> two or three Bastardes a peece, they esteeme him no man<sup>9</sup> (for that they call a mans deed) ; infomuch as<sup>10</sup> euery scuruie boy of twelue, sixteen, or twenty yeeres of age, wil make no conscience of it to haue two or three, peraduenture half a dozen feuerall women with childe at once ; and this exploite beeing doon, he shewes them<sup>11</sup> a faire pair of heeles, and away goeth he, *Euro<sup>12</sup> velocius*, as<sup>13</sup> quick as a Bee<sup>13</sup> (as they say) into some strange place where he is not knownen, where, how he liueth, let the wise<sup>14</sup> juge, for, *cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt* ; though they chaunge their place of abode, yet their naughtie dispositions they retaine stiil. Then, hauing estrangued them selues thus for a small space, they returne againe, not to their pristine cursed life, I dare say, but vnto<sup>15</sup> their cuntrey, and then no man may say black is their eye ; but all is wel, & they as good christians as those that suffer them vnpunished.

*Spud.* The state and condition of that Cuntrey is most miserable, if it be true you report : it weare much better that euery one had his lawfull wife, and euery woman her lawfull husband, as the Apostle commaundeth, then thus to be<sup>16</sup> drowned<sup>17</sup> in the filthie fin of whordome.

*Philo.* That is the only salue and soueraine remedy which the lord ordained against whordome, that those who haue not the gift of

<sup>1—1</sup> not in B, E, F.      <sup>2</sup> causeth B, E, F.      <sup>3</sup> vlceration F.

<sup>4</sup> and not in B, E, F.      <sup>5</sup> constraine F.      <sup>6</sup> as namely B, E, F.

+ leaf 54, back. Causes of bastardie in Ailgna. B.

<sup>8—8</sup> one hath had F.

<sup>10</sup> that E, F.

<sup>11</sup> all added in E, F.

<sup>12</sup> pilo F.

<sup>13—13</sup> round as a hall F.

<sup>14</sup> world F.

<sup>15</sup> to E.

<sup>16</sup> lye B, E.

<sup>17</sup> and immerged added in E ; plunged F.

[7 Leaf 54, back.  
B, f.]

[9 H 4, back]

The small  
care to auoid  
whordome in  
*Ailgna*.

Whormongers  
runagates.

Mariage an  
antidotarie  
against Whor-  
dome.

continencie might mary, and so keep their vessells <sup>1</sup> vndefiled to the Lord. But, notwithstanding, in *Ailgna* there is ouer great libertye permitted therin; for little infants in swadling clowts, are often maried by their ambitious Parents and frends, when they know neither good nor euill; and this is the origene of much wickednesse, & directlie against the word of God, and examples of the primityue age. And besydes this, you shall haue euery sawcy boy of x, xiiij, xvii, or xx yeres of age, to catch vp a woman & marie her, without any feare of God at all, or respect had, either to her religion, wiſdom, integrtie of lyfe, or any other vertue; or, which is more, without any ſankeſte how they maye lyue together with ſufficient maintenance for their callings and eſtat. No, no; it maketh no matter for theſe things: ſo he haue his pretie puſſie to huggle withall, <sup>2</sup> it forceth not, <sup>3</sup> for that is the only thing he deſireth. Then build they vp a cotage, though but of elder poals, in euery lane end, almoſt, wher they lyue as beggers al their life.<sup>3</sup> This filleth the land with ſuch ſtore of poore people,<sup>4</sup> that in ſhort tyme (except ſome cauſion<sup>5</sup> be prouided to preuent the fame), it is like to growe to great pouertie and ſcarfnes,<sup>6</sup> which, Gon forbide!

[<sup>x</sup> H 5 A; leaf 55. B.\*]  
Maring of  
infants in  
swadling  
cloths.

Euery Boy  
Snatcheth vp a  
Woman to  
wife.

[Cottages in  
every lane end.  
E, F.]

*Sp.* I canot ſee how this geare ſhould be holpen.

*Philo.* What if a restraint were made that <sup>7</sup>none (except vppon ſpeciall and vrgente cauſes) ſhould marie before they come to xx or xxiiij <sup>8</sup>yeeres, or, at the<sup>9</sup> leaſt, before they be xiiij or xviii yeeres old, would not this make fewer beggers than now [<sup>8</sup> H 5, back] there are?

A restraint of  
marriage.  
[<sup>7</sup> leaf 55, back.  
B.]

*Sp.* But if this were eſtabliſhed, than ſhould we haue moe Baſtards; and of the two, I had rather we had many <sup>10</sup>legittimats than many illegittimates.<sup>10</sup>

*Philo.* The occaſion of begetting of manye Baſtards were ſoone cut of, if the punishment which either<sup>11</sup> God his lawe doth allowe, or

How whor-  
dome may be  
suppreſſed.

\* leaf 55. Cauſes of many beggers in Ailgna. B.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> life after B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> Mendicantes, or to ſpeak plainly §, of Beggers as wee call them B, E. § E has plainlyer. For ‘of poore people,’ F has of Beggers as we call them F.

<sup>5</sup> remedy F.

<sup>6</sup> extream misery F.

† leaf 55, back. Remedies to ſuppresse whordome. B. <sup>9</sup> the not in E, F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> children lawfully begot than many Bastards F.

<sup>11</sup> either not in F.

98 Due punishment for whordome. The Anat[omie]

els which good pollicy<sup>1</sup> doth constitute,<sup>1</sup> were<sup>2</sup> aggrauated and ex-  
ecuted<sup>2</sup> vpon the Offenders.

The punish-  
ment for  
whordome  
ouer remise.

[<sup>5</sup> leaf 56. B.†]

[<sup>6</sup> H 6]

[Whoredome  
ought not to be  
punished by the  
purse. E, F.]

[Let the Arch-  
deacons look to  
it!]

For the punishment appointed for whordome now is so light that they esteeme not of it; thei feare it not, they make but a iest of it. For what great thing is it to go ij or three dayes in a white sheete<sup>3</sup> before the congregation, and that somtymes not past an howre or two in a day, hauing their vsuall garments vnderneth, as commonly they haue?<sup>4</sup> This impunitie (in respecte of condigne punishment, which that<sup>5</sup> vice requireth) doth rather animate and imbolden them to the aūte, than feare them from it. In so much as I haue heard some miscreants impudently say, that he is but a beast that for such white lyuered punishment would abstaine from suche gallant pastyme: but certen it is that they who thinke it fuche sweet meate here, shall find the fawce fowre<sup>6</sup> and stiptick<sup>7</sup> enough in Hell. [<sup>8</sup> And yet as light and as easie as this punishment is, it may be, and is dailey dispensed<sup>9</sup> with-all for monie: and this is thought to be the best kinde of punishment, to punishe them by the purse. Then the whiche, what can be a greater disorder in a Christian common wealth? Is this any thyng els then to buye and sell the bodies and soules of Christians for monie? Can the Pope himself doe any more then this? Is not this a maintenance of the Stewes? Yea, so long as this is vfed, the Stewes shall neuer be out of Ailgna. Let the Magistrates therefore of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchie (for to them I speake) take heede that thei be not maintainers of Stewes and whoredome, whereof thei would so faine bee thought to bee suppressors. For this kind of dispensing with Whoredome, Adulterie, and Fornication for monie, and settynge of them free a *culpa, rubore,*<sup>10</sup> & *poena,*<sup>11</sup> in this worlde,<sup>11</sup> from the falte<sup>12</sup> it self,<sup>13</sup> from the shame,<sup>13</sup> and punishment due for the fault? What is it els then not onely a maintenaunce, but also a

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> hath constituted F.    <sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> executed and aggrauate B; inflicted F.

<sup>3</sup> or els in a Cope (a ridiculous kinde of punishment) added in B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> [And truely I can not a little admire, nor yet sufficiently deplore the \* (\* that F.) wickednesse of the Ecclesiastical Magistrates, in not punishing more greeuously, this horrible sinne of whoredome: for to goe in a sheete with a white wande in their handes, is but a plain mockyng of God, and of his Lawes. Added in B, E, F.]

<sup>7</sup> bitter F.

<sup>9</sup> suspended in E.

<sup>12</sup> falte B, E; fault F.

<sup>8</sup> From this, to p. 99, l. 16, not in A.

<sup>10</sup> not in F.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> not in E, F.

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> not in F.

[ leaf 56. No head line. B.

[stirryng of them vp to commit whoredome, when for a little monie thei <sup>1</sup>maie be discharged of all gilte? And this beyng certaine, or at least very likely, *that* whofoeuer getteth one with child, of what reputation or degree soeuer she be of, (if he be singlē) he shall be forced to marie her, and that<sup>2</sup> for a little piece of monie, thei may both haue a Bull of dispensation. This beyng so, who, I saie, will not seeke to aspire as high as he can,<sup>3</sup> and assay<sup>4</sup> to deflower (in hope of further gaine) as many as he maie.<sup>5</sup> This filuer punishment is it, that defileth honest Matrones, polluteth chraft Virgines, and dishonesteth poore Maides, to their vtter shame and vndoynge for euer. I saie nothyng, how the monie receiued for these dispensations is bestowed, how spent, nor wherevpon<sup>6</sup> employed. The Lord for his mercies sake, giue them grace to punishe vice seuerely, as the worde of God doeth commaunde, and not after their owne sensuall desires,<sup>7</sup> and licencious lustes, that God maie be glorified, and their conciences disburdened<sup>8</sup> at the greate daie of the Lorde. *Added in B, E, F.]*

*Spud.* What punishment would you haue inflicted vppon such as commit this horrible kinde of finne?

*Philo.* I would wish that the Man or Woman, who are certenlye knownen, without all scruple or doubte, to haue committed the horryble fact of whordome, adulterie, incest, or fornication, eyther should<sup>9</sup> drinke a full<sup>10</sup> draught of *Moyses* cuppe, that is, taſt of present death [as Gods word doth<sup>11</sup> commaunde, and good pollicie allowe B, E]; or els, if *that* be thought too ſeuere (for<sup>12</sup> in euill, men will be more mercifull than the Author of mercie him ſelfe, but in goodneſſe, fare well mercy) than wold God they might be cauterized and feared with a hote yron on<sup>13</sup> the cheeke, forehead, or ſome other parte of their boode that might be ſeene, to the<sup>14</sup> end the honest and chraft Christians might be diſcerned from the adulterous Children of Sathan.<sup>14</sup> But (alas!) this vice (with the reſt) wanteth ſuch due punishment as God his Word doth commaunde to be executed<sup>15</sup> thervpon.<sup>16</sup>

[*To L. 16 is not in A]*

[To dispence with whoredome for money, is a playne maintenance of whordome. E, F.]

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 56, back B.\*]

What kind of punishment whordome ought to haue.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 57. B.†]

\* leaf 56, back. Due punishment for whordome. B.      <sup>2</sup> thus F.

<sup>3</sup> may in E, F.      <sup>4</sup> assay not in E, F.      <sup>5</sup> can in E, F.

<sup>6</sup> whereunto in E, F.      <sup>7</sup> appetites F.      <sup>8</sup> discharged F.

<sup>9</sup> eyther comes after ſhould in F.      <sup>10</sup> full not in F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 57. A late example for whordome, in Aig. B.

<sup>12</sup> as in E, F.      <sup>13</sup> vppon F.

<sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> end that the adulterous children of Sathan, might be diſcerned from the honest and chraft Christians B, E, F.      <sup>15</sup> inflicted F.      <sup>16</sup> vppon them E, F.

## 100 Two adulterers burned in Ailg[na]. The Anatomie

[Magistrates  
wink at whore-  
dom.]

The Magistrates wincke at it, or els, as looking thorowe their fingers, they see it, and will not see it.

<sup>1</sup> And therfore the Lorde is forced too take the fword into his owne hands, and to execute punishment him selfe, because the Magistrates will not.<sup>2</sup>

[<sup>3</sup> H 6, back]

<sup>3</sup> For better proof wheroft, marke this strange & fearful iudgment of god, shewed vpon two adulterous persons there,<sup>4</sup> euen the last day in effect, the remembrance wheroft is yet green in their heds.

[A most dread-  
full example of  
two notorious  
whoremongers.  
E.]

There was a man whose name was *W. Ratfurl*<sup>5</sup>, being certenly knownen to be a notorious vferer (and yet pretending alway a singuler zeale to religion, so that he wold seldom tymes go without a byble about him: but see the iudgements of God vpon them that will take his word in their mouthes, and yet lyue cleane contrarie, making the word of God a cloke to couer their <sup>6</sup>finne and naughtynesse withall<sup>7</sup>) ;

[<sup>5</sup> W. Brustar.]

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 57, back.  
B †]

[Bridewell.]

[Whoremongers  
members of the  
Deuell. E.]

who, vppon occasion of busines, visiting *Lewedirl*, a place appointed for the correiction of such that<sup>8</sup> be wicked luyers, saw there a famous whore, but a very proper Woman, whom (as is faid) he knew not; but whether he did or not, certen it is that he procured her delyuery from thence, bayled her, &, hauing put away his owne wife before, kept her in his chamber, vsing her at his pleasure. Whyleft these two members of the deuil were playing the vile *Sodomits* together in his chamber, & hauing a litle pan of coles before them, wherin was a very little fire, it pleased God, euen in his wrath, to frike these two persons dead in a moment. The Woman, falling ouer the pan of coles, was burned, that all her bowels gushed out: the man was founde lying by, his <sup>9</sup>cloths in some partes being scorched and burned, & some partes of his body also. But, which is most wonderfull, his arme was burned to the very boone, his shirt sleeve and dublet not once perished, nor tuched with the fire. Wherby may be thought, & not without great probabilitie of truth, that it was euen the fire of God his wrath from Heauen, and not any natural fire from the earth. And in this wonderfull & fearfull maner weare these cupple founde: which God graunt may be a document<sup>10</sup> to all that

<sup>1</sup> From here to p. 101, end of line 3, not in F.

<sup>2</sup> not do it added in E.

<sup>4</sup> in Munidhol, for there E.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 57, back. Two Adulterers burned in Ailgna. B.

<sup>7</sup> as many do in these daies added in E.

<sup>8</sup> as B, E.

<sup>10</sup> or lesson admonitorie added in B, E.

heare or read the same, to avoyde the like offence, and to all Magistrates an Example to see the same punished with more seueritie, to [<sup>†</sup> leaf 58. B.] the glorie of God and their owne discharge.

But so farre<sup>2</sup> are some from suffering condigne punishment for this horrible sinne, that they get good maintenance with practising the same. For shall you not<sup>3</sup> haue some, yea many thousands, that liue vpon nothing els, and yet go clothed Gentlewomenlike, both in their silks,<sup>4</sup> and otherwyse, with<sup>5</sup> their fingers clogged with rings, their wrists with bracelets & Iewels, and their purses full of gold and siluer. And hereof they make no conscience, so their Husbands know it not. Or if they doo, some are such peasants, and such maycocks, that either they will not, or (which is truer) they dare not, reprove them for it. But & if the Husband once reprove them for their misde<sup>6</sup>meanour, [<sup>6</sup> H 7, back] than they conspire his death by some meane or other. And all this commeth to passe because the punishment therof is<sup>7</sup> no extremer, as it ought to be<sup>7</sup>; And some, both Gentlemen and others (wherof some I know) are so nusled herein, that hauing put awaye their owne wyues, do<sup>8</sup> keepe whores openly, without any great punishment for it; and hauing beene conuented before the<sup>9</sup> magistery, and there beene<sup>9</sup> deposed vpon a booke to put away their whores, haue put them foorth at one doore, and taken them in at the other.

And thus they dally in their othes with the Lord, and stoppe the course of the lawe<sup>11</sup> with *rulrum argentum*,<sup>12</sup> wherof they haue store to bestowe vpon such wickednesse, but<sup>13</sup> haue not a mite<sup>13</sup> to give towards any good purpose.

Wherfore, in the name of God, let all men that haue put away their honest wyues be forced to take them again, and abandon all whores, or els to tase of the law. And let all whores be cut of with the fword of<sup>14</sup> right iudgement<sup>14</sup>; For as long as this immunitie and impunitie is permitted amonkest vs, let vs neuer looke to please God, but rather prouoke his heuie iudgements against vs. And the reason

[Many gette  
great liunges  
with practising of  
whordome. E, F.]

[Putting away  
honest wifes and  
retaining of<sup>10</sup>  
whores. E, F.]

[<sup>†</sup> leaf 58, back.  
B, H]

[Lawe ought to  
be executed  
without par-  
tialtie. E, F.]

\* leaf 58. Knowne whores kept openly. B.

<sup>2</sup> Yea so farre of F.

<sup>3</sup> not omitted in F.

<sup>4</sup> and Veluets added in F.

<sup>5</sup> not in F.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> so easie and gentle as it is F.

<sup>8</sup> they E, F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> magistrates and there F.

<sup>10</sup> of nat in F.

+ leaf 58, back. Great excesse and belly cheere. B. E has Whoredome:  
Honest wifes put away.

<sup>12</sup> vnguentum F.

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> not a penny F.

<sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> iustice F.

[<sup>12</sup> H 8]

is, for that there is no finne in all the World, but these whores and whoremasters will<sup>1</sup> willingly attempt and atcheive for the<sup>1</sup> inioying of their whordome. <sup>2</sup>And Hell, destruction, and death euerlasting, is the guerdon therof, and yet men cannot<sup>3</sup> be aware<sup>3</sup> of it. The Lord<sup>4</sup> remooue it from all his Children,<sup>4</sup> and present them blameles before his tribunall seate, without spotte or wrinkle at that<sup>5</sup> great day of the Lord !

*Spud.* What<sup>6</sup> memorable thing<sup>6</sup> els haue you seen there frequented? for seeing you haue begun in parte, I pray you describe the whole.

### *Gluttonie<sup>7</sup> and drunkenneffe<sup>8</sup> in Ailg[na].*

*Philo.* I Haue seene that which greeueth mee to report. The People there are marueilously giuen to daintie fare, gluttonye, belli-cheer, & many also to drunkenneffe & gourmandice.

<sup>9</sup>*Sp.* That is a manifest argument of good hospitality, which both is commended in the word of God, & which I know you wil not reprehende.

*Ph.* Godly hospitalitie is a thing in no wise worthy of reprehencion, but rather of great commendation; for many haue receiuied Angels into their houses, at vnawares, by vsing the same, as *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Tolias*, & many others. Yet if hospitality flow ouer into superfluitie & riotous exceffe, it is not tolerable: for<sup>10</sup> now adayes, if the table be not couered<sup>11</sup> from the one end to the other, as thick as one dish can stand by another,<sup>12</sup> with delicat meats<sup>13</sup> of sundry sorts, one cleane different from an other, and to euery dish a feuerall sawce appropiat to<sup>14</sup> his kinde, it is thought there vnworthye the name of a diuner. Yea, so many dishes shal you haue pesteruing the table<sup>15</sup> at once, as the infaciablist *Helluo*, the deuouringest glutton, or the greediest cormorant that is<sup>16</sup>, can scarce eat of euery one a litle. And these many shal you haue at the first course; as many at the seconf; and, peraduenture, moe at the third; besydes other sweet condyments,<sup>17</sup> and delicat confectiones of spiceries, and I cannot tell what. And to these

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> greedily commit for F.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> beware B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> keep all his children from it F.      <sup>5</sup> the F.      <sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> notable abuses F.

<sup>7</sup> The Gluttonie B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> exceffe B, E, F.

\* leaf 59. Great exceffe in delicate fare. B.      <sup>10</sup> and B, E.      <sup>11</sup> pestered F.

<sup>12</sup> meat F.      <sup>14</sup> in F.      <sup>15</sup> thereon F.      <sup>16</sup> ever was B, E, F.      <sup>17</sup> iunkets F.

Daintie fare,  
gluttony and  
gourmandice  
vsed in Ailg.

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 59. B.\*]

Godly hospi-  
tality to be  
commended.

[<sup>12</sup> H 8, back]

Varietie of  
dishes and  
meats, with  
their curious  
sawces.

Excesse of  
meats.

dainties, all kind of wynes are not wanting, you may be sure. Oh, what nisifie<sup>1</sup> is this! what vanitie, exceffe,<sup>2</sup> ryot and superfluitie is heare! Oh, farewell former world! For I haue heard my Father say that in his dayes, one dish or two of good wholesome <sup>3</sup>meate was thought sufficient for a man of great worship to dyne withall; and if they had three or four kinds, it was reputed a sumptuous feast. A good peece of beef was thought than good meat, and able for the best; but now it is thought too grosse, for their tender stomacks <sup>4</sup>are not able<sup>4</sup> to digest<sup>5</sup> such crude and harsh meats<sup>5</sup>: For if they shold, (their stomacks being so queasie as they be, and not able<sup>6</sup> to concoct it) they shold but<sup>7</sup> euacuat the same againe, as other filthie excrements,<sup>8</sup> their bodies receiuing no noorish<sup>9</sup>ment therby, or els<sup>10</sup> they shold<sup>10</sup> lye<sup>11</sup> stincking in their stomacks, as dirte in a filthie finck or pruyie. If this be so, I marueile how oure fore-Fathers lyued, who eat little els but cold meats, grosse and hard of digestion. Yea, the<sup>11</sup> most of them fead vpon graine, corne, roots, pulse, herbes, weeds, and such other baggage, and yet liued longer then wee,<sup>12</sup> helthfuller then we, were<sup>12</sup> of better complexion then we, and much stronger then we in euerie respect: wherfore I cannot perswade my self otherwise, but that our nicenes and curioufnes in dyet hath altered our nature, distempred our bodies, and made vs more<sup>13</sup> subiect to millions of<sup>14</sup> discrasies and<sup>14</sup> diseases then euer weare our Forefathers subiect vnto, and consequently of shorter life then they.

*Spud.* They wil aske you again, wherfore god made such varietie of meats, but to be eaten of men? what answere give you to that?

*Philo.* The Lord our God ordained, indeede, the vse of meat<sup>15</sup> and<sup>15</sup> leaf 60. B. f. drinks for man to sustaine the fraile, caduke,<sup>17</sup> and brittle estate<sup>18</sup> of his mortall body withall<sup>19</sup> for a time; But he gaue<sup>20</sup> it him not<sup>20</sup> to<sup>21</sup> delight and<sup>22</sup> wallow therin continually<sup>22</sup>; for as the olde Adage saith, *Nox*

<sup>1</sup> what prodigality added in F.

<sup>2</sup> what excesse F.

\* leaf 59, back. Hard fare holsomest. B.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> and<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> not in, B, E,

F. From such to pruyie, line 13, not in F.

<sup>6</sup> so vnable for not able B, E.

<sup>7</sup> but not in B; might happely E.

<sup>8</sup> crude and indigest B, E.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> it would B; might E.

<sup>11</sup> the not in F.

<sup>12</sup> were before helthfuller B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> more not in B, E, F. <sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> not in F.

† leaf 60. How meates bryng destruction. B. <sup>16</sup> meates B, E, F. <sup>17</sup> not in F.

<sup>18</sup> state F. <sup>19</sup> withall not in F. <sup>20</sup>—<sup>20</sup> them not unto him B, E, F. <sup>21</sup> for F.

<sup>22</sup>—<sup>22</sup> pleasure onely, but for necessitie and neede F; as the swine do in yemire added after continually in B, E.

The austerity  
and Godly  
simplicity of  
the former  
World in meats  
and drinke.  
[<sup>3</sup> leaf 59, back.  
B.]

Nice, tender  
stomacks. [not  
in F.]

The faragine  
or rough fare  
of our Fore-  
fathers.

Our nice fare  
hath altered  
our bodies and  
chaunged our  
nature.

Medietie to be  
obserued in  
meats.

[7 I 1, back]

When meats  
and drinks are  
Instruments of  
destruction  
vnto vs.

Ge. 24.

<sup>1</sup> Reg. 2.<sup>14</sup>  
[<sup>15</sup> leaf 60, back.  
B. \*]

[Bible instances  
of the evils of  
Gluttony.]

Daniel 5.  
verse 5.<sup>16</sup>

[<sup>18</sup> sign. I 2]

Luc. 16.

Mat. 4.  
[The Devil  
tempted Christ  
through Glut-  
tony.]

*viuendum*<sup>1</sup> *vt edamus, sed edendum*<sup>2</sup> *vt viuamus*: Wee<sup>3</sup> must not liue<sup>3</sup> to eat, but wee must<sup>4</sup> eat to liue; wee must not swill and ingurgitate our<sup>5</sup> stomacks so ful,<sup>6</sup> as no more can be crammed<sup>7</sup> in. The Lord willed<sup>8</sup> that they should be ordinarie<sup>9</sup> meanes to preserue<sup>10</sup> the stafe of<sup>10</sup> our bodyes<sup>11</sup> a time, whilste we liue and sojourne in this vaste wildernes of the worlde, but not that they should be instruments of destruction to vs bothe of body and soule. And truely they are no leesse when they are take[n] immoderatly without the feare of God. And<sup>12</sup> dooth not the impletion and facietie of meates and drinks prouoke lust? as *Hiero* saith, *Venter Mero estuans spumat in libidinem*, the belly enflamed with wine bursteth foorth into lust. Doth not lust bring foorth sinne, and sin bring<sup>13</sup> foorth death? The Children of *Israell*, giuing themselfes to delicat fare & gluttony, fel to Idolatrie, sacriledg & apostasie, worshipping stocks, stones, and deuils, in-sted of the liuing God. The sonnes of *Hely* the Priest, giuing themselfes to daintie fare & belly-cheere, fell into such sin as the Lord flew them all, & their fa<sup>15</sup>ther alfo, for that he chastised them not for the same. The Children of blessed *Job*, in midſt of all their banquetings & ryot, were slain by the lord, the whole house falling vpon them, and destroying them most pitifully. *Balthasar*, king of the *Chaldeans*, in midſt of all his good cheer, saw a hand writing vpon the wall these woords, *mene*<sup>17</sup> *techer uphar sin*, signifying that his kingdome should be taken from him; and so it was, and he slain the same night by the<sup>18</sup> hand of the lord. The rich glutton in the Gofpel, for his riotous feastings & propoferous<sup>19</sup> liuing, was condemned to the fire of hel. Our Father *Adam*, with all his ofſpring (to the end of the world) was condemned to hel-fire for taking one apple to satisfie his glotonus desire withall. Gluttony was one of the chiefeſt canons wherwith the deuil affailed Christe, thinking therby to batter his kingdome & to win the feeld for euer; yet not withſtanding the greeuousnes heeroſ, the ſame is thought to be a coutenance & a great credit to a man in *Aylg[na]*. But true hofpitality confiſteth not in many dishes, nor in fundry ſorts of meats

<sup>1</sup> *viuimus* F.    <sup>2</sup> *edimus* F.    <sup>3—3</sup> *liue not* F.    <sup>4</sup> *must not in* F.

<sup>5</sup> *so much into our* B, E, F.    <sup>6</sup> *so ful not in* B, E, F.    <sup>8</sup> *prouided them* E, F.

<sup>9</sup> *as F.*    <sup>10—10</sup> *not in F.*    <sup>11</sup> *for a* B, E, F.    <sup>12</sup> *Besides that* B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> *bringes F.*

<sup>14</sup> <sup>3</sup> *Reg. 2. in* B, E, F.

\* *leaf 60, back. Small relieve for the poore. B. E has Gluttony punished.*

<sup>16</sup> *verse 5. 25. in* B, E, F.    <sup>17</sup> *mene added in* B, E, F.    <sup>19</sup> *inordinate F.*

(the ſubſtance wherof is chaunged<sup>1</sup> almoſte into accidents thorow their curiouſ cookries, & <sup>2</sup> which doo help to<sup>2</sup> rot *the*<sup>3</sup> bodies & ſhorten their daies) but rather in giuing liberally to the poor and indigent<sup>4</sup> members of Iefus Christe, helping them to meat, drink, lodging, clothing, <sup>5</sup>& ſuch other neceſſaries wherof they ſtand in need.

Wherin hoſpitalitie  
consisteth.

[5 leaf 6r. B.\*]

But ſuch is their hoſpitality, that the poor haue *the* leaſt part of it: you ſhal haue 20, 40, 60, yea a C li. ſpent in ſome one house in banqueting & festing, yet *the* poor ſhall haue little or nothing: if they haue any thing, it is but *the* refuſe<sup>6</sup> meat, ſcraps & parings,<sup>7</sup> ſuch as a dog would ſcarſe eat ſomtimes; & wel if they can get *that* too: iñſted wherof,<sup>8</sup> not a few haue whipping cheer to feed them<sup>9</sup> withall. <sup>10</sup>it is counted but a ſmal matter for <sup>11</sup>a man that can ſcarſlie diſpend <sup>11</sup>I 2, back] forty pound<sup>12</sup> by the yeer, to beſtow againſt one time, ten or twentie pound<sup>12</sup> therof in ſpices. And truely, ſo long & ſo greeouifully hath this exceſſe of gluttonie and daintie fare ſurffeted in *Ailgna*, as I feare mee, it will ſpuē out many of his Maifters out of dores before it be long. But as ſome be ouer largeous,<sup>13</sup> ſo other ſome are ſpare enough; for when any meat is ſiſting, then lock they vp their gates, that no man may come in. An-other forte<sup>14</sup> haue ſo many houſes that they viſit them<sup>15</sup> once in vii yeer<sup>16</sup>; many Chimnies, but little ſmoke; faire houſes, but ſmall hoſpitalitie. And to be plaine, there are three cankers, which, in proceſſe of time, wil eat vp the whole common Welth,<sup>17</sup> iſ ſpeedy reformation be not had, namely, daintie Fare, gorgious Buildings, and ſumptuous Apparel; which three *Abuſes*<sup>18</sup>, <sup>19</sup>eſpecially, yet not without their cofin germanes, doo florish there. *God remooue them thence, for his Christes ſake.*

The ſmall  
releafe of the  
poore.

Locking vp of  
Gates when  
meat is stir-  
ring.

Three deou-  
ring Cankers.

[19 leaf 6r, back.]  
B.†]

*Spud.* I had thought that dainty fare & good cheer had both noorished the body perfectly, and also prolōged life<sup>20</sup>; & dooth it not ſo think you?

*Philo.* Experience, as [by]<sup>21</sup> my former intimations you may

<sup>1</sup> changed E.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> impotionate ſlibber ſawcēs which B, E, F; (ſlibber *in* B.)

<sup>3</sup> their B, E, F. <sup>4</sup> needy F. \* leaf 6r. Small hoſpitalitie in *Ailgna*. B.

<sup>6</sup> refuge A; refuſe B, E, F. <sup>7</sup> patrings A; parings B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> now and then not B, E, F. <sup>9</sup> themſelues B, E, F. <sup>10</sup> yea it B, F.

<sup>12</sup> pounds F.

<sup>14</sup> forte A; ſorte B, E, F. <sup>15</sup> not once B, E, F. <sup>16</sup> yeaſte F.

<sup>17</sup> of *Ailgna* added in B, E, F. <sup>18</sup> three deouuring Cankers B, E, F.

† leaf 6r, back. Diuerſitie of meates hurtfull. B.

<sup>20</sup> life greatly B, E, F. <sup>21</sup> by F; in B, E; both by and in wanting in A.

Who more  
subject to  
infirmities  
then they that  
fare best?  
[<sup>1</sup> sign. I 3. A.]

Eating of diuers meats  
at one time  
hurtful.

[<sup>10</sup> leaf 62. B.†]

The speedy de-  
cay of those  
that geue  
themselves to  
daintie fare.  
[<sup>14</sup> I 3, back]

gather, teacheth clean contrary; for who is ficklier then they that fare deliciously euery day? who is corrupter? who belcheth more? who looketh wurfe, who is weaker <sup>1</sup>and feebler then they? who hath more filthie colour,<sup>2</sup> flegme, and putrifaction (repleat<sup>3</sup> with groffe humors) then they? and, to be bref, who dyeth sooner then they? Doo wee not see the poor man that eateth brown bread (wherof some is made of Rye, barlie, peason, beans, oates, and such other groffe graines) & drinketh small drink, yea, sometimes water, feedeth vpon milk, butter, and cheese; (I say) doo wee not see such a one helthfuller, stronger,<sup>4</sup> and longer liuing,<sup>5</sup> then the other that fare<sup>6</sup> daintily euery day? And how should it be otherwise? for wil not the eating of diuers and sundry kindes of meats, of diuers<sup>7</sup> operations and qualties (at one meale) engender distemperance in the<sup>8</sup> body? And the body distempered, wil it not fall into sundry deseases? one meat is<sup>9</sup> of hard disgesture, another of light<sup>9</sup>; & whilſt the meate of hard disgesture is in concocting, the other meat<sup>10</sup> of light disgesture dooth putrifie and stink: & this is the very mother of all deseases. one is of this qualtie, another of *that*; one of this operation, another of *that*; one kind of meat is good for this thing, another is naught for that. Then, how can all these contrarieties & discripancies<sup>11</sup> agree toghether in one body at one & the same time? wil not one contrary impugne his contrary<sup>12</sup>? one enemy refiſt an other? Then, what wifeman is he that wil receiue all these enemies into<sup>13</sup> the castle of<sup>13</sup> his<sup>14</sup> body at one time? Doo we not ſe, by experience, that they *that* giue themſelues to dainty fare and ſweet meats are neuer in helth? dooth not their ſight wax dim, their eares hard of hering, their teeth rot & fall out? dooth not their breth ſtink, their ſtomack<sup>15</sup> belch foorth filthy humors, and their memory decay? doo not their ſpirits and fences become heuie & dul by reaſon of<sup>16</sup><sup>17</sup> exhalations & impure vapors, which riſe vp in<sup>18</sup><sup>17</sup> their gingered brefts & ſpiced ſtomacks? &,

<sup>2</sup> choller E, F.    <sup>3</sup> together E, F.    <sup>4</sup> fairer complectioned *added in* B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> liued F.    <sup>6</sup> fared F.    <sup>7</sup> contrary B, E, F.    <sup>8</sup> the *not in* F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> hard of digestion, another light F.

† leaf 62. The decay of daintie feeders. B.

<sup>11</sup> repugnacies F.    <sup>12</sup> contrary A.    <sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> *not in* F.

<sup>15</sup> stomackes F.

<sup>16</sup> of the B, E, F.

<sup>17</sup>—<sup>17</sup> the filthy vapours and ſtinking fumes which riſe from F.

<sup>18</sup> from B, E.

fumyng vp to the hed, they<sup>1</sup> mortifie the vitall spirits & intellectiue powers. <sup>2</sup>dooth not<sup>2</sup> the whole body become<sup>3</sup> purfie & corpulent, yea, somtimes decrepit therwith,<sup>4</sup> & ful of all filthy corruption? *The Lord keep his chasen from the tasting therof.*<sup>5</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Sp. You spake of drunkennes, what say you of that?

<sup>7</sup>Phi. I say that it is a horrible vice, & too too much vsed in <sup>[7 leaf 62, back.  
B.†]</sup> *Ail[gna]*. Euery cuntry, citie, towne, village, <sup>8</sup>& other,<sup>8</sup> hath<sup>9</sup> abundance of alehouses, tauerns, & Innes,<sup>10</sup> which are so fraughted<sup>10</sup> with mault-wormes, night & day, that you would wunder to se them. You shal haue them there sitting at the wine and goodale all the day long, yea, all the night too,<sup>11</sup> peraduenture<sup>12</sup> a whole<sup>12</sup> week together, so long as any money is left; swilling, gulling, & carowsing from one to another, til neuer a one can speak a redy woord. Then, when with the spirit of the buttery they are thus posseſſed, a world it is to consider their gestures<sup>13</sup> & demenors,<sup>14</sup> how they stut and stammer, fagger & reele too & fro like madmen: <sup>15</sup>some vomiting, spewinge, & disgorging their filthie stomacks; other some<sup>16</sup> (*Honor sit auribus*)<sup>16</sup> piffing vnder the boord as they sit, & which is most horrible, some fall to swering, cursing, & banninge, interlacing their speeches with curious tearms of blasphemie, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the godly eares<sup>17</sup> present.<sup>18</sup>

Sp. But they wil say, that god ordained wines & strong drinks to cheer the hart & to sustaine the body<sup>19</sup>; therfore it is lawful to vſe them to that end.

Philo. Meats (moderately taken<sup>20</sup>) corroborate<sup>21</sup> the body, refresh the arteries, & reuiue the spirits, making them apter, euery member, to doo his office as god hath appointed<sup>22</sup>; but being immoderately taken

The beastly vice of drunkenes frequented in Ailg[na].

[<sup>15</sup> sign. I 4. A.]

The spirite of the buttery is drunknes and excesse.

The lothsome qualities of those that be drunke.

[<sup>21</sup> leaf 63. B.†]

<sup>1</sup> they not in B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> in so much that F.

<sup>3</sup> becommeth F.

<sup>4</sup> withall F.

<sup>5</sup> A new chapter-heading in B and E here:—Drunkenesse in Ailgna.

<sup>6</sup> heading in F:—Drunkenesse in England.

\* leaf 62, back. The beastly vice of drunkenesse. B.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> and other places B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> haue F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> in them, which are haunted F.

<sup>11</sup> too not in F.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> all the F.

<sup>13</sup> their countenances added in F.

<sup>14</sup> one towardes an other, and towardes every one els, added in B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>16</sup> not in F. <sup>17</sup> hearers B, E, F. <sup>18</sup> present not in E, F.

<sup>19</sup> body withall B, E, F.

<sup>20</sup> by the blessing of God F.

† leaf 63. The discommodities of drunkennes. B.

<sup>22</sup> them added in E, F.

The transfiguration of those that be drunke.

(as commonly they be), they are instruments of damnation to *the abusers*<sup>1</sup> of *the same*,<sup>1</sup> & noorish not *the body*, but corrupt it rather,<sup>2</sup> & casteth<sup>2</sup> it into a world<sup>3</sup> of deseases. And<sup>4</sup> a man once drunk with wine or strong drink, rather ressembleth a brute beaste then a christian man; for doo not his eies begin to stare & to be red, fiery & blered, blubbering foorth feas of teares? dooth he not frothe & fome at the mouth like a bore? dooth not his tung faulter and stammer in his mouth? dooth not his hed seeme as heuie as a milstone, he<sup>5</sup> not being able<sup>6</sup> to bear it vp? Are not his wits & spirts, as it were, drowned? Is not his vnderstanding altog[et]her decayed? doo not his hands, & all his body<sup>7</sup>, quiuer<sup>8</sup> & shake, as it were, with a quotidian feuer?<sup>9</sup> Besides these,<sup>9</sup> it casteth him<sup>10</sup> into a dropsie or plu<sup>11</sup>resie, nothing so soon; it infeebleth the finewes, it weakneth *the natural strength*, it corrupteth the blood, it disolueth *the whole man at the length*, and finally maketh him forgetful of him-self altogither, so that what he dooth being drunk, he remembreth not, being sober. The Drunkard, in his drunkennes, killeth his freend, reuileth his louer, discloseth secrets, and regardeth no man: he either<sup>12</sup> expelleth all feare<sup>13</sup> of god out of his minde, all loue of his freends &<sup>14</sup> kinffolkes, all remembrance of honestie, ciuilicie, & humanitie; so that I will not feare to call drunkards beasts, and no men; and much wurffe then beasts, for beasts neuer exceed in<sup>15</sup> such kind of exceesse or superfluitie, but alway *modum adhibent appetitui*,<sup>16</sup> they measure their appetites by the rule of necesstie; *which, would God wee would doo.*

*Spud.* Seeing it is so great an offence before God, I pray you show me some testimonies of the holy Scripture against it; for whatsoeuer is euil, *the woord of God*, I doubt not, reproueth the same.

*Philo.* It feemeth you haue not read *the holy scripture* very much, for if you had, you should haue found it not only spoke against, but also throwen down euuen to hel: for proof whereof, of infinit places I

<sup>1—1</sup> thereof E, F.      <sup>2—2</sup> castyng B, F.      <sup>3</sup> sea F.

<sup>4</sup> besides E, F.      <sup>5</sup> he not in E, F.      <sup>6</sup> beeing not able F.

<sup>7</sup> euibrate added in B, E; tremble F.      <sup>8</sup> quauer F.

<sup>9—9</sup> not in E, F.      <sup>10</sup> also added in E, F.      <sup>12</sup> vtterly E, F.

† leaf 63, back. Drunkardes worse then Beasts. B.

<sup>14</sup> and not in B.      <sup>15</sup> in any B, E, F.

<sup>16</sup> appetitui F; appetitum A, with m altered by the pen to i.

wil recite a few. The Prophet *Esaia*s thundereth out against it, saying, *ve qui consurgitis mane ad elrietatem sectandam*: ‘<sup>1</sup>Wo be to them that ryse earlie to followe drunkenesse, wallowing therein from morning to night, vntill they be set on fire with wyne & strong drinke. Therfore gapeth hell, & openeth her mouth wyde, that the glory, multitude, and welth of them that delight therin, may go downe into it,’ saith the Prophet. The prophet *Hoseas* faith, *fornicatio, vinum et mustum auferunt<sup>2</sup> animum*. Whordome, wyne, <sup>3</sup>& strong drinke, infatuat the heart of man.

The Prophet *Ioel* biddeth all Drunkards awake,<sup>4</sup> saying, ‘weepe *Ioel 1.5* and howle, you winebibbers, for the wickednesse of destruction that shall fall vpon you.’

The Prophet *Habacuck* soundeth a most dreadfull alarme not only to all Drunkards, but also to all that make them drunken, saying, ‘wo be to him that geueth his Neighbour drinke till he be drunke, that thou mayst see his priuities.’ *Salomon* saith, ‘wyne maketh a Man to be scornfull, and strong drinke<sup>6</sup> maketh a Man vnquiet: who so taketh pleasure in it, shall not be wise.’ In an other place, ‘keep not companie with wynebibbers and riotous Persons, for such as be Drunkards shal come to beggerie.’ In the xxij<sup>7</sup> of his Proverbes he saith: ‘To whome is woo? To whome is forow? to whome is strife? to whome is murmuring? to whome are wounds without cause? and to whome are red eyes? Euen to them that<sup>8</sup> tarie longe at the wyne, to them that go and seek mixt wyne.’ And, againe: ‘Looke not thou vpon the wyne when it is red, and when it sheweth his colour in the<sup>9</sup> cup, or gooth downe pleasantlie, for in the end it will bite like a serpent, and hurt like a Cockatrice, or Basilcock, which flay<sup>10</sup> or kill men with the poison of their fighte.’ Again, ‘it is not for Kings to drinke wyne, nor for Princes to drinke strong drinke.’ Our Sauiour Christ, <sup>11</sup>in the gospell of *S. Luke*, biddeth vs take heed that we ‘be not ouercome with surffeting and drunknes and cares of this lyfe, least the day of the Lorde come vpon vs vnawares.’

*Paule*<sup>13</sup> to the *Epheſians*, biddeth beware that we ‘be not drunk<sup>14</sup> *Ephe. 5.15*

<sup>2</sup> auferent F. \* leaf 64. Testimonies against Drunkards. B.

<sup>4</sup> wayle E, F. <sup>5</sup> Joel 2 E. <sup>6</sup> wine F. <sup>7</sup> twenty and three F.

<sup>9</sup> any B. <sup>10</sup> slea F. <sup>†</sup> leaf 64, back. Drunkennesse forbidden. B.

<sup>13</sup> S. Paule B, E, F. <sup>14</sup> drunken F. <sup>15</sup> not in E, F.

*Esaia 5.  
[F sign. I 5 A.]*

Testimonies  
against drunk-  
enesse out of  
the word of  
God.

*Hoseas c. 4.  
[3 leaf 64. B.\*]*

*Habacuck 2.  
Proverb c. 20.  
[Solomon against  
drunkenness.]*

*Proverb 23.*

*[Solomon against  
drunkenness.]*

*Proverb 31.  
[3 leaf 64, back.  
B.†]*

*Luc. 21.*

[St Paul against  
drunkenness.]

with wine, wherin is exceffe, but to be filled with *the spirit*.' The same apostle, in an other place, saith, *that* 'neither whoremonger, adulterer, Drunkard, glutton, ryotous person, nor such like, shal euer enter into the kingdome of Heauen.' By these few places, out of many, you may see the inormitie<sup>1</sup> of this vice, which is so much<sup>2</sup> euery where<sup>2</sup> frequented.

*Spud.* Let me intreate you to shew me some examples withall, wherby I may fee<sup>3</sup> what euill it hath done in all ages.<sup>3</sup>

Gene. 19.

[7 sign. 16. A.]

<sup>4</sup> *Philo.* Drunknes<sup>5</sup> caused *Lot* to commit<sup>6</sup> most shamefull<sup>6</sup> incest with his owne two Daughters, who got them both with Child,<sup>7</sup> he not perceiving it, neither when they lay downe, nor when they rose vp. See how drunkenesse affotteth a man, depriuing him of all fence, reason, and vnderstanding.

Examples  
against drunk-  
enesse.

Drunkenesse caused *Noah* to lye with his priuities bare in his Tabernacle, in fuche beastlie sorte as his wicked Sonne *Cham* iefted and scoffed at the same.

[8 leaf 65. B. †]

[Luc. 16. F.]

Luc. 16.

Luc. 16.

Thorow drunkenesse, *Holophernes*, that<sup>8</sup> great and inuincible Monarche of the *Affyrians*, was ouercome by a Woman, hauing his head cut from his shouolders with a fauchone. Thorow drunkenesse, King *Herode* was brought to fuche ydiocie and foolishe dotage, that he caused the head of good *Ihon Baptifl* to be cut of, to satissie the request of a dauncing strumpet. That riche *Epolo*, of whom<sup>9</sup> *Luke* maketh mention, was for his drunkenesse and ryotous exceffe, condemned to the fire of Hel for euer; with many moe examples, which for shortnes I omit. Now, seeing than that drunkenesse is both offensiue to God, and bringeth such euills in this lyfe present, let vs, in the name of God, auoyde it as a most wicked thing and prenicious euill. For euery Drunkard is so farre estranged from himselfe, that as one in an extasie of mind,<sup>10</sup> or rather in a playne Phrenfie, he maye not be said to be *sui animi compos*, or<sup>11</sup> a man of sounde wit, but rather a<sup>12</sup> very Bedlem, or muche worse, no Christian, but an Antichristian; no themselves.

[12 I 6, back]  
How farre  
Drunkards are  
estranged from  
themselves.

<sup>1</sup> vnlawfulnes F.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> not in F.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> the effectes thereof, and what punishment hath been shewed vpon the offendors herein in all ages. B, E, F; (*but F has therein.*)

<sup>4</sup> heading in F :—Punishment of Drunkardes.

<sup>5</sup> Drunkenesse B, E, F. <sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> not in F.

† leaf 65. Examples against Drunkenesse. B. <sup>9</sup> Sainct added in B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> of mind not in F.

<sup>11</sup> or not in B, E, F.

member of Christ Iesus, but an impe of Sathan and a lymme of the Deuill. Wherfore, in the name of God, let vs auoyd al exceffe, imbrace temperancie and sobrietie, & receiue so much<sup>1</sup> meats and drinks<sup>1</sup> as may satissie nature, not the infaciat appetits of our fleshly<sup>2</sup> desires; Knowing that, except the Lord blesse our meats and drinks within our bo<sup>3</sup>dies, and giue them power & strength to nourish and feede the same, and our bodyes their naturall powers, euery member to doo his office and dutie, our meates shall lye in our stomacks, stincking, smelling, and rotting, like filthie carion in a<sup>4</sup> lothfom finek.<sup>5</sup> So farre of ought we to be from abusing the good creatures of God by ryot, drunkenesse, or exceffe, that we ought neuer to take<sup>6</sup> morsell of bread, nor sope of drinke, without humble thankes<sup>7</sup> to the Lord for the same.<sup>8</sup> For we neuer read that our Sauiour Christ euer eat or dranke, but he gaue thankes (or, as we call it, said grace) both before the receipt therof and after. This needed<sup>9</sup> he not to haue done in respect of himselfe, but for our erudition<sup>10</sup> & learning, according to this saying, *omnis Christi actio nobis est instructio*: Euery action of our Sauiour Christe is our example and instruction, to follow as neere as<sup>11</sup> we are able. <sup>12</sup> And thus much of drunkenesse, which god graunt may every wher be auoided.<sup>12</sup>

[<sup>13</sup> Or if all that hath been saied hetherto,<sup>14</sup> bee not sufficient to withdrawe vs from this beastly vice of dronkennesse: yet lette vs sette before our eyes this moste fearfull iudgement of God, executed vpon a sorte of dronkardes, the storie whereof is this. The eight day of February 1578 in the countrey of Swaben, there were dwellyng eight menne Citezens, and Citezens, sonnes, very riotously and prodigally inclined,<sup>15</sup> the names of whom, for the better credite of the storie,<sup>16</sup> I haue sett doun, viz. Adam Giebens, George Kepell, John Keifell, Peter Herisdorse, Jhon Waganaer, Simon Henrickes, Herman Fron, Jacob Hermans,<sup>18</sup> all whiche would needes goe to the Tauerne, vpon the Sabbath daie in the mornyng verie earely, in contempt of

What if God  
blesse not our  
meats. [meat F  
[3 leaf 65, back.  
B. f.]

Getting of  
thanks befor  
meat &  
after.

[A terrible  
example of  
Swabian  
drunkards.]

[A most dread-  
full example of  
Gods iudgements  
shewed vpon  
certeine  
Dronkardes  
abusing the good  
creatures of  
God. E, F]  
[<sup>16</sup> leaf 66. B.f]

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> greedy F.

\* leaf 65, back. Examples of thanksgiuynge. B.

<sup>4</sup> all E, F.

<sup>5</sup> stinke F.

<sup>6</sup> a added in F.

<sup>7</sup> thankes geuing E; thankes giuing F.

<sup>8</sup> before added in F.

<sup>9</sup> need B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> example F.

<sup>11</sup> are (sic) F.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> From here to l. 23, p. 114, added in B, E, F. <sup>14</sup> heretofore F. <sup>15</sup> giuen F.

+ leaf 66; no head-line B, E, F have The propertie of a good hoste.

<sup>16</sup> Harmans F.

[This page not  
in A.]

[The propertie  
of a good  
Hoste. E, F.]

[A caueat for  
cursers and  
banners. E, F.]

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 66, back.  
B.†]

[The desperate  
securitie of  
Dronkerdes. E,  
F.]

[The deuilles  
rewarde to his  
darlinges the  
Dionkardes. E,  
F.]

the Lorde and his Sabbath. And commyng to the house of one Anthonie Hage, an honest, godlie man, who kepte<sup>1</sup> a Tauerne in the same Toune, called for burnte Wine, Sacke, Malmetie,<sup>2</sup> Hipocras, and what not. The hoste tolde them, that thei shold haue none of all these, before the diuine seruice and the<sup>3</sup> sermon tyme were paste, and councelled them to goe heare the sacred woerde of God preached. But thei (faue Adam Giebins, who aduised them to heare the Sermon, for feare of Gods wrathe) denied, saiyng: That thei lothed that kind of exercise. The good hoste, neither giuyng them any Wine hymself, nor sufferyng any other, went to the Sermon, as duetie did binde hym, who beyng gone, thei fell to cursyng, bannynge, and fwearyng, wishing that he might breake his necke, or euer he came againe from the Sermon; and bruyting forthe into these intemperate speeches, “the Deuill breake our neckes, if wee departe hence this daie, either quicke or dedde, till wee haue had some wine!” Straight waie, the Deuill appered vnto them, in the likenesse of a yong manne, bryngyng in his hande, a Flagon of wine, and demaundyng of them, why<sup>4</sup> thei caroused not, he dranke vnto them, saiyng: “Good fellowes, bee merie, for ye shall haue wine inough, for you feeme lustie laddes, and I hope you will paie me well,” who inconsiderately answere, that thei would paie hym, or els thei would guage their neckes, yea their bodies and soules, rather then to faile. Thus thei continued swillyng, gullyng, and carousyng so long, as till one could not<sup>5</sup> fee an other. At the last the deuill their hoste, tolde them, that thei must needes paie the shotte, whereat their hartes waxed cold. But the Deuill comfortyng them, faied: “Bee of good cheare, for now muste you drinke boilyng Lead, Pitche, and Brimstone with me in the pit of helle for euermore”: Hereupon<sup>6</sup> immediatly he made their eyes like flames of fire, and in bredth as broad as Saucers. Then beganne thei to call for mercie, but it was to late. And ere thei could call againe for mercie and grace, the Deuill preuented them, and<sup>7</sup> brake their neckes a sonder, and threwe moste horrible flames of fire, flashing<sup>8</sup> out of their mouthes. And thus ended these seuen dronkardes, their miserable daies, whose Judgement I leaue to the Lorde. The other Adam Gibiens, wh-

<sup>1</sup> keep F.

<sup>2</sup> Malmsie F.

<sup>3</sup> the *not* in F.

† leaf 66, back. *No head-line.* B.

<sup>5</sup> scarcely in E, F.

<sup>6</sup> Heeeupon (*sic*) F.

<sup>7</sup> and *not* in E, F.

<sup>8</sup> flashing *not* in F.

[councelled them before, to go to<sup>1</sup> heare the Sermon, hauyng some sparkes of faith in hym, was preferued from death, by the greate mercie of God, and greatly repented his former life, yeldyng praise vnto God for his deliuernace. Thus haue I *in sempiternam rei me-*  
<sup>2</sup> *moriam*, faithfully recorded the Storie of theſe eight dronkardes, and of their fearfull ende, taken out of the<sup>3</sup> Dutche coppie printed at Amsterdam, and at Straesburche,<sup>4</sup> for a caueate to all Dronkardes, Gluttons, and Riotous perſones throughout the whole worlde, that thei offend not the Lorde in the like kinde of offence.

*[This page not  
in A.]*  
*[The mercy of  
god in saving of  
Adam Gibiens.  
F.]*

*[leaf 67. B.\*]*

An other like example of Gods Diuine Justice, shewed vpon twoo blasphemous Dronkardes in Almaine, in the Toune of Nekerhofewe, chaunced the fourth daie of July 1580, the truth whereof is as foloweth. These twoo Dronken verlettes, traiueilyng by the waie, came into an Inne, and called for bread and wine: The Hoste with speede brought them verie good; but thei diſlikyng the Wine, for the newnesſe thereof, commaunded better Wine to bee brought; ſo in fine thei had bothe newe, and old, good ſtore. Thus ſatte thei ſwillyng, and carouſyng one to an other, till thei were bothe as dronke as Rattes.<sup>5</sup> Then one of them powryng forthe wine, caroused to his fellowe, the other pledgyng hym, asked to whom he ſhould drinke: quothe this verlet "drinke to GOD": he hearyng that, poured forthe wyne alſo,<sup>6</sup> and dranke to God. This dooen, he asked his companion of whiche wine God ſhould pledge hym, of the newe, or of the old. He anſwered "of whether thou wilte." Then he, takyng the newe wine in his hande, filled the Cuppe therewith, and reaching forthe his arme, as high as he<sup>7</sup> could, as though God ſhould haue pledged hym in deede, ſaid these wordes: "God, I would faine knowe, what wine thou loueft beſte: this newe wine is good inough, and too good for thee; if thou haddeſt<sup>8</sup> ſent better, thou ſhouldeſt haue had better; but ſuche as it is, take it, pledge me quickly, and carouse it of euery ſope, as I haue doen to thee, if not, thou doest me wrong." Hauyng thus ſtretched forthe his arme with the Cup of wine, and withall hauyng vttered forthe theſe wordes, the Lorde proceadeth in Judgemente againſte

*[An example of  
Godes wrathe  
and ſeure  
iusteice executed  
vpon 2 Dronk-  
ardes in  
Almaine. E, F.]*

*[A caueat to  
blasphemers, and  
contemners of  
the maieſtie of  
God. E, F.]*

*[leaf 67, back.  
B †]*

*[Beholde the  
blasphemie of  
this deuill, and  
feare. E, F.]*

<sup>1</sup> to *not in* F.

\* leaf 67. No head-line. B. E, F have An example of God's wrath.

<sup>3</sup> a in E, F.

<sup>4</sup> Straesburcht F.

<sup>5</sup> Swine F.

<sup>6</sup> also *not in* E, F.

<sup>7</sup> leaf 67, back. No head-line. B. <sup>8</sup> hadſt F.

[This page, to L.  
23, not in A.]  
[The Lord  
strikes the  
blasphemous  
drunkard.]

[hym : causyng his arme to stande stedfast and vnmoveable, so as he was not able to pull it to hym, nor to stere his bodie out of the place. And in this agonie he remained,<sup>1</sup> his countenaunce not changed, but roulyng his eyes to and fro, fearfull to beholde. And as for breathe, there was none perceived to come forthe of hym, nor yet to speake one worde he was<sup>2</sup> able: and yet for all that, seemed to every one to be a liue. After this the people assaied to remoue hym from that place, but<sup>3</sup> could not by any strength. In the ende thei tyed Horses to hym, to drawe hym thence, but thei could not once stere hym. Then thei assaied to burne the house, and hym withall, but no fire would once take holde of the house: wherefore, when thei fawe all their waies and deuises to be frustrate, perfwadyng themselues, that God had made hym a spectacle to all dronkards, thei furceased<sup>4</sup> their attemptes, and wished the wil of the<sup>5</sup> Lorde to bee doen. And in this place, and in the same pitifull case you haue heard, standeth this blasphemous villain to this daie, vnremoueable till it please the Lorde, in the bowels of his mercie, to release hym. Whose blesfyd will bee fulfilled for euer. The other Dronken beast his companion, thei hanged vpon a Gibbete, before the dore of the same house, as he well deserued! Thus hath the Lorde in all ages, and at all tymes, punished this horrible vice of Dronkenneffe, which God graunte euery true Christian<sup>6</sup> maie auoide, for feare of Gods vengeance. *Added in B, E, F.*]

[? sign I 7. A.]

<sup>7</sup> Spud. <sup>8</sup>Shew mee I pray,<sup>9</sup> the state of that Cuntry a litle further : is it a welthie Countrey with-in it-selfe, or otherwyse poore and bare?

[England,]  
Ailgna a fa-  
mous Yland. <sup>10</sup>

*Philo.* It is a most famous Yland, a<sup>11</sup> fertile Cuntry, &<sup>12</sup> abounding with all maner of store, both<sup>13</sup> of riches, treasure, &<sup>14</sup> all things els whatsoeuer ; but as<sup>15</sup> it is a<sup>16</sup> welthie and riche Countrey,<sup>16</sup> so are the inhabitaunts, from the highest to the lowest, from the priest to the popular<sup>17</sup> forte, euen all in generall, wonderfully inclyned to couet-

<sup>1</sup> a long time after B, E, F.      <sup>2</sup> was not F.      <sup>3</sup> but they F.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>5</sup> their enterprises any further F.      <sup>6</sup> man added in E, F.

<sup>7</sup> In B, E, and F this begins a fresh chapter, headed:—Couetousnesse in Ailgna.

<sup>8</sup> pray you B, E, F.      <sup>9</sup> This side-note not in B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> and E ; and a F.      <sup>11</sup> & not in E, F.      <sup>12</sup> as well F.      <sup>13</sup> as of F.

<sup>14</sup> as of F.      <sup>15</sup>—<sup>16</sup> the countrey is E, F.      <sup>16</sup> Countrey not in E, F.      <sup>17</sup> inferior F.

oufnes and ambition; which thing whileft they follow, they can neuer [Englishmen covetous.] be satifified, for, *crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*: The loue of mony doth by fo much the more increase, by how much more the monie it <sup>1</sup>elfe doth increase; and the nature of a couetous man is such that *tam deest quod habel, quam quod non habel*: as well that thing which he hath, as *that* which he hath not, is wanting vnto him.

A <sup>2</sup>couetouse man may <sup>3</sup>wel be compared to Hell, which euer gapeth and yawneth for more, and is neuer content with inough: For right as Hell euer hunteth after more, so a couetous man, drowned in the <sup>4</sup>quagmire or plash of auarice and <sup>4</sup>ambition, hauing his *summam*<sup>5</sup> *volutatem* reposed in momentaine<sup>6</sup> riches, is neuer content with inough, but stll thirsteth for more, much like to a man fiche of the ague, who, the more he drinketh, the more he thursteth; <sup>8</sup>the more he thursteth, the more he drinketh<sup>8</sup>; the<sup>9</sup> more he drinketh, the more his disease increaseth. Therfore I hould it true which is writ, *burfa auari os est diaboli*; the powch of a rich couetous Man is the mouth of the deuill, [7 I 7, back] which euer is open to receiue, but alway shut to giue.

*Spud.* But they will easily wipe away this blot, <sup>10</sup>namely in saying,<sup>10</sup> are we not bound to prouide for our felues,<sup>11</sup> our wyues, our children, & famelie? Doth not the Apostle hold him for an infidell and <sup>12</sup>a dene- ger of the faith, who prouydeth not for his Wyfe and Family? <sup>13</sup>Is it not good to lay vp somthing against a stromie day? wherfore they wil rather deeme themselues good husbands,<sup>13</sup> than couetous or am- bicious persons.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Philo.* Euery Christen Man is bound,<sup>16</sup> in conscience before God, [15 leaf 69. B.+] to prouide for their<sup>17</sup> houshould & Family, but yet so as his immoderat care surpassee not the bands,<sup>18</sup> nor yet<sup>19</sup> transcend<sup>20</sup> the limits, of true Godlynes. His chiefeſt truſt & care is to reſt onely in the Lord, who

How farre euery Man is bound to prouide for his Famillie.

\* leaf 68, back. The nature of a couetous man. B.

<sup>2</sup> Therefore may a E, F. <sup>3</sup> may not in E, F.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> quauemire of auarice and plashe of B, E, F; after and F adds plunged in the.

<sup>5</sup> summum F.

<sup>6</sup> momentary F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> not in E, F.

<sup>9</sup> and the E, F. <sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> for B, E, F. <sup>11</sup> (saie thei) added in B, E, F. <sup>12</sup> or F.

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> And therefore herein we shew ourselues rather good housbandes, careful, and obedient Christians, B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> This I haue heard them pretend for themſelues added in B, E, F; E has This exception have I; F has haue I, and alleadge for pretend.

+ leaf 69. Moderate care allowable. B. <sup>16</sup> bound indeed B, E.

<sup>17</sup> his B, E, F. <sup>18</sup> boundes F. <sup>19</sup> yet not in B, E, F. <sup>20</sup> not the B, E.

Immoderate  
care for riches  
reproached.

[<sup>3</sup> sign. I 8. A.]

giueth liberally to euery one that asketh of him in verity & truth, & reprocheth no man; & withall he is to vse such ordinarie meanes as God hath appointed <sup>1</sup>to the performaunce<sup>1</sup> of the same. But so farre from couetousnes, & from immoderate care, wold the Lord haue vs,<sup>2</sup> that we ought not this day to ‘care for to morow, for (faith he) sufficient to the day is the trauail of the same. After all these<sup>3</sup> things (with a distrustfull & inordinat care) do the heathen seek, who know not God, faith our Sauiour chrift; ‘but be you not like to them.’ And yet I say, as we are not to distrust the prouidence of God, or despaire for any thing, so are we not to presume, nor yet to tempt the Lord our God, but to vse such<sup>4</sup> secundary<sup>5</sup> and infstrumental<sup>4</sup> meanes as he hath commaunded and appointed, to that end & purpose to get our owne lyuing & maintenance withall. But this people, leauing these Godly meanes, do all runne headlong to couetousnes & ambition, attempting all waies, & assaying al meanes, possible to<sup>6</sup> exaggerat &<sup>6</sup> heap vp riches, <sup>6</sup>that<sup>7</sup> thick clay of damnation, to themselues for euer.<sup>6</sup> So (likwise) Land<sup>8</sup>lords make marchandise of their pore tenants, racking their rents, raising their fines & incommes, & setting them so straitely<sup>9</sup> vpon the tenter hookes, as no man can lyue on them. Besides that, as though this pillage & pollage were not rapacious enough, they take in and inclose commons, moores, heaths, and other common pastures, wher-out the poore commonaltie were wont to haue all their forrage<sup>10</sup> and feeding for their cattell, & (which is more) corne for them selues to lyue vpon: all which are now in most places taken from them by these greedye Puttockes, to the great impouerishing and vtter beggering of<sup>11</sup> whole townes and parishes, whose tragicall cries and incessant<sup>12</sup> clamors haue long fince pearced the Skyes, and presented them-selues before the Maiesty of God, saying,<sup>13</sup> how long, Lord, how long wilt thou deferre to reuenge this villanie of<sup>14</sup> thy poore Sainctts and vn-worthie<sup>15</sup> members vpon the earth? Take heed, therfore, you riche men, that poll and pill the poore, for the bloud of as manye as miscarie any maner of way thorow your iniurious exactions, finister<sup>16</sup> oppref-

Land-Lords  
racke their  
tenantes.  
[<sup>8</sup> leaf 69, back.  
B.†]

Inclosing of  
commons  
from the  
Poore.

[<sup>12</sup> I 8. back]

Take heed you  
Rich, who poll  
and pill the  
Poor!]

<sup>1—1</sup> for the getting F.      <sup>2</sup> to be added in F.      <sup>4—4</sup> ordinary F.

<sup>5</sup> causes added in E.      <sup>6—6</sup> not in F.      <sup>7</sup> the B, E.

† leaf 69, back. Inclosures in Ailgna. B.

<sup>9</sup> straight B, E, F.      <sup>10</sup> prouision F.      <sup>11</sup> of many B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> cryng B, E, F.      <sup>14</sup> doen to B, E, F.      <sup>15</sup> seelie E; silly F.

<sup>16</sup> biting F.

sions, and indirect dealings, shall be <sup>1</sup>powred vpon your heads <sup>1</sup>at the great daye of the Lord. Cursed is he (faith our Sauiour Christ) that offendeth one of these little ones: it were better that a milstone were hanged about his neck, & he cast into the middest of the sea. Christ <sup>2</sup>so entierely loueth his poore members vpon earth, that he imputeth the contumely which is done to anie one of them, to be done to himselfe, and will reuenge it as done to himselfe. wherfor God give them grace to lay open their inclosures againe, to let fall their rents, fines, incommes, and other impositions, wherby God is offended, their <sup>3</sup>poore Brethren beggered, &, I feare mee, the whole realme will be brought to vtter ruine & decay, if this mischiefe be not met withall, and incountred with verie shortlie. For these inclosures be the causes why rich men eat vp poore men, as beasts doo eat grasse: These, I say, are the <sup>4</sup>Caterpillers and deuouring locustes that maffacre the <sup>5</sup>poore, & eat vp the whole realme to the destrucion of the same: *The Lord remooue<sup>6</sup> them!*

Vpon the other fide, the Lawyers, they <sup>7</sup>goe rufing <sup>7</sup>in their filks, velvets, and chaines of Gold: they build gorgeous howfes, <sup>8</sup>sumptuous edefices, <sup>8</sup>and stately turrets: they keep a port like mightie potentates; they haue <sup>9</sup>bands and retinewes of men attendant vpon them daylie; they purchase castels & towers, Lands and Lordships, and what not? And all vpon the polling and pilling of the poore commons.

They haue so good consciences that all is fish that comes to the net; thei refuse nothing that is offred; and what they do for it in preferring their Poore clients cause, <sup>10</sup>the Lorde kno<sup>11</sup>weth, and one day they shall finde it. If you haue *argent*, or rather *rubrum vnguentum*, I dare not say Gold, but red oyntment to grease them in the fist withall, than your fute shall want no furtherance; but if this <sup>12</sup>be wanting, than farewell clyent; he may go shooe the goode for any good succeſſe he is like to haue of his matter: without this, sheriffes & Officers wil returne writs with a *tarde venit*, or with a *non est inuentus*, smally to the poore mans profit. <sup>13</sup>So long as any of this ointment is dropping,

Inuriæ to  
Christ his  
members is  
injury to  
Christ.  
[<sup>2</sup> leaf 70. B.\*]

Inclosures

[<sup>5</sup> sign. K 1. A.]

Lawyers  
ruffing † in [<sup>10</sup>  
A.] poore Mens  
riches. [† rufe F.]

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 70, back.  
B †]

Oyntment to  
greese lawyers  
in the fist  
withall.

<sup>1—1</sup> required at your hands F.

\* leaf 70. Inclosures vndoe the Poore. B. E also has Lawyers ruffling in.

<sup>3</sup> the B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> the *not in* F.

<sup>6</sup> amende B, E, F.

<sup>7—7</sup> ruffle it out B, E, F.

<sup>8—8</sup> *not in* F.

<sup>9</sup> there bandes E; (their F.)

<sup>10</sup> causes B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> this liquor B, E, F.

‡ leaf 70, back. Powlyng Lawyers, in Ailgna. B.

<sup>13</sup> But so B, E, F.

[<sup>1</sup> K 1, back]  
The pretensed  
excuse of  
Lawers when  
their clients  
haue loost  
their plees.

The slightie  
practises of  
lawers.

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 71. B.]

The fraudu-  
lent dealing of  
merchant  
Men.

Artificers.

[<sup>14</sup> sign. K 2. A.]

Great dearth  
in plenty of all  
things.

they wil bear him in hand his matter is good and iuft; & all to keep him in vre, till all be gon; and than will they tell him his matter is naught: and if one afke them <sup>1</sup>why they tould not their clients so in the beginning? they will answere, I knew not so much at the first, the fault is in himselfe; he tould me the best, but not the worst; he shewed mee not this euidence & that euidence, this prefident & that prefident, <sup>2</sup> turning al the fault vpon the suggeſter; wheras the whole fault indeed is in himselfe, as his own conscience can bear him witneſſe.

In preſence of their clients they will be ſo earnest one with another, as one (that knew not their flaignes wold thinke they would go together by the eares<sup>3</sup>); this is<sup>4</sup> to draw on their clients withal; but immeadiatly after, their clients being<sup>5</sup> gon, they laugh in their fleeues to ſee how pretily they<sup>6</sup> fetch in ſuch ſom'mes of money; and that, vnder the preſence of equitie and iuſtice. But though thei can for a time (*prefigiatorum instar*<sup>8</sup>), like cunning deceiuers, cast a miſt before the blind world, yet the Lord, who feeth (<sup>9</sup>ſuborned by none<sup>9</sup>) the ſecrets of all harts, shall make them maniſt to al the world, and reward them according to their doings. The<sup>10</sup> merchant men, by their marting, chaffering and changing, by their counterfaſt balances & vntrue waights, and by their ſurprizing of their wares, heap vp infinit treasures. <sup>11</sup>The Artificer<sup>11</sup> & Occupyers, euen all in generall, will not fell their wares for no<sup>12</sup> reaſonable price, but will<sup>13</sup> ſweare & teare pittifullly, that ſuch a thing coſt them ſo much, & ſuch a thing ſo much, wher<sup>14</sup>as they ſwear as falſe as the lyuing Lord is true. But one day let them be ſure that the Lord (who faith ‘thou ſhalt not ſweare at all, nor deceiue thy Brother in bargaining’) will reuenge this villanie done to his Maieftie.

<sup>15</sup> Into ſuſh a<sup>15</sup> ruinous eftat hath couetoufnes now brought that Land, that in plentie of all things there is great<sup>16</sup> ſcarſitie and dearth of all thinges. So that that which might haue been bought heretofor, within this twentie or fourtie Yeers, for twentie ſhillings, is now

<sup>2</sup> this Writing and that Writing added in F.      <sup>3</sup> earers (*sic*) F.

<sup>4</sup> instead of a ſhoyng horne added in E, F.      <sup>5</sup> bee B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> they can E, F.      <sup>7</sup> leaf 71. What maketh thyngeſ deare. B.

<sup>8</sup> more for instar B, E, F.      <sup>9—9</sup> not in F.

<sup>10</sup> Vpon the other ſide, for the F.      <sup>11—11</sup> Artificers B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> any F.      <sup>13</sup> will not in E, F.      <sup>15—15</sup> Yea, into ſuſh such F.

<sup>16</sup> great not in F.

worth twentie nobles, or xx pound.<sup>1</sup> That which than was worth twentie pound is now <sup>2</sup>worth a C. pound, and more: Wherby the rich Men haue so balaunced their chefts with Gold and siluer, as they cracke againe. And to such exceſſe is this couetousnes growne, as euery one *that hath money* will not ſtick to take his neighbors house ouer his head, long before his yeers be expired: Whertherow <sup>3</sup>many a poore man, with his wyfe, children, & whole famelie, are forced to begge their bread all <sup>4</sup>their dayes <sup>4</sup>after. Another forte, who flow in welth, if a poore man haue eyther house or Land, they will neuer ref vntill they haue purchased it, giuing him not the thirde parte of that it is worth. Befides all this, ſo desperately giuen are many, that for the acquiring <sup>5</sup> of siluer and Gold, they will not ſt[icke] to imbrew their hands, and both <sup>6</sup>their armes, in the blood of their <sup>7</sup>owne Parents and Freends moft vnnaturally. Other ſome will not make any conſcience to ſweare and forſweare themſelues <sup>8</sup>for euer,<sup>8</sup> to lye, diſemble, and deceiue the deeref frends they haue in the world. Therfore the heathen Poet, *Virgill*, ſaid very well, *O sacra auri fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis*: Oh cursed deſire of gold, what miſchief is it but thou forceſt Man to attempt it for the loue of thee! This immoderat thirſt of Gold & monie bringeth an infinit number to shamefull end; ſome as homicides <sup>9</sup>for murthering and <sup>10</sup>killing; ſome <sup>11</sup>as latrones, <sup>11</sup>for robbing & <sup>12</sup>ſtealing: ſome for one thing, ſome for another; <sup>13</sup>So that ſurely I think <sup>14</sup>*maior eſt numerus Hominum, 14 quos dira auaritiae pefſis alſorpiſit, quam quos gladius vel enſis perforauit*: <sup>15</sup>the number of thoſe <sup>15</sup>whom the peſtilence of auarice hath swallowed vp, <sup>16</sup>is greater <sup>16</sup>than the number of thoſe whom the fword hath deſtroyd. The Lord affwage the heat <sup>17</sup>hereof with the oyle of his grace,<sup>18</sup> if it be his good pleaure and wil!

*Spud.* If I might be ſo bold, I wold requeſt you to ſhew me, out of the word of god, where this ſo detestable a vice is reproued.

<sup>1</sup> pounds F. \* leaf 71, back. Greedie couetousnesſe in Ailgna. B.  
<sup>3</sup> Whereby E; Wherby F. <sup>4—4</sup> the dayes of their liues F. <sup>5</sup> getting F.

<sup>6</sup> bathe B, E, F. <sup>8—8</sup> not in F.  
<sup>9—9</sup> as we ſee dayly, ſome are hanged F. <sup>10</sup> ſome for *instead of* and F.

<sup>11—11</sup> not in F. <sup>12</sup> ſome for *instead of* & F.

† leaf 72. Testimonies againſt Couetousnes. B.

<sup>14—14</sup> the number of men is greater B, E, F; F has to be for is.

<sup>15—15</sup> not in B, E, F. <sup>16—16</sup> not in B, E, F. <sup>17</sup> raging heate F.

<sup>18</sup> gracious mercy for grace F.

Taking of  
houſes ouer  
Mens heads.

The desperat  
desire of Men  
to get money.

[7 K 2, back]

Many brought  
to ruſfull end  
thorow  
meanes of Gold  
and siluer.

[13 leaf 72. B.†]

Math. 6.  
Testimonies  
out of the  
word of God  
against couetousnes.

[<sup>2</sup> sign. K 3. A.]

Luc. 6.  
Math. ix.<sup>3</sup>

[Bible bits  
against covetousness.]

[<sup>5</sup> leaf 72, back.  
B.†]

1 Timo. vi.

Psalm 39.

Proverb 1.  
Proue. xxvii.

[<sup>9</sup> K 3, back]

Mat. 5.  
Luc. 6.

*Philo.* Our Sauiour Christ Iesus, the <sup>1</sup> Arch-doctor<sup>1</sup> of all truth, in his Euangely, the fixt of *Mathew*, faith, ‘Be not carefull for to morow day, for the morow shall care for it selfe.’

Againe, ‘be not carfull for Apparell, what <sup>2</sup>you shall put on, nor for meat what you shall eat, but feeke you the Kingdome of Heauen, & the righteousnes therof, and all these things shal be giuen vnto you.’

He charged his *Disciples* to be so farre from couetousnes, as not to cary two coates with them in their iorneys, nor yet any money in their purses. He tould his *Disciples* another time, ftryuing which of them should be the greatest, that he who wold be the greatest, must descend<sup>4</sup> to be feruant of all. When the people wold haue aduaunced him to haue beene King, he refused it, and hid him self. He telleth vs, we ‘cannot serue two Maisters, God & Mammon’: he biddeth vs ‘not to set our minds vpon couetousnes’; inferring that ‘wher <sup>5</sup>our riches be<sup>6</sup>, there will our harts be also. He saith, ‘it is harder for a rich Man (that is, for a Man whose trust is in<sup>7</sup> riches,) to enter into the Kingdome of God, than for a Camell to go thorow the eye of a needle.’ The Apostle biddeth vs, ‘if we haue meat &<sup>8</sup> drikke and clothing, to be content, for they that will be rich (saith he) fall into diuerse temptations and snares of the Deuill, which drowne Men in perdition.’ *David* saith, ‘Man disquieteth him selfe in vaine heaping vp riches, & cannot tell who shall posseffe them.’ *Salom[on]* compareth a couetous man to him *that murthereth & sheadeth innocent bloud*.

Againe, ‘Hell and destruction are neuer ful, so the eyes of Men can neuer be <sup>9</sup>satisfiied.’ The Apostle *S. Paule* saith, ‘neither Whormongers, Adulterers, nor couetous persons, nor Extortioners shal euer enter into the Kingdom of Heauen.’ And saith further, *that* ‘the loue of monie is the root of al euil.’ Christ biddeth vs ‘be<sup>10</sup> liberal & lend to them that haue need, not looking for any restitution again; & neuer to turn our face away from any poore man, & than the face of the Lord shal not be turned away from vs.’ By these few places it is manifest how farre from al couetousnes the lord wold haue al christians<sup>11</sup> to be.

<sup>1—1</sup> teacher F.

<sup>3</sup> E has Math. 9; F has no figure.

<sup>4</sup> humble F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 72, back. Punishment of Couetousnesse. B.

<sup>6</sup> is B. F.

<sup>7</sup> in his F. <sup>8</sup> & not in F. <sup>10</sup> to be F.

<sup>11</sup> his children F.

*Spud.* Be their any examples in<sup>1</sup> scriptures to<sup>2</sup> shew foorth the punishmentes of the same, in<sup>4</sup>flicted vpon the Offenders therin?<sup>2</sup>

[4 leaf 73. B.]

*Philo.* The Scripture is full of such fearful examples of the iust iudgements of God powred<sup>5</sup> vpon them that haue offended herein; Wheroft I will recite three or four, for the satififying of your Godly<sup>6</sup> mind. *Adam* was cast out of Paradice for coueting that fruit which was inhibited him to eat. *Gieſe*,<sup>7</sup> the Seruant of *Elizeus* the Prophet, was smitten with an incurable leproſie, for that he, to ſatisfie his couetous desire, exacted gold, ſiluer, &<sup>8</sup> riche garments, of *Naaman*, the K. of *Siria* his feruant. *Balaam* was reprooued of his affe for his couetousnes in going to curse the Children of *Iſrael* at the request of K. *Balac*, who promised him abundance of gold & ſiluer ſo to doo. *Achan*, the K., for couetousnes to haue pore *Naloſth* his viniard, flew him,<sup>9</sup> and dyed after himſelfe, with all his progeny, a shamefull death. The Sonnes of *Samuel* were, for their infaciablie couetousnes, detained<sup>10</sup> from euer inioying their Fathers kingdome. *Iudas*, for couetousnes of mony, foulde the Sauiour of the world, and betrayed him to the *Iewes*, but afterward dyed a miserable death, his bellye burſting, & his bowels gushing out. *Ananias and Saphira* his wife, for couetousnes in concealing part of the price of their<sup>11</sup> lands from the apostles, were both slain, & died a fearful death. *Achan* was ſtoned to death, by the lord his commandement, for his couetousnes in ſtealing<sup>12</sup> gold, ſiluer, & Jewels at the ſacking of *Iericho*, & al his goods were burned preſently. Thus you ſee how for couetousnes of mony, in all ages, Men haue made ſhipwracke of their conſciences, and in the end, by the iuft iudgement of God, haue dyed fearful deaths; whose iudgments I leauue to the Lord.

*Spud.* Seeing that couetousnes is ſo wicked a fin, & ſo offendiuſe both to God & Man, & pernicious to the foule, I marueile what moueth Men to followe the ſame<sup>13</sup> as they doo.

*Ph.* Two things<sup>14</sup> moue men to affect mony ſo<sup>15</sup> much as they

<sup>1</sup> in the holie E, F. (holy F.)<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> of the Iuſtice of God, inflicted vpon them that haue offended herein F.<sup>3</sup> that E.

\* leaf 73. Plagues for Couetousnesse. B.

<sup>5</sup> executed F.<sup>6</sup> Godly not in F.<sup>7</sup> Gehesie F.<sup>8</sup> and other F.<sup>10</sup> restrained F.

† leaf 73, back. Vaine titles of [maister and E] worship in Ailgna. B.

<sup>12</sup> for F.<sup>13</sup> ſo much added in F.<sup>14</sup> in my iudgement, added in B, E, F; (F adds doe.) <sup>15</sup> ſo ſo A.The punishment  
ment of coue-  
tousnes ſhew-  
ed by exam-  
ples.

4 Reg. 5.

Num. 22.

[Bible examples  
of punishments  
for covetousness]

[P sign. K 4. A ]

Sa. viii.

Act. v.

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 73, back  
B.][God's judg-  
ments on covet-  
ous men.]

What make  
Men to affect  
money.

[¶ K 4, back]

Euery Begger  
almost is call-  
ed Maister at  
euery word.

[¶ leaf 74. B.]

[Tituillers, that  
is, flattering  
fellows. E, F.]

Refusing of  
vaine Titles.  
[not in E, F.]

[¶ sign. K 5. A.]

do : the one, for<sup>1</sup> feare least they shold fal into pouertie & beggery, (oh, ridiculous<sup>2</sup> infidelitie !) the other,<sup>3</sup> to be aduanced & promoted to high dignities & honors vpon earth. And thei see the world is such, that he who hath moni enough shalbe *rabbied* & maistered at euery word, and withal saluted with<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>the vaine title of<sup>6</sup> ‘worshipfull,’<sup>7</sup> and ‘right worshipfull,’<sup>7</sup> though notwithstanding he be a dunghill Gentleman, or a Gentleman of the first head, as they vse to terme them. And to such outrage<sup>8</sup> is it growne, that now adayes euery Butcher, Shooemaker, Tailer, Cobler,<sup>9</sup> Husband-man,<sup>10</sup> and other<sup>10</sup>; yea, euery Tinker, pedler,<sup>11</sup> and swinherd, euery Artificer and other, *gregarii ordinis*, of the vilest sorte of Men that be, must be called by the vain name of ‘Maisters’ at euery word. But it is certen that no wyse Man will intitle them with any of these names, ‘worshipfull’ and ‘maister,’ (for they are names and titles of dignitie, proper to the Godly wyse, for some speciall vertue inherent<sup>12</sup>, either els<sup>13</sup> in respect of<sup>13</sup> their birth, or calling, due vnto them) but such Tituillers, flattering Parasits, and glosing *Gnatoes* as flatter them, expecting some pleasure or benefit at their hands; which thing, if they were not blowen vp with the bellowes of pride, and puffed vp with the wind of vainglori, they might easilly perceiue. For certen it is they do but mocke and flatter<sup>14</sup> them with these titles, knowing that<sup>15</sup> they deserue nothing<sup>16</sup> lesse. <sup>17</sup> Wherfore, like good<sup>18</sup> Recusants<sup>19</sup> of that thing which is euill<sup>19</sup>,<sup>17</sup> they should refuse those vainglorious Names, remembraunce the words of our sauour Christ, saying,<sup>20</sup> ‘be not called Maister,’ in token there is but one onely true Maister and Lord in Heauen;<sup>21</sup> which only true Maister & Lord, *God graunt all other may followe, bothe in life and name, vntil they come to<sup>22</sup> perfect men in Iesus Christ.*

*Spud.* The people beeing so set vpon couetoufnes, as I gather by your speeches they be, is it possible that they wil lend money without

<sup>1</sup> a for for F.

<sup>2</sup> distrustfull B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> other for desire B, E, F ; (F has a for for)

<sup>4</sup> by for with E, F.

<sup>5</sup> Gentleman and added in F.

<sup>7</sup>—<sup>7</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> extreme madnesse B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> cobler and B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 74. Vsurie in Ailgna. B.

<sup>12</sup> in them added in F.

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> for B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> floute E, F.

<sup>15</sup> that not in E, F.

<sup>16</sup> no F.

<sup>17</sup>—<sup>17</sup> And therefore as wise men and fearing God F.

<sup>18</sup> wyse E.

<sup>19</sup>—<sup>19</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>20</sup> saying not in F.

<sup>22</sup> to be E, F.

vsurie, or without some hostage, guage, or pawn? <sup>1</sup> for vsurie followeth couetousnes, as the shadowe dooth the bodie.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 74, back.  
B.\*]

### *Great Vsurie in Ailgna.*

*Philo.*

It is as impossible for any to borrowe money there<sup>3</sup> (for the most vsury. part), without vsurie<sup>4</sup> & loane, or with-out some good hostage, guage,<sup>5</sup> or pledge, as it is for a dead man to speak with audible voice.

*Spud.* I haue heard say that the positivie and statute lawes there doo permit them to take vsurye, limitting<sup>6</sup> them how much to<sup>7</sup> take for every pound. The possitive Lawes.

*Philo.* Although the ciuile<sup>8</sup> lawes (for the auoiding of further inconueniences) doo permit certain sommes of money to be giuen<sup>9</sup> ouerplus, beyond or<sup>10</sup> abooue the principall, for the loane of mony lent, yet are the vsurers no more<sup>11</sup> discharged from the gilt of vsurie before God therby, then the adulterous *Iewes* were from whordome, because *Moyses* gaue them a permisſiue law, for euery man<sup>12</sup> to put away<sup>13</sup> their wiues<sup>13</sup> that would, for<sup>14</sup> euery light trifle.<sup>14</sup> And yet the<sup>15</sup> lawes there give no libertie to commit vsurie; but seeing how much<sup>16</sup> it rageth, left it shoulde exceed, rage further, and ouer-flowe the banks of all reaſon and godlynes,—As couetousnes is a raging ſea and a bottomleffe pit, and<sup>17</sup> neuer ſatiſſed nor contented,—they haue limited them<sup>18</sup> with<sup>19</sup> in certain meeres and banks<sup>20</sup> (to bridle the infatiablie deſires of [xx K 5, back.]  
The lawes of  
Ailgna permit  
no vsurie. *Iewes*, from the beginning it was not ſo,) ſo ſay I to theſe vsurers, from the beginning it was not ſo, nor yet ought<sup>23</sup> ſo to be.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I thinke not, added in B, E, F.

\* leaf 74, back. Lawes allowe no Vsurie. B.      <sup>3</sup> in England F.

<sup>4</sup> interest added in E, F.      <sup>5</sup> pawne added in F.      <sup>6</sup> appointing F.

<sup>7</sup> they ſhall E, F.      <sup>8</sup> Statute F.      <sup>9</sup> & taken added in F.

<sup>10</sup> and E, F.      <sup>12</sup> one F.      <sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> his wife E, F.

<sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> any light offence E, F.      <sup>15</sup> positive lawes E, F.      <sup>16</sup> farre F.

<sup>17</sup> and not in E, F.      <sup>18</sup> it E, F.      † leaf 75. Vsurie vnlawfull. B.

<sup>20</sup> boundes F.      <sup>21</sup> was then E, F.      <sup>22</sup> euils F.      <sup>23</sup>—<sup>23</sup> to be ſo F.

*Spud.* If no interest were permitted, then<sup>1</sup> no man would lend, & then how should the poor doo? wherfore the lawes, *that* permit some small ouer-plus therin, doo very wel.<sup>2</sup>

*Philo.* <sup>3</sup> *Non faciendum est malum, vt inde veniat bonum:* we must not doo euil, that good may come of it. yet the lawes, in permitting <sup>4</sup>certain reasonable gain to be receiued for the loane of money lent, lest otherwise the poore should quaille<sup>5</sup> (for without some commoditie the rich would not lend,) haue not doone much amisse; but if they had quite cut it of, and not yeelded at all to any such permiffion, they had doon better. But heerin the intent of the lawe is to be perpended,<sup>7</sup> which was to impale within the Forrest, or park, of reasonable and conſcionable gain, men who cared not how much they could extorte out of poore-mens hands for <sup>8</sup>the loane of their money lent, and not to authorise any man to commit vſurie, as though it were lawful because it is permitted.

Therfore thoſe that ſay that the lawes there doo allow of vſury, & licence men to commit it freely, doo flaunder the lawes, & are woorthy of reprehencion; for though the lawes ſay, ‘thou ſhalt not take aboue ij.s. in the pound, x.li. in a hundred,’<sup>9</sup> and ſo ſo<sup>10</sup> foorth,<sup>9</sup> Dooth this prooue *that* it is lawful to take ſo much, or rather *that* thou ſhalt not take more then *that?* If I<sup>11</sup> ſay to a man,<sup>11</sup> ‘thou ſhalt not giue him aboue one or two blowes,’<sup>12</sup> dooth this prooue *that* I licence him to giue him one or two blowes, or rather that he ſhal not giue him any at al, or if he doo,<sup>13</sup> he ſhal not exceed or paſſe the bands<sup>14</sup> of reſonable meſure? ſo this law dooth but mitigate the penaſty, for it ſaih *that* the party *that* taketh but<sup>15</sup> x.li, for the vſe of an C.li, loſeth but the x.li, not his principal.

Forbidding to outrage in mischeef<sup>§</sup> is not *‡* permission to comit mischeef  
[§ mircheef A. ¶ no F.]

[<sup>16</sup> K 6, back]

<sup>16</sup> *Spud.* Then I perceiue, if Vſurie be not lawful by the lawes of the Realm, then is it not lawful by the lawes of God.

<sup>1</sup> then not in E, F.

<sup>2</sup> in my opinion added in E, F; (F has mine for my)

<sup>3</sup> The Apostle teacheth vs added in B; The Apostle sayth, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> vtterly be distressed F.      <sup>6</sup> not added in B, E, F.      <sup>7</sup> considered F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 75, back. Vſurie vnlawfull by Gods lawe. B.

<sup>9—9</sup> &c. F.

<sup>10</sup> ſo for ſo ſo B, E.

<sup>11—11</sup> ſee a man will needes fight with another, a (*sic*) I hauiing authority ouer him, ſay vnto him F.

<sup>12</sup> at the moſt added in F.

<sup>13</sup> that added in E, F.

<sup>14</sup> bounds F.

<sup>15</sup> aboue B, E, F.

*Philo.* You may be sure of that ; For our Sauiour Christe willeth vs to be so far from couetousnes and vsury, as he saith, “ giue to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow turn not thy face away.” Againe,<sup>1</sup> “ Lend of thy goods to them who are not able to pay thee again, and thy reward shalbe great in heauen.” <sup>Math. 5, 5.  
Luc. 6.</sup> If wee must lend our goods, then, to them who are not able to pay vs again, no, not so much as the bare thing lent, where is the interest, the vsurie, the gaine, and ouer-plus which we fish for so much ? Therfore our Sauiour Christe saith, *beatius est dare, potius<sup>3</sup> quam accipere :* It is more blessed to giue, then to receiue. In the 22. of *Exodus*, *Deut.* 24, 23, *Leuit.* 25, *Nehe.* 5, *Eze.* 22, 18, & many other places, we are forbidden to vse any kinde of vsury, or interest, or to receiue again any ouer-pluss besides the principall, either in money, corne, wine, oyle, beast, cattel, meat, drink, cloth, or any thing els what soever. *David* asketh a question of the Lord, saying, *Lord, who shall dwell in thy Tabernacle, and<sup>5</sup> who shall rest in thy holy hil?* wherto he<sup>6</sup> giueth the solution him self,<sup>8</sup> saying, ‘euen he that leadeth an incorrupt life, & hath not giuen his mony vnto vsurie,<sup>9</sup> nor taken reward against the innocent : who so dooth these things shall never fall.’ In the 15 of *Deut.* the Lord willeth vs not to craue again the thing we haue lent to our neighbor, for it is the Lords free yeer. If it be not lawful (then) to aske again that which is lent (for it is not the law of good conscience for thee to exact it, if thou be abler to beare<sup>10</sup> it then the other<sup>11</sup> to pay it,) much lesse is it lawful<sup>12</sup> to demaund any vsury or ouer-plus. And for this cause the Lord saith, ‘let there be no begger amongst you, nor poore person<sup>13</sup> amongst the Tribes of *Israel*.’ Thus, you see, the woord of God abandonneth vsurie euen to hel ; and all writers, bothe diuine and prophane, yea, the very heathen people, moued onely by the instinct of nature and rules of reason, haue alwaies abhord it. Therfore *Cato*, beeing demaunded what vsurie was, askid againe, ‘what it was to kill a man?’ making vsurie equiualent with murther : And good reason, for he that killeth a<sup>14</sup> man, riddeth

<sup>4</sup> Exodus 20.  
<sup>5</sup> Deut. 24, 23.  
<sup>6</sup> Leuit. 25.  
<sup>7</sup> Nehe. 5.  
<sup>8</sup> Ezech. 22, 18.  
<sup>9</sup> Psalm 15.

The word of  
God against  
vsurie  
[<sup>13</sup> leaf 76. B.\*]

[<sup>14</sup> sign K 7. A.]

when it is not  
lawfull to aske  
again our  
goods lent.

[<sup>15</sup> leaf 76, back.  
B.†]

Hethen men  
against vsury  
and interest,  
[intestest A.]

<sup>1</sup> And againe F. \* leaf 76. The word of God against Vsurie. B.

<sup>3</sup> potius not in F. <sup>4—4</sup> not in F. <sup>5</sup> or B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> or rather the holy Ghost in him added in F. <sup>7</sup> Psalm 25 in A ; 16 in F.

<sup>8</sup> him-self not in F. <sup>10</sup> forbear F. <sup>11</sup> other is E, F.

<sup>12</sup> for thee added in F.

† leaf 76, back. Vsury equall with Murther. B.

<sup>14</sup> a a (sic) A.

him out of his paines at once; but he that taketh vsury, is long in butchering his pacient, suffering<sup>1</sup> him by little & little to languish, and fucking out his hart<sup>2</sup> blood, neuer leaueth him so long as he feeleth any<sup>3</sup> vitall blood (that is lucre and gaine) comming foorth of<sup>3</sup> him. The Vfurier killeth not one but many, bothe Husband, Wife, Children, seruants, famelie, and all, not sparing any. <sup>4</sup> And if the poore man haue not wherewith to pay, as wel the interest as the principall, when foever this greedy cormorant dooth demaund it, then sute shalbe<sup>5</sup> commenced against him; out go butter-flies and wrists, as thick as haile; so the poore man is apprehended and brought *coram nobis*, <sup>6</sup> and beeing once conuented, iudgement condemnatorie and<sup>6</sup> diffinitiue sentence proceedeth against him, compelling him to pay, aswel the vsury & *the*<sup>7</sup> loane of the money, as the money lent. But if he haue not to satissie aswel the one as th' other, <sup>8</sup>then to *Bocardo* goeth he as round as a ball, where he shalbe sure to lye vntil he rotte,

vsury equall  
with murther.

[<sup>4</sup> K 7, back]

Sute com-  
menced  
against him  
that is not  
able to pay  
aswel the  
Vsury as the  
Principall.

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 77. B.t]

To prison with  
him that can-  
not pay the  
vsury.

No mercy in  
imprisoning of  
poor-men for  
vsury.

[<sup>10</sup> sign. K 8. A.]

No crueltie to  
be shewed, but  
mercy and  
compassion  
ought to be  
extended.

thee, gnaw thy flesh like a canker, and condemn thee for euer? The very stones of the prison<sup>10</sup> walles shall rise vp against thee, and condemne thee for thy crueltie. Is this loue? Is this charitie? is this to doo to others as thou wouldest wish others to<sup>11</sup> doe to thee? or rather, as thou wouldest wish the Lord to doe vnto thee? Art thou a good member of the bodie, which not onely cuttest of thy selfe from the vine, as a rotten braunch and void lop, but also hewest off other members from the same true vine, Christe Iesus? No, no;

<sup>1</sup> causing F.

<sup>2</sup> vitall F.

<sup>3—3</sup> life in him or any more gaines comming from F.

<sup>5</sup> is B, E, F.

<sup>6—6</sup> then presently E, F.

<sup>7</sup> the *not in* F.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 77. Imprisonyng for debt cruell. B.

<sup>9</sup> supernall B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> to *not in* F.

thou art a member of the Deuil, a limme of Sathan, and a Childe of perdition.

Wee ought not to handle our bretheren<sup>1</sup> in such forte for any worldly matter whatsoeuer. Wee <sup>2</sup>ought to shew mercie and not <sup>[leaf 77, back.  
B.\*]</sup> crueltie to our bretheren, to remit trespasses and offences, rather then to exact punishment; referring all reuenge to him who faith, *Mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam*: Vengeance is mine, and I wil rewardre (faith the Lord).

Beleeue mee, it greeueth mee to heare (walking<sup>3</sup> in the streats) the  
pitiful cryes, and miserable complaints of poore prisoners in durance  
for debt, and like so to continue all their life, destitute of libertie,  
meat, drink (though of the meanest sorte), and clothing to their  
backs, lying in filthie strawe, and <sup>4</sup>lothsome dung,<sup>4</sup> wurffe then anie  
Dogge, voide of all charitable consolation and brotherly comfort <sup>5</sup>in  
this World, wishing and thyrfting after death to fet them at libertie,  
and loose them from their shackles, giues, and yron bands.

Notwithstanding, some<sup>6</sup> mercilesse tygers are growen to such bar-  
barous crueltie that they blush not to say, “tush! he shall either paye  
mee the whole, or els<sup>7</sup> lye there till his heels rot from his buttocks;  
and before I will release him, I will make dice of his bones.” But  
take heed, thou Deuill (for I dare not call thee a Man<sup>8</sup>), left the  
Lord say to thee, as he said<sup>9</sup> to that wicked Seruant (who hauing  
great sommes forgiuen him, wold not forgiue his Brother his small  
debte, but, catching him by the throte, said, ‘pay that thou oweſt’),  
bind him hands and feet, and cast him into vtter Darknes, wher shall  
<sup>10</sup>be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

An Vſurer is worse than a Thief, for the one stealeth but for need, the other for coueitousnes and excesſe<sup>11</sup>: the one stealeth but in the night commonly; the other daylie and hourelly, night and daye, at all times indifferently.

An Visurer is worse than a Iew, for they, to this daye, will not take anye vsurie of their Brethren, according to the lawe of God. An Vsurer worseneth than a Iew. [<sup>†</sup>worse]

They are worse than *Judas*, for he betraide Christ but once, made

<sup>1</sup> brethren (*sic*) F.

\* leaf 77 back. The tyranny of Usurers. B.

3 as I well know.

~~4~~ stinking litter F.

An Vsurer  
worser † than a  
Iew. [† worse

B, E, F.]  
An Usurer  
worse than  
Iudas. [§ worse  
B, E.]

as I walk  
these B. F. F.

<sup>7</sup> he shall add in E.

<sup>8</sup> Christian B. E. F.

9 did E

‡ leaf 78. Usurers worse than the Devil. B.

• and F.

I fear /S: Visagers worse then the Deam. B  
II know F

11 Lucre F.

128 Scriueners, Instruments of vsurie. The Anatomie

restitution, and repented <sup>1</sup> for it<sup>1</sup> (though his repentance sprang not of faith, but of despaire), but these Vsurers betray Christ in his members daylie and hourly, <sup>2</sup> without any remorse or restitution at all.

[<sup>2</sup> sign. L 1. A.]

Vsurers wursse  
then Hel.

An Vsurer  
wursse then  
Death.

An vsurer  
wurse then the  
Deuil.

The sayings of  
Godly Fathers  
and Writers  
against vsury.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 78, back.  
B.]

Vsurers pun-  
ished <sup>5</sup> with  
sundry tor-  
tures,<sup>6</sup>

Scriueners the  
Diuels agents  
to set forward  
Vserie.

[<sup>7</sup> L 1, back]

They are wursse then hel it self, for it punisheth but only the wicked and reprobate, but the Vsurer maketh no difference of any, but punisheth all alike. They are crueller then death, for it destroyeth but the body and goeth no further, but the vsurer destroyeth both body & soule for euer. And, to be bref, the Vsurer is wursse then the Deuil himself, for the Deuill plagueth but onely those that are in his hands, or els those whome God permitteth him ; the Vsurer plagueth not onely those that are within his iurisdiction alredy, but euen all other, without permission<sup>3</sup> of any. Therfore, saith *Ambrose*, if any man commit vsurie, it is extortion, rauin, & pillage, <sup>4</sup> and he ought to dye. *Alphonfus* called vsury nothing els then a life of death. *Lycurgus* banished all kind of vsury out of his lands. *Cato* did the same. *Ageſſilaus*, Generall of the *Lacedemonians*, burned the Vfurers bookeſ in the open market places. *Claudius Vaspatiannus*, and after him *Alexander Seuerus* made sharpe lawes against vsury, and vtterly extirped the ſame.<sup>5</sup> *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, and generally, all writers, bothe holy and prophane, haue sharply inueighed againſt this deuouring canker of viury ; & yet cannot we, that fain would be called christians, auoid it. And if it be true that I heare <sup>7</sup> ſay, there be no men ſo great doers in this noble facultie and famous ſcience as the Scriueners be : For it is ſayd (and I feare me too true) that there are ſome to whome is committed <sup>8</sup> a hundred or two of poundes, <sup>8</sup> of<sup>9</sup> ſome more, of<sup>9</sup> ſome leſſe, they puttinge in good ſureties to the owners for the repayment<sup>10</sup> of the ſame againe, with certaine allowance for the loane thereof ; then come there poore men to them, <sup>11</sup> desiring them<sup>11</sup> to lende them ſuche a ſom of money, and they wil recompence them at their owne diſires, who making refuſall at the firſte, as though they had it not (to acuate<sup>12</sup> the minds of the poore petitioners withal<sup>13</sup>), at laſt they lend them how much they diſire,

<sup>1—1</sup> not in E, F.

<sup>3</sup> compassion B, E, F.

† leaf 78, back. Scriueners instruments of Vſurie. B.

<sup>5—6</sup> sundry wayes F.

<sup>5</sup> out of their dominions added in F.

<sup>8—8</sup> to in B, E, F.

<sup>8—8</sup> an hundred poundes or two F.

<sup>11—11</sup> with request F.

<sup>10</sup> payment F.

<sup>13</sup> you must vnderſtande added in B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> whette F.

receiuing of the poore men what interest &<sup>1</sup> assurance they lust<sup>2</sup> themselues, and<sup>3</sup> binding them, their lands, <sup>4</sup>Goodes, and all, with <sup>14</sup> leaf 79. B.\* forfaiture thereof if they fayle of payment : where note, by the way, the Scriuener is the Instrument wherby the Diuell worketh <sup>5</sup>the frame<sup>6</sup> of this <sup>7</sup>wicked woorke of Vsurie, hee beeing rewarded<sup>7</sup> <sup>5</sup>with a good fleece for his labour. For firste, he hath a certaine allowance of the Archdiuel<sup>8</sup> who owes the money, for helping him to such<sup>9</sup> vent for his coyne : Secondly, he hath a greate deale<sup>10</sup> more vsurie to hi[m]selfe, of him who boroweth the money, <sup>11</sup>than he alloweth the owner of the mony<sup>11</sup>: And, thirdly, he hath not the least part for making the writings betwene them. <sup>12</sup> And thus the poore man is so implicate<sup>13</sup> [sign. L 2. A.] and wrapped in on euerie fide, as it is impossible for him euer<sup>14</sup> to get out of the briers<sup>15</sup> without losse of all that euer hee hath, to the very skin. Thus the riche are inriched,<sup>16</sup> the poore beggered, and Christ Iesus dishonored euerie way, God be mercifull vnto us ! <sup>17</sup> De his hactenus<sup>17</sup>.

The Scriuiners  
fleece or pit-  
taunce for his  
paynes.

### [<sup>18</sup>Greate Swearyng in Ailgna.

[This chapter  
not in A.]

#### *Spud.*

What is the <sup>19</sup>qualitie,<sup>20</sup> and <sup>19</sup>naturall disposition<sup>21</sup> of this people ? Are thei not a verie godlie, religious, and faithfull kind of people : For the saiyng is, that the woerde of God, and good Religion, florisheth in that lande, better then in the greatest parte of the worlde besides. And I am fullie perswaded, that where the woerde of God is truely prached and his Sacramentes duely ministered (all whiche thei <sup>22</sup>haue) there must all thynges needs prosper, and goe forwarde ; wherefore I desire to knowe your iudgement, whether all these thinges be so, or not.

[Gods word  
florisheth in  
England, but the  
people are  
wicked still. E,  
F.]

<sup>1</sup> and also E, F.      <sup>2</sup> list B, E, F.      <sup>3</sup> both E, F.

\* leaf 79. Great swearyng in Ailgna. B.

<sup>5—6</sup> this laudable woorke, rewarding his Vassall F.      <sup>6</sup> effecte E.

<sup>7—7</sup> laudable woorke, rewarding his vassall, B, E.      <sup>8</sup> master deuil F.

<sup>9</sup> such *not in* B, E, F.      <sup>10</sup> deale *not in* F.      <sup>11—11</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> intangled F.      <sup>14</sup> hardly F.      <sup>15</sup> againe added in F.

<sup>16</sup> inriched (*sic*) F.      <sup>17—17</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>18</sup> This chapter, not in A, is added in B, E, & F.      <sup>19—19</sup> *not in* F.

<sup>20</sup> Inclination, *added in* E.      <sup>21</sup> dispositistion (*sic*) F.

+ leaf 79, back. Hipocrisie vnder the cloke of Christianity. B. E has:  
The disposition of Englishmen.

[This page not  
in A.]

[The naturall  
disposition of  
Englishmen.  
E, F.]

[Great wicked-  
nesse committed  
vnder the cloke  
of the gospell.  
E, F.]

[5 leaf 8o. B.†]

[Papistes suf-  
fered in England  
with too much  
lenitie. E, F.]

[Papists living  
in prison lyke  
Princes. E, F.]

[*Philo.* The worde of God is truely and sincerenly preached there, and his Sacramentes duely<sup>1</sup> and purely administred, as in any place in all the worlde<sup>2</sup>; no man can deny it; and all thynges are pretelie<sup>3</sup> reformed, accordyng to the prescripte of Gods woorde, sauyng that a fewe remnantes of superftition doe remaine behinde vnremoued, which I hope in tyme will bee weeded out, by the fickle of Gods woorde. And as concernyng the nature, propertie, and disposition of the people, thei bee desirous of newfangles, praiyng thynges past, contemnyng thinges present, and couetyng after thynges to come. Ambicious, proude, light, and vnstable, ready to bee caried awaie with euery blaste of Winde. And whereas you aske me, whether thei bee religious: I answere. If Religion consist in wordes onely, then are thei verie religious; but otherwise, plaine irreligious. Thei heare the woorde of God sereouslie, night & daie (a blessed exercise doubtlesse) flockyng after sermons from place to place, euerie hower almooste: thei receiue the Sacramentes duely, and thei behauie themselues<sup>4</sup> in all thinges verie orderly, to the worlde. But a greate sorte plaine the Hipocrites herein egredioufie; and vnder this cloke of Christianitie, and profession of the Gospell, thei commit all kinde of Deſuſtrie, purchasing to themselues the greater damnation, in that thei make the woorde of God, a vizard<sup>6</sup> to couer their abhominations withall. And as for Sectes, Schismes,<sup>7</sup> and fundrie factiōns, thei want none amongst them. But especially Papistes, and professors of Papisme, are suffred with too much lenitie amongst them. These fedicious Vipers, and pitonically Hidraes, either lurke secrety in corners, seducyng her Maiesties Subiectes, and withdrawyng their hartes from their soueraignes obedience, or els walk openly, obseruyng an outward *decorum*, and an order as others doe; and then maie no man faie 'blacke is their eye,' but thei are good Protestants. And if the worst fall, that thei be espied, & found rancke Traitors (as all Papistes bee) yet shall thei be but committed to Prison, where thei liue like yong Princes, fed with all delicate meates, clothed in sumptuous attire, and flowing in<sup>8</sup> gold and siluer. And no maruell, for euery one is suffered to come to

<sup>1</sup> sincerely F.

<sup>2</sup> besides added in E, F.

<sup>3</sup> well added in E, F.

<sup>4</sup> themselued (*sic*) F.

<sup>5</sup> leaf 8o. The libertie of Papists in Ailgna. B.

<sup>6</sup> or cloak added in F.

<sup>7</sup> Errors, added in E.

<sup>8</sup> abundance of added in F.

[them that will, and to bring them what<sup>1</sup> thei list. Thei haue their libertie at all tymes, to walke abroade, to sporte, and pastyme themselves, to plaie at Cardes, Dice, Tables, Bowles, and what thei will : so that it were better for them to be in prison then forth. Alas, shall we suffer these sworne enemies of Gods glorie, of Christes Gospell, and holy Religion, to haue this freedome amonkest vs ? This maketh them obſtinate, and incorrigible<sup>2</sup>: this hardeneth their <sup>3</sup> hertes ; and this<sup>4</sup> maketh many a Papist moe then would be, if due correction<sup>5</sup> were executed.<sup>6</sup> But to returne againe to my former diſcourse. They are also inconstant, arrogant, vainglorious, hautie mynded, and aboue all thynges inclined to fwearyng, in ſo muche, as if thei ſpeake but three or fewer wordes, yet muſt thei needes be interlaced with a bloudie othe or two, to the great dishonour of God, and offence of the hearers.]

*Spud.* Why fir ? Is it ſo greate a matter to fweare ? Doeth not the worde of God ſaie, thou ſhalt honour me, and fweare by my name, & thoſe that fweare by me ſhall bee commended ? These places and<sup>7</sup> the like, me thinke, dooe ſufficiently proue, that it is lawfull to fweare at all tymes, doe thei not ſo ?

*Philo.* Nothyng leſſe : For you muſt vnderſtand that there be two maner of fwearynges<sup>8</sup> : the one Godly, the other vngodly : the one lawfull, and the other damnable. The Godly fwearyng, or lawfull othe, is when we be called by the Magiftrates, and thoſe that be of authoritie, in any doubtfull matter, to depoſe a truthe; and is to be doen in this order. When any matter of controuerſie happeneth betwixt man and man, vpon any occaſion whatſoever, and the truthe thereof can not by any meanes poſſible be ſifted out, otherwise then by an othe: then thou, beyng called by the lawful Magiftrate, and commaunded vppon thy allegiance to confeſſe what thou knowest, thou maiest, and oughteſt to depoſe the truthe, by the inuocation and obteſtation of the name of God. And in this doyng, thou honourefſt God. But beware that thoſe things which thou fweareſt be true, or els thou makeſt God a lier (whoſe name thou calleſt to witneſſe)]

<sup>1</sup> what maintenance F.

<sup>2</sup> vnreclaimable F.

\* leaf 80, back. How a man ought to sweare. B.

<sup>4</sup> this not in E.

<sup>5</sup> punishment F.

<sup>6</sup> vppon them added in F.

<sup>7</sup> with E, F.

<sup>8</sup> or othes added in E, F, and p. 140, 142, 144.

† leaf 81. Swearyng forbidden by God. B.

[This page not  
in A.]

[Exercises of  
Papists in  
Prisons in Eng-  
land. E, F.]

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 80, back.  
B.]

[Great swearing  
in England.  
E, F.]

[Two kinds of  
swearing.]

[When, and how  
it is lawful to  
sweare. E, F.]

[leaf 8x. B.]

[This page not in  
A.]

[The daunger of  
a false othe.  
E, F.]

[A wicked kind  
of swearing.  
E, F.]

[thou desirest hym to powre his wrath vpon thee, thou periurest thyself, and purchasest eternall damnation. The other vngodly and damnable kinde of fwearyng, is, when wee take in vaine abuse, and blasphemē, the sacred name of God in our ordenarie talke, for euery light trifle. This kinde of fwearyng is neuer at any tyme vpon no occation to be vsed; but the counsell of our Sauiour Christ is herein to be obeyed, who saith: "Sweare not at all, neither by heauen, for it is his Seate: neither by the earth, for it is his Footestoole: neither by Jerusalem, for it is the Citie of the great King: neither shalt thou fweare by an heire of thy<sup>1</sup> head, because thou canst not make one heire white or blacke: But let your communication be yea, yea: nay, nay," that is: yea in harte, and yea in mouthe: nay in harte, and nay in mouthe: "for whatsoeuer is more then this commeth of euill." That is, of the Deuill, saith our Sauiour Christ.

*Spud.* I perceiue by your reas ons, that fwearyng is a thynge more daungerous then it is taken to bee: and therefore not to bee suffered in a Chriftian Commonwealth.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 8x, back.  
B.]

[Sundry kinds of  
othes, with their  
effectes. E, F.]

*Philo.* A true othe is daungerous, a false othe<sup>2</sup> is damnable, and no othe is fure. To fweare before a lawfull Judge, or otherwise priuately, for the appeasing of controuerfies, callyng the name of God to witnesse in truthe and veritie, is an honour, and a true seruice doen to the Lorde: for in these causes the Apostle biddeth that an oth may make an ende of all controuerfies and troubles. But the other kinde of fwearyng in priuate and familiar talke, is most damnable; and therefore saith Salomon: "A man that is giuen to muche fwearyng shall bee filled with iniquitie, and the plague of God shall neuer goe from his house." And yet notwithstandingyng this, it is vsed and taken there for a vertue. So that he that can lafhe out the bloudiest othes, is coumpted the brauest fellowe: For (faie thei) it is a signe of a coragious harte, of a valiaunt stomacke, & of a generofeous, heroicall, and puissant mynde. And who, either for feare of Gods Judgements will not, or for want of practice cannot, rappe out othes at euery word, he is counted a Daftard, a Cowarde, an Affe, a Pesant, a Clowne, a Patche, an effeminate person, and what not that is euill. By continuall vse whereof, it is growne to this perfection, that at euery other worde, you shal heare either woundes, bloud, fides, harte,

<sup>1</sup> thine F.      <sup>†</sup> leaf 81, back. The horrible vice of swering in Ailg. B.

[Swearing taken  
for a vertue in  
England E, F.]

[nailes, foote, or some other parte of Christes blessed bodie,<sup>1</sup> yea, sometymes no parte thereof shalbe left vntorne of these bloudie Villaines. And to sweare by God at euery worde, by the World, by S. Jhon,<sup>2</sup> by S. Marie, S. Anne, by Bread and Salte, by the Fire, or by any other Creature, thei thinke it nothyng blame worthie. But I giue all bloudie Swearers (who crucifie the Lorde of life afresh, as the Apostle faith, as muche as is in their power, and are as giltie of his Death, Passiōn, and Bloud-sheddynge, as euer was *Judas* that betrayed hym, or the cursed *Iewes* that crucified hym) to vnderstante, that to sweare by God at euery woorde, is the greatest othe that can bee. For in swēaryng by God, thou swearest by God the Father, by God the Sonne, and by God the holie Ghost, and by all the whole diuine Nature, Power, dieitie,<sup>3</sup> and essence. When thou swearest by Gods harte, thou swearest by his mysticall wisedome. When thou swearest by his bloud, thou swearest by his life. When thou swearest by his feete, thou swearest by his humanitie. When thou swearest by his armes, thou swearest by his power. When thou swearest by his finger, or tung, thou swearest by the holie Spirite. When thou swearest by his nosethrells, thou swearest by his inspirations. When thou swearest by his eyes, thou swearest by his prouidence. Therfore, learne this, and beware of swēaryng, you bloudie Butchers, leaſt God destroye you in his wrathe. And if you sweare by the Worlde, by S. Ihon, Marie, Anne, Bread, Salt, Fire, or any other Creature that euer God made, whatſoever it be, little or muche, it is horrible Idolatrie, and damnable<sup>4</sup> in it ſelf. For if it were lawfull to sweare at euery<sup>5</sup> woorde for euery trifle, yet it were better to sweare by GOD in a true matter, then by any Creature whatſoever. Becaufe, that, that<sup>6</sup> a man sweareth by, he maketh (as it were) his God of it, callyng hym<sup>7</sup> to witneſſe, that, that thyng which he speaketh is true. All which thinges duely confidered, I am fully perfwaded, that it were better for one to kill a man (not that Murther is lawful, God forbid!) then to sweare an othe. And yet swēaryng is of ſuche ſmall moment in Ailgna, as I heare ſay (and I feare me too true), there are many that

[This page not  
in A.]

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 82. B.\*]  
[Not lawfull to  
sweare by any  
creature. E, F.]

[How dangerous  
it is to sweare by  
anything. E, F.]

[To sweare by  
any creature is  
idolatrie. E, F.]

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 82, back.  
B, f.]

[False swearers  
in England for  
money. E, F.]

<sup>1</sup> sworne by, added in E, F.

\* leaf 82. Horrible swearing in Ailgna. B.

<sup>3</sup> Deity F.      <sup>†</sup> leaf 82, back. False Swearers for money in Ailg. B.

<sup>5</sup> each E, F.

<sup>6</sup> which in E, F.

<sup>7</sup> it E, F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> for money in England F.

[This page not  
in A.]

[Swearers are  
very Devils.]

[A lawe for  
swearers. E, F.]  
[6 leaf 83. B.†]

[for money will not sticke to sweare any thing, though neuer so false, and are wel enough knowne, and discerned from others by the name of Jurers: thei maie be called Libertines, or Atheistes, naie, plaine denegars of<sup>1</sup> the faithe, and very Deuilles incarnate. Was<sup>2</sup> there euer any Deuilles that would abdicate<sup>3</sup> themselues to eternall damnation for money, as these villaines dooe sell their bodies and soules to eternall destruction for filthy droffe and muck of the world? Shall wee suffer this villanie to bee doen to our God, and not<sup>4</sup> punishe it? God graunt there maie some Lawe be enacted for the suppreffion of the same. For now no man by any lawe in force may rebuke any<sup>5</sup> man for fwearyng, though he teare the Lordes bodie, and blasphem bothe Heauen and Earth neuer so much. The Magistrates can not compell them to keepe silence, for if thei doe,<sup>6</sup> thei will be readie to laie their Daggers vppon<sup>7</sup> their faces. So that by this impunitie, this horrible vice of f swearing is suffered still to remaine without al contrement, to the great dishonour of God, and nourishyng of vice.

*Spud.* What kinde of punishment would you haue appointed for these notorious bloudy swearers.

[Punishment  
due for  
swearers. E, F.]

*Philo.* I would wishe (if it pleased God) that it were made death: For wee reade in the Lawe of God, that whosoeuer blasphemed the Lord, was presentl stoned to deathe, without all remorse, which law iudicall standeth in force to the worldes ende. And ought not we to be as zealous for the glorie of God, as the people were then? Or if this bee iudged too feuere, I would wishe they might haue a peece of their tongues cut of, or loose some ioynt: If that bee too extreeme, to be feared in the fore head or cheeke with a hot Iron, ingrauen with some pretie<sup>8</sup> pozie, that thei might be knowne and auoyded. Or if this be too stri&t, that thei might bee banished their natvie Countrie, committed to perpetuall prisone, or els to bee whipped, or at least, forfeite for euery othe, a certaine somme of money, and to bee committed to Warde, till the money be paied. If any of these Godly Institutions were executed feueraly, I doubt not, but all cursed f swearing would vanish away like<sup>9</sup> smoke. Then should God be<sup>10</sup> glorified,

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> reprobates concerning F.

<sup>2</sup> Were F.

<sup>3</sup> and abandone added in E, F.

<sup>4</sup> not to E, F.

<sup>5</sup> a in E, F.

† leaf 83. Punishment of Swearers. B.

<sup>7</sup> on E, F.

<sup>8</sup> pretie not in F.

<sup>9</sup> like a F.

<sup>10</sup> to be F.

<sup>10</sup> to be F.

[and our Consciences made<sup>1</sup> cleane against the <sup>2</sup>greate<sup>3</sup> fearfull daie of  
the Lorde appeare.

*[This page not  
in A.]*  
*[<sup>2</sup> leaf 83, back.  
B.]*

*Spud.* If swearing and blaspheming of God's name be so  
hainous a finne, it is likely, that God hath plagued the vfers therof  
with some notable punishment,<sup>4</sup> whereof I pracie you shew me some  
examples.

*Philo.* I could shewe most straunge and fearfull iudgements of  
God, executed vpon theſe cursed kinde of Swearers in all ages: but  
for breuite sake, one or two shall ſuffice. There was a certayne yong  
man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire<sup>5</sup> in Ailgna, (whose tragicall diſcourse  
I my ſelf penned about two yeares agoe,<sup>6</sup> referring you to the ſaid  
booke for the further declaration therof) who was alwaies a filthie  
Swearer: His common othe was by 'God's bloud.' The Lorde will-  
yng his conuerſion, chaſtized him with fickneſſe many times to leauē  
the ſame, and moued others euer to admoniſh him of his wickedneſſe:  
but all chaſtimentes and louyng correſtions of the Lorde, al freendly  
admoniſtions, and exhortations<sup>7</sup> of others, he vtterly contemned, ſtil per-  
ſeuering in his bloudie kinde of ſwearyng. Then the Lord, ſeing that  
nothing would preuaile to winne him, arreſted hym with his Sargeant  
Death: Who, with ſpeeđe laide holde on hym, and caſt hym vpon  
his Death bed, where he languiſhed a great while, in extreeme  
miferie, not forgettynge to ſpewe out his olde vomite of Swearyng.  
At the laſt, the people perceiuing his ende to approach,<sup>8</sup> cauſed the  
Bell to toll. Who, hearyng the Bell toll for him, riſhed vp in his bed  
very vehemently, ſaiyng: "Gods bloud, he ſhall not haue me yet:"  
with that, his bloud gushed out, ſome at his toes endes, ſome at his  
fingers endes, ſome at his wrifteſ, ſome at his noſe and mouth, ſome  
at one ioint of his body, ſome at an other, neuer ceaſing till all the  
bloud of<sup>9</sup> his bodie was ſtremed forthe: and thus ended this bloudie  
Swearer his mortall<sup>10</sup> life, whose Iudgement I leauē to the Lord.

There was alſo an other, whom I knewe my ſelf for a dozen or  
ſixteeene yeres together, dwellyng in Erichſſehcſhire,<sup>11</sup> in a Towne

*[God's judgments  
on Swearers.]*

*[Lincolnshire in  
England.]*

*[A moſt fearefull  
example of God †  
wrath ſhewed  
vpon a filthy  
cursed swearer.  
E, F.]* *[† gods in  
F.]*

*[Death, the  
Lords ex-  
ecutioner. B, F.]*

*[<sup>8</sup> leaf 84. B.]*

*[A moſt dread-  
full end of a  
swearer. E, F.]*

<sup>1</sup> kept E; kept F.      \* leaf 83, back. Examples againſt ſwearyng. B.

<sup>3</sup> and added in E, F.      <sup>4</sup> in all ages added in F.      <sup>5</sup> Lincolnshire F.

<sup>6</sup> in verſe added in F.

<sup>7</sup> exhortation F.

‡ leaf 84. Two Swearers in Ailgna. B. E has: A moſt dreadfull end of a  
swearer.

<sup>9</sup> in F.

<sup>10</sup> cursed F.

<sup>11</sup> Cheshire E, F.

[This page, to 1  
21, not in A.]  
[Congleton in  
Cheshire.]

[The fearefull  
death of another  
swearer. E, F.]

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 84, back.  
B f]  
[London.]  
[The example  
of a woman for-  
swearing her  
selfe. E, F.]

called Notelgnoc,<sup>1</sup> whose vſuall and common oth was euer to ſweare, by Gods Armes: But in the ende, his arme being hurte by a knife, could neuer be healed by no kinde of meanes, but ſtill wranckled<sup>2</sup> and feſtered from daie to daie, and at the laſt ſo rotted, as it fell awaie by peecemeale, and he himſelf through anguifh and paine thereoſ dyed ſhortly after. Thus the Lord God plagued both the one and the other, in the fame thinges wherein thei had offendēd, that the punishment might be like to the offence. For as the one offendēd through ſwearyng by his bloud, ſo the Lorde puniſhed hym with bloud. And as the other offendēd in ſwearyng by his armes, ſo the Lorde plagued hym in his arme alſo. As he puniſhed<sup>3</sup> the riche Glutton in Hell by the tongue, for that he had offendēd in the fame by taſtyng of delicate <sup>4</sup>meates. There was alſo a woman in the Citiſe of Munidnol<sup>5</sup> in Ailgna, who, commyng into a ſhoppe to buye certaine Marchaundize, forſware her ſelf; and the excrementeſ whiche naturally ſhould evacuate<sup>6</sup> downewarde, came forthe at her mouthe, and ſhe dyed miſerablie. With infinite<sup>7</sup> like exampleſ<sup>8</sup> of God's wrath and heauie iudgements, executed vpon this wicked broode of Swearers, whiche if I had tyme and leaſure, I could rehearſe. But contentyng my ſelf to haue ſaied thus muche, I will proceede to other matters no leſſe needefull to be handled.]

*Spud.* Hauing (by the grace of Christe) hytherto ſpoken of fundrie Abufes of that countrie, let vs proceed a little further. howe doe they ſanctifie<sup>9</sup> and keepe the Sabaoth day? In godly Christian exerciſes, or els in prophane paſtimes and pleaſures?

### *The Maner of ſanctifyng the Sabaoth in Ailgna.*

*Philo.*

THE Sabaoth day, of ſome is well ſanctified,<sup>10</sup> namely in hearing the<sup>11</sup> Word of God read, preached, and interpreted in priuat and publicque Prayers, in ſinging of Godly Psalmes, in celebrating the ſacra-

<sup>1</sup> Congleton F.                  <sup>2</sup> ranckled F.                  <sup>3</sup> puniſhed (*sic*) F.

<sup>4</sup> leaf 84, back. The vſe of the Sabaoth in Ailgna. B.

<sup>5</sup> London F.                  <sup>6</sup> haue diſcended F.                  <sup>7</sup> the *added in* E, F.

<sup>8</sup> examples *in* F.

<sup>9</sup> sanctisie A.

<sup>10</sup> ſanctified A; obſerued E; obſerued, as F.                  <sup>11</sup> the blessed B, E, F.

ments, & in collecting for the poore & indigent; <sup>1</sup> which are the true [leaf 85, back. A.] vses and ends wherto the Sabaoth was ordained. But other some spend <sup>2</sup>the Sabaoth day (for the most part) in frequenting of baudie [leaf 85, B.+] Stage-playes and enterludes, in maintaining Lords of mis-rule (for so they call a certaine kinde of play which they vse), <sup>3</sup>May-games, Church-ales, feasts, and wakeefies: in piping, dauncing, dicing, carding, bowling, tenniffe playing; in Beare-baying, cock-fighting, hawking, hunting, and such like; In keeping of Faires and markets on the sabaoth; In keeping<sup>4</sup> Courts and Leets; In foot-ball playing, and such other deuiliſh pastimes; <sup>5</sup>reading of laciuous and wanton bookeſ, and an infinit number of ſuch like praſtices and prophane exerciſes vſed vpon that day, wherby the Lord God is diſhonoured, his Sabaoth violated, his woord negleſted, his sacraments contemned, and his People meruelouſly corrupted and caryed away from true vertue and godlynes. <sup>6</sup>*Lord, remooue theſe exerciſes from thy Salaoth!*<sup>6</sup>

Prophane  
exercises vpon  
the Sabaoth  
day  
[Fairs, football-  
playing and  
other profanities  
on the Sabbath-  
day.]

*Spud.* You wil be deemed too too *Stoicall*, if you ſhould reſtrain men from theſe exerciſes vpon the Sabaoth; for they ſuſpoſe that that day<sup>7</sup> was ordained and conſecrate to that end and purpoſe, only to vſe what kinde of exerciſes they think good themſelues: & was it not ſo?

*Phi.* After that the Lord our God had created the world, and all things therin contained, in <sup>8</sup>fix dayes, in the ſeuenth day he reſted from all his woorks (that is, from creating them, not from <sup>9</sup>gouerning them) and therefore hee commaunded *that* the ſeuenth day ſhould be kept holy in all ages to the end of the world: then, after that in effect 2000 yeeres, he iterated this Commandement, when he gaue the law in mount *Horeb* to *Moyſes*, & in him to all<sup>10</sup> the Children of *Israel*, ſaying, remember (forget it not) that thou keep holy the ſeuenth day, &c. If we muſt keep it holy, then muſt we not ſpend it in ſuch vain exerciſes as pleafe ourſelues, but in ſuch godly exerciſes as he in his holy woord hath commaunded. And (in my iudgement) the Lord our God ordained the ſeuenth day to be kept holy for fourre cauſes

When the  
Sabaoth was  
ordained.  
[leaf 85, back.  
B. +]

\* leaf 85. The prophanation of the Saboth. B. . . . <sup>3</sup> in added in E.

<sup>4</sup> keepyng of B, E, F. <sup>5</sup> in added in B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> is a day of liberty, and added in F.

† leaf 85, back. The Institution of the Sabaoth. B. (Sadaoth. A.)

<sup>10</sup> call E, F.

## 138 Violaters of the Sab[oth] punished. The Anatomie

Wherfore the  
Sabaoth was  
instituted.

especially. First, to put vs in minde of his wunderful woorkmanship & creation of the world and<sup>1</sup> creatures besides. Secondly, *that* his woord (the Church assembling togither) might be preached, interpreted, & expounded; his sacraments ministred finceerly, according to the prescript of his woord, & that suffrages<sup>2</sup> & praiers, bothe priuat & publique, might be offered to his excellent Maiestie. Thirdly, for that euery christian man might repose himself from corporall labour, to the end they might *the better sustain* the trauailes of the week to ensue<sup>3</sup>; and also to *the end that* all beasts & cattel, which the Lord hath made for mans vse, as helps & <sup>4</sup>adiuements<sup>5</sup> vnto him in his daylie affaires & busynesse, might rest and refresh them selues, the better to <sup>6</sup>go thorow in their traueiles afterward. For, as the hethen Man knew very wel, *fine alterna requie non est durabile quicquam*: Without some rest or repose, there is not any thing durable, or able to continue long. Fourthly, to thend it might be a typical figure or signitor<sup>7</sup> to point<sup>8</sup> (as it were) with the finger, and to cypher<sup>9</sup> foorth<sup>10</sup> and shadewe<sup>10</sup> vnto vs that blesed rest & thryse happie ioye which the faithfull shall posseſſe after the day of iudgement in the Kingdome of Heauen. Wherfore, seeing the Sabaoth was infituted for these causes,<sup>11</sup> it is manifest that it was not appointed for the maintenance of wicked and vngodly paſtymes, and vaine pleasures of the flesh; which God abhorreth, and all good men from their hartes do loth and deteste.

The Man, of whome we read in the law, for gathering of a few ſmall ſticles vpon the Sabaoth, was ſtoned to death by the commaundement of God from<sup>12</sup> the Theator of Heauen.

Than, if he were ſtoned for gathering a few ſticks vpon the Sabaoth day, which in ſome caſes might be<sup>13</sup> for neceſſities ſake, and<sup>14</sup> did it but once, what ſhall they be, who all the Sabaoth dayes of their lyfe giue themſelues to nothing els but to wallow in all kind of wickedneſſe and finne, to the great contempt both<sup>15</sup> of the Lord and his Sabaoth? And though they haue played the lazie lurdens al the

<sup>1</sup> and all other his B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> orisons added in E, F.

<sup>3</sup> following (*for to ensue*) E, F.

<sup>5</sup> supportes F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 86. Violaters of the Sabaoth punished. B.

<sup>7</sup> vnto vs added in F.

<sup>8</sup> poynt out F.

<sup>9</sup> discipher F.

<sup>10—10</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> and to these endes added in B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> soundyng from B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> lawfull added in F.

<sup>14</sup> and yet E, F.

Punishment  
for violating  
the sabaoth.

Violaters of  
the sabaoth.

[<sup>15</sup> L 4. A.]

weke before, yet that day of set purpose they wil toile <sup>1</sup> and labour, in <sup>[F leaf 86, back.  
B.]</sup> contempt of the Lord and his Sabaoth. But let them be sure, as he that gathered sticketes vpon the Sabaoth was stoned for his contempt of the fame, so shall they be stoned, yea, grinded to peeces, for their contempt of the Lord in his Sabaoth.

The Iewes are verye strift in keeping their Sabaoths; in so muche as they will not dresse their meats and drinks vpon the same day, but set it on the tables *the* day befor. They go not aboue ij. miles vpon the sabaoth day; they <sup>3</sup> suffer not the body of any <sup>4</sup> Malefactor to hang vpon the gallowes vpon the Sabaoth day, with legions of such like supersticions. <sup>[5] And whiche is most straunge, if any of them fall into any daunger, thei will not suffer any to labour for their deliuerie vpon that daie, for violatyng their Sabbaoth. So it chaunced that a certaine Iewe beyng in Ailgna, <sup>6</sup> by greate <sup>7</sup> casuallie fell into a Priuie vpon one of their Sabbaoth daies, and the people endeuouryng to helpe him forthe, he forbad them to labour about hym vpon the Sabbaoth daie, chosing rather to dye in that filthie stincking place, (as by the other morning he was dead indeed) then to breake or violate the Lordes Sabbaoth.<sup>5]</sup> Wherin, as I do acknowledge, they are but too scrupelous,<sup>8</sup> and ouershoot the marke, so we are therin plaine contempteous and negligent, shooting short of the marke altogether. Yet I am not so strait laced, that <sup>9</sup> I would haue no kinde of worke done vpon that daye, if present necessitie of the thing require it (for Christe hath taught vs the Sabaoth was made for Man, not Man for the Sabaoth,) but not for euery light trifle, which may as well be done other dayes as vpon that day. And although *the* day it self, in respect of *the* very <sup>10</sup> nature and originall <sup>11</sup> therof, be no better than another <sup>12</sup>day, for there is no difference of dayes, except we <sup>13</sup> become <sup>[F leaf 87. B.]</sup> temporizers, all <sup>14</sup> beeing alike good; yet because the Lord our God hath commaunded it to be sanctified & kept holy to him self, let vs (like obedient & obsequious Children) submit our selues to so loouing a Father; for els we spit againts heauen, we striue against the stream,</sup>

<sup>The Iewes  
very precise in  
keeping<sup>2</sup>  
sabaoth.</sup>

<sup>[The English  
Jew who died  
in a privy, rather  
than be pull'd  
out on the  
Sabbath.]</sup>

<sup>[No work to be  
done vpon the  
sabaoth ex-  
cept necessite  
inforce it.</sup>

<sup>[F 2 L 4, back. A.]</sup>

\* leaf 86, back. Strict observation of the Sabaoth. B.

<sup>2</sup> keepyng of B, E; keeping the F.

<sup>3</sup> the F.

<sup>4</sup> any felonie or B, E, F.

<sup>5—5</sup> added in B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> England E, F.

<sup>7</sup> greate *not in* F.

<sup>8</sup> superstitious F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 87. The true vse of the Sabaoth. B.

<sup>10</sup> very *not in* E, F.

<sup>11</sup> originall *not in* F.

<sup>13</sup> we wil B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> all times B, E, F.

and we contemn him in his ordinances. But (perchance) you wil aske me, whither the true vse of the Sabaoth consist in outward abstaining from bodilye labour and trauaile? I answere, no: the true vse of the Sabaoth (for Christians are not bound onely to the Cеремониe of the day,) consisteth, as I haue said, in hearing the woord of God truely preached, therby to learn and to doo his wil, in receiuing the sacraments (as feales of his grace towards vs), rightly administred, in vsing publique and priuate prayer, in thanksgiving to God for all his benefits, in singing of godly Psalmes, and other spirituall exercises and meditations, in collecting for the poore, in dooing of good woorkes,<sup>1</sup> and breefly, in the true obedience of the inward man. And yet, notwithstanding, wee must abstain from the one to attend vpon the other: that is, wee must refrain<sup>2</sup> all bodily labours, to the end that wee may the better be resiant at<sup>3</sup> these spirituall exercises vpon the Sabaoth day.

[Wherin the  
true vse of the  
Sabaoth con-  
sisteth.]

[\* leaf 87, back.  
B.\*]

[<sup>4</sup> L 5. A

<sup>4</sup>This is the true vse and end of the Lord his Saboth, who graunt that we may rest in him for euer!

*Spud.* Hauing shewed the true vse of the Saboth, let vs go forward to speke of those Abuses particularlye, wherby the Saboth of the Lord is profaned. And first to begin with stage playes and enterluds: What is your opinion of them? Are they not good examples to youth to fray them from finne?

### *Of<sup>5</sup> Stage-playes, and Enterluds, with their wickednes.*

*Philo.*

[Plays on  
religious subjects  
are sacrilegious.]

ALL Stage-playes, Enterluds, and Commedies are either of diuine or prophane matter: If they be of diuine matter, than are they most intollerable, or rather Sacrilegious; for that the blessed word of God is to be handled reuerently, grauely, and sagely, with veneration to the glorious Maiestie of God, which shineth therin, and not scoffingly, flowtingly, & iybingly, as it is vpon stages in Playes & Enterluds, without any reuerence,<sup>6</sup> worship, or veneration<sup>7</sup> to<sup>8</sup> the same. <sup>9</sup>the word of

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 88. B.†]

\* leaf 87, back. Stage plaies and Enterludes. B.      <sup>2</sup> refrain from B, E.

<sup>3</sup> aboute B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> Of not in E, F.

† leaf 88. Warnynges to Players. B.

<sup>7</sup> honour F.

<sup>8</sup> at all doen to B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> For it is most certaine added in B, E, F.

our Saluation, the price of Christ his bloud, & the merits of his passion, were not giuen to <sup>1</sup>be derided and iestid at, <sup>2</sup>as they be in these filthie playes and enterluds on stages & scaffold,<sup>2</sup> or to be mixt and interlaced with bawdry,<sup>3</sup> wanton shewes, & vncomely gestures, as is vsed (euyer Man knoweth) in these playes and enterludes.<sup>4</sup> In the fyrst of *Ihon* we are taught that the word is God, and God is the word: Wherfore, who so euer abuseth this word of our God on stages in playes and enterluds, abuseth the Maiesty of God in the same, maketh a mocking stock of him, & purchaseth to himselfe eternal damnation. And no marueil; for the sacred word of God, and God himselfe, is neuer to be thought of, or once<sup>5</sup> named, but with great feare, reuerence, and obedience to the same. All the holy companie of Heauen, Angels, Archangels, Cherubins, Seraphins, and all other<sup>6</sup> powers whatsoeuer, yea, the Deuills themselues (as<sup>7</sup> *James* faith) doo tremble & quake at the naming of God, and at the prefence of his wrath: and doo these Mockers and Flowters of his Maiesty, these difsembling *Hipocrites*, and flattering *Gnatoes*, think to escape vnpunished? beware, therfore, you masking Players, you painted sepulchres, you doble dealing ambodexters, be warned betymes, and, lik good computifistes, cast your accompts<sup>8</sup> before, what wil be the reward therof in the end, leaſt God destroy you in his wrath: abuse God no more, corrupt his<sup>10</sup> people no longer with your dregges, and intermingle not his blessed word with ſuch prophane vanities. For at no<sup>11</sup> hand it is not lawfull to mixt ſcurrilitie with diuinitie, nor diuinitie with ſcurrilitie.

*Theopompus* mingled *Moyſes* law with his writinges, and therfore the Lorde stroke him madd. *Theodicetes* began the fame practise, but the Lorde stroke him blind for it; With many others, who, attempting<sup>12</sup> the like deuyſes, were al ouerthrowne, and died miserably: befids, what is their iudgement in the other World, the Lord onely knoweth. Vpon the other fide, if their playes be of prophane matters, than tend they to the dishonor of God, and noriſhing of vice, both which

[f] L 5, back. A.]  
The deriding  
of the word of  
God in stage  
playes.

Reuerence to  
the maiestie of  
God due.

A warning<sup>8</sup> to  
Players.

[P] I af 88, back.  
B.†]

[P] L 6. A.]

Not lawfull to  
intermixt  
diuinitie with  
ſcurrilitie.

What if playes  
be of prophane  
matter.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> ſcurrilitie added in F.

<sup>4</sup> vpon stages and scaffoldes made for that purpose, added in B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> to be added in F.

<sup>6</sup> other Ceraphicall B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> as Sainct B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> warming A.

† leaf 88, back. Plaies and Enterludes vnlawfull. B.

<sup>11</sup> any F.

<sup>12</sup> attempting A.

are damnable. So that whither they be the one or the other, they are quite contrarie to the Word of grace, and fucked out of the Deuills teates to nourish vs in ydolatrie, hethenrie, and finne. And therfore they, cariyng the note, or<sup>1</sup> brand, of <sup>2</sup>God his<sup>2</sup> curse vppon their backs, which way foever they goe, are to be hiffed out of all Christian Kingdomes, if they wil haue Christ to dwell amongst them.

*Spud.* Are you able to shewe, that euer any good Men, from the beginning, haue refisted<sup>3</sup> Playes and Enterluds?

<sup>4</sup> leaf 89. B.\*

[<sup>5</sup> L 6, back. A.]

The word of God, al Writ-  
ers, counsels  
and Fathers  
haue writ<sup>7</sup>  
against playes  
and enterluds.

*Philo.* Not onely the word of God doth ouerthrow them, addiudging them & the main<sup>5</sup>tainers<sup>6</sup> of them to Hell, but also all holie counsels, and finodes, both generall, nationall, and prouinciall, together with all Writers, both diuyne and prophane, euer since the beginning, haue disallowed them, and writ (almost) whole volumes against them.

The learned Father *Tertullian*, in his booke *de Speculo*, saith that playes were consecrat to that false ydoll *Bacchus*, for that he is said to haue found out and inuented strong drinke.

*Augustinus, de ciuit. Dei*, saith that plaies wereordeined by the Deuill, and consecrat to heathen Gods, to draw vs from Christianitie to ydolatrie, and gentilisme. And in an other place, *Pecunias Histrionibus dare vitium est innane, non virtus*: To giue money to Players is a greeuous sin.<sup>9</sup>

*Chrysostome* calleth those playes *festa Sathani*, feasts of the Deuill. *Lactantius*, an ancient learned Father, saith, *Histrionum impudifici gestus, nihil aliud nisi Libidinem mouent*: The shameleffe gestures of Plaiers serue to nothing so much as to moue the flesh to lust and vncleynesse. And therfore in the .30. Counfell of *Carthage* &<sup>10</sup> *Synode* of *Laodicea*, it was decreed that no Christen Man or Woman should resorte to playes and enterludes, where is nothing but blasphemie, scurrilitie, and whordome maintained. *Scipio*, seeing the *Romaines* bente<sup>12</sup> to erect Theaters & places for plaies, dehortet them from it

<sup>1</sup> and E, F.

<sup>2—2</sup> Gods F.

<sup>3</sup> disliked F.

\* leaf 89. Stage playes condemned. B.

<sup>6</sup> practisers E, F.

<sup>7</sup> haue writ *not in* E, F.

<sup>8</sup> immane B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> and no vertue *added in* B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> in the *added in* B, E, F.

† leaf 89, back. The effectes of Playes. B.

Concilium 3.  
Cartha. Cap.  
II. Synode  
Laodicea,  
Cap. 54.

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 89, back.  
B †]

[<sup>12</sup> L 7. A.]

Wherfore  
playes were  
ordeined.

with the<sup>1</sup> most prudent reasons and forcible arguments. *Valerius Maximus* faith, playes were never brought vp *sine regni rubore*, without shame to the Cuntry. *Arist.* debarreth youth acceſſe to Playes & Enterluds, leaſt they, ſeeking to quench the thirſt of *Venus*, doo quench it with a potle of fire. *Augustus* banished *Ouid* for making Bookes of loue, Enterluds, and ſuch other amorous trumperie.

Writers<sup>2</sup> both  
diuine and  
prophane  
againſt playes  
and Enterluds.

*Constantius* ordeined that no Player ſhould be admitted to the table of the Lord. Than, ſeeing that Playes were firſt<sup>3</sup> inuented by the Deuil, praſtitied by the heathen gentiles, and dedicat<sup>4</sup> to their false ydols, Goddes and Goddeſſes, as the howſe, ſtage, and apparell to *Venus*, the muſicke to *Appollo*, the penning to *Minerua* and the Mufes, the action and pronuntiation to *Mercurie* and the reſt, it is more than maniſt that they are no fit exercyſes for a<sup>5</sup> Christen<sup>6</sup> Man to follow. But if there were no euill in them ſauē this, namely, that the arguments of tragedies is<sup>7</sup> anger, wrath, immunitie, crueltie, iniurie,inceſt, murther, & ſuch like, the Persons or Actors are Goddes, Goddeſſes, Furies, Fyends, Haggis, Kings, Quee<sup>8</sup>nes, or Potentates. Of Commedies the matter and ground is loue, bawdrie, coſenage, flattery, whordome, adulterie; the Per<sup>9</sup>ſons, or agents, whores, queanes, bawdes, ſcullions, Knaues, Curtezans, lecherous old men, amorous yong men, with ſuch like of infinit varietie. If, I fay, there were nothing els but this, it were ſufficient to withdraw a good christian from the viſing of them; For ſo often as they goe to thoſe howſes where Players frequent, thei go to *Venus* pallace, & fathans synagogue, to worship deuils, & betray Chriſt Iefus.

The ends of  
playes and  
Enterluds.

The argu-  
ments of  
tragedies.

[§ leaf 90. B.t]

The ground of  
Commedies.

[¶ L 7, back. A.]

Theaters and  
curtaunes § Ve-  
nus pallaces.

*Spud.* But, notwithstanding, I haue hard<sup>10</sup> ſome hold opinion that they be as good as ſermons, and that many a good Example may be learned out of them.

*Philo.* Oh blaſphemie intollerable! Are filthie playes & bawdy

No playes  
comparable to  
the word of  
God.

<sup>1</sup> the *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> Waiters F.

<sup>3</sup> firſt *not in* E, F.

<sup>4</sup> dedicated F.

<sup>5</sup> a *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> men B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> is *not in* E.

† leaf 90. Theaters, Venus Pallaces. B.

<sup>10</sup> heard F.

¶ ‘The Theatre’ (where Shakſpere probably first acted) was built by James Burbage in 1576 in the then fields near the ſite of the preſent Standard Theatre in Shoreditch, and was pulld down in 1598, and rebuilt as ‘The Globe’ on Bankſide, Southwark, in 1599. ‘The Curtain’ theatre was close by The Theatre, near Curtain Court, now Glouceſter St. Shoreditch, and was built by 1577.—F. J. F.

enterluds comparable to the word of God, *the foode of life, and life it selfe?* It is all one, as if they had said, bawdrie, hethenrie, paganrie, scurrilitie, and diuelrie it self, is equall with the word of God; Or that the Deuill is equipotent<sup>1</sup> with the Lord.

The Lord our God hath ordeined his blessed word, and made it the ordenarie mean of our Saluation; the Deuill hath inferred the other, as the ordenarie meane of our destruction; and will they yet compare the one with *the other?* If he be accursed *that calleth light darknes, & darknes light, truth falsehood, & falsehood truth,* sweet fowre, and sour sweete, than, *a fortiori*, is he accursed that faith that playes & enterluds be equiualent with Sermons. Be<sup>3</sup>fides this, there is no mischief which these plaies<sup>4</sup> maintain not. For do they not norish ydlenes? and *otia dant vitia*, ydlenes<sup>5</sup> is the Mother of<sup>6</sup> vice. Doo they not draw the people from hering the word of God, from godly Lectures and sermons? for you shall haue them flocke thither, thick & threefould, when *the church of God shalbe bare & emptie*; And those *that will neuer come at sermons wil flow thither apace*. The reasoun is, for that the number of Christ his elect is but few, and the number of the reprobate is many; the way *that leadeth to life is narow, and few tread that path*; *the way that leadeth to death is brod, & many find it*. This sheweth they are not of God, who refuse to here his word (for he that is of God hereth God his word, faith our Sauiour Christ) but of the deuill, whose exercyse they go to vistite. Do they not maintaine bawdrie, infinuat folery, & renue *the remembrance of hethen ydolatrie?* Do they not induce whordom & vnclenes? nay, are they not rather plaine deouurers of maydenly virginitie and chaftitie? For prooef wherof, but marke the flocking and running to Theaters & curtens, daylie and hourely, night and daye, tyme and tyde, to see Playes and Enterludes; where such wanton gestures, such<sup>8</sup> bawdie speaches, such laughing and fleering, such kissing and buffing, such clipping and culling, Suche winckinge and glancinge of wanton eyes,<sup>9</sup> and the like, is vsed, as is wonderfull to behold. Than, these goodly pageants being done,<sup>10</sup> euery mate sorte to his

<sup>1</sup> equivalent F.

<sup>4</sup> Playes B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> Theaters F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 91. What to be learned at Playes. B.

\* leaf 90, back. The fruictes of Playes. B.

<sup>5-6</sup> doth minister F.

<sup>7</sup> goodly F.

<sup>10</sup> ended E, F.

He is cursed  
that saith  
playes and  
enterluds are  
comparable to  
sermons.  
[<sup>2</sup> leaf 90, back.  
B.]  
[<sup>3</sup> L 8. A.]

Wherfore so  
many flock to  
see playes and  
enterluds.

The fruits of  
theathers<sup>6</sup> &  
playes.

The Godly<sup>7</sup>  
demeanours  
vsed at playes  
& enterluds.  
[<sup>8</sup> leaf 91. B.†]  
[<sup>9</sup> L 8, back. A.]

mate, euery one brings another homeward of their way verye freendly, and in their secret conclaves (couerly) they play *the Sodomitcs*, or worse. And these be the fruits of Playes and Enterluds for the most part. And wheras you say there are good Examples to be learned in them, Trulie so there are: if you will learne falsehood; if you will learn cosenage; if you will learn to deceiue; if you will learn to play the Hipocrit, to cogge, lye,<sup>1</sup> and falsifie; if you will learn to iest, laugh, and fleer, to grin, to nodd, and mow; if you will learn to playe the vice, to fwear, teare, and blasphemē<sup>2</sup> both Heauen and Earth: If you will learn to become a bawde, vncleane, and to deuer-ginat Mayds, to deflour honest Wyues: if you will learne to murther, flaine,<sup>3</sup> kill, picke, steal, robbe, and roue: If you will learn to rebel against Princes, to commit treasons,<sup>4</sup> to consume<sup>5</sup> treasurs, to practise ydlenes, to sing and talke of bawdie loue and venery: if you will lerne to deride, scoffe, mock, & flowt, to flatter & smooth: If you will learn to play the whore-maister, the glutton, Drunkard, or incestuous person: if you will learn to become proude, haw<sup>6</sup>tie, & arrogant; and, finally, if you will learne to contemne<sup>7</sup> God and al his lawes, to care<sup>8</sup> neither for heauen nor hel, and to commit al kinde of finne and mischeef, you need to goe to no other schoole, for all these good Examples may you see painted before your eyes in enterludes and playes: wherfore that man who giueth money for the maintenance of them must needs incurre the<sup>9</sup> damage<sup>10</sup> of<sup>11</sup> *premunire*, that is,<sup>9</sup> eternall damnation, except they<sup>12</sup> repent. For the Apostle biddeth vs beware, least wee communicat with other mens finnes; & this their dooing is not only to communicat with other mens finnes, &<sup>13</sup> maintain euil to the distruiction of them selues & many others, but also a maintaining<sup>14</sup> of a great forte of idle lubbers, and<sup>15</sup> buzzing dronets, to<sup>15</sup> fuck vp and deuoure the good honie, wherupon the poor bees should liue.

Therfore I beseech all players<sup>16</sup> & Founders<sup>16</sup> of plaiers and enterludes, in the bowels of Iesus Christe, as they tender the saluation of their

<sup>1</sup> to lye B, E, F.      <sup>3</sup> flay F.      <sup>4</sup> Treason F.      <sup>5</sup> comsume A.

<sup>6</sup> leaf 91, back. Theaters, schooles of mischeefe. B.

<sup>7</sup> contemne A.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> ineuitable sentence of F.

<sup>10</sup> daunger B, E.

<sup>11</sup> of a B; of the deuine E.

<sup>12</sup> he E, F.

<sup>13</sup> and to B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> supporting B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup>—<sup>15</sup> laizie Lurdens, who F, buzzing dronets who E.

<sup>16</sup>—<sup>16</sup> founders and maintainer B, E, F.

The goodly examples  
Playes and Enterluds.

What things  
are to be  
lerned at  
playes

Theaters  
Schooles or  
Seminaries of  
pseudo chris-  
tianitie.

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 91, back.  
B.]

[<sup>8</sup> M 1. A.]

A dyuine  
premunire.

What it is to  
communicate  
with other  
mens sinnes.

An exhorta-  
tion to players.

soules, and others, to leaue of that cursed kind of life, and giue them felues to such honest exercizes and godly misteries as God hath com-maunded them in his woord to get their liuings withall: for who wil call him a wiseman, that plaieth the part of a foole and a vice? who can call him a Christian, who playeth the part of a deuil, the sworne enemie of Christe? who can call him a iust man, that playeth the <sup>1</sup>part of a dissembling hypocrite? And, to be brefe, <sup>2</sup>who can call him a straight deling man, who playeth a Cofoners trick<sup>3</sup>? And so of all the rest. Away therfore with this so infamous an art! for goe they neuer so braue, yet are they counted and taken but for beggers. And is it not true? liue they not vpon begging of euery one that comes? Are<sup>4</sup> they not taken by the lawes of the Realm for roagues and vacabounds? I speake of such as trauaile the Cuntries with playes & enterludes, making an occupation of it, and ought so to be punished, if they had their deserts. But hoping that they will be warned now at the laft, I wil say no more of them, beseeching them to consider what a fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of God, & to prouoke his wrath and heauie displeasure againt them felues and others; *which the Lord of his mercie turn from vs!*

*Spud.* Of what forte be the other kinde of playes, which you call Lords of Mis-rule? for mee thinke the very name it self<sup>5</sup> caryeth a taste of<sup>6</sup> some notorious<sup>6</sup> euil.

### *Lords of Mif-rule in Ailgna.*

*Philo.*

Lords of  
Mis-rule in  
Ailgna.  
[7 M 2. A.]  
[9 leaf 92, back.  
B.†]

THE name, indeed, is odious both to God and good men, & such as the very heathen people would haue blushed at once to <sup>7</sup>haue named amongst them. And if the name importeth some euil,<sup>8</sup> then, what may the thing<sup>9</sup> it self be, iudge you? But because you desire to know the manner of them, I wil shewe you as I haue seen them

\* leaf 92. Lordes of Misrule in Ailgna. B.

<sup>3</sup> part F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> importeth B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> And are F.

<sup>6</sup> notorious *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> as you say *added in* F.

† leaf 92, back. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

practised my self. First, all the wilde-heds of the Parish, conuenting<sup>1</sup> togither, chuse them a Graund<sup>2</sup>-Captain (of all<sup>3</sup> mischeefe) whome they innoble with the title of ‘my Lord of Mis-rule’, and him they crowne with great solemnitie, and adopt for their king. This king anointed chuseth forth twentie, fortie, threescore or a hundred lustie Guttis, like to him self, to waighe vpon his lordly Maiestie, and to guarde his noble person. Then, euerie one of these his men, he inuesteth with his liueries of green, yellow, or some other light wanton colour; And as though that were not (baudie) gaudie enough, I should say, they bedecke them felues with scarfs, ribons & laces hanged all ouer with golde rings, precious stones, & other iewels: this doon, they tye about either leg xx. or xl. bels, with rich handkercheifs<sup>4</sup> in their hands, and sometimes laid a croffe ouer their shoulders & necks, borrowed for the most parte of their pretie Mopfies & loouing Besses<sup>5</sup>, for buffing them in the dark. Thus al things set in order, then haue they their Hobby-horses,<sup>6</sup> dragons & other Antiques, togither with their baudie Pipers and thundering Drummers to strike<sup>7</sup> vp the deuils daunce withall. then, marche these<sup>8</sup> heathen company towards the Church<sup>9</sup> and Church-yard, their pipers pipeing, their drummers thundring, their stumps dauncing, their bels iyngling, their handkercheifs swinging<sup>10</sup> about their heds like madmen, their hobbie horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the route<sup>11</sup>: & in this sorte they go to the Church<sup>12</sup> (I say) & into the Church,<sup>12</sup> (though the Minister be at praier or preaching), dancing & swinging [t]heir handkercheifs<sup>13</sup> ouer their heds in the Church, like deuils incarnate, with such a confuse<sup>14</sup> noife, that no man can hear his own voice. Then, the foolish people they looke, they stare, they laugh, they fleer, & mount vpon fourmes and pewes to see these goodly pageants solem[nized] in this fort. Then, after this, about the Church they goe againe and again, & so foorth into the church-yard, where they haue commonly their Sommer-haules, their bowers, arbors, & banqueting houses set vp, wherin they feast, banquet & daunce al that day & (peraduenture) all the<sup>15</sup> night too. And thus these terrestriall furies spend the Sabaoth day.

The manner  
how Lords of  
Mis-rule are  
vsed to be  
played.

The monstre-  
ous attyng of  
my Lord of  
Misrules Men.

The tablement  
of the deuils  
guard.  
[V M 2, back. A.]  
[P leaf 93. B.†]

The behaviour  
of the Deuils  
band in the  
temple of God.

Receptacles in  
the Cemeteries  
or church  
yards for the  
deuils agents.

<sup>1</sup> flocking F.

<sup>2</sup> Ground E.

<sup>3</sup> all not in F.

<sup>4</sup> handkerchiefe F.

<sup>5</sup> Bessies F.

<sup>6</sup> their added in F.

<sup>8</sup> this F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 93. The order of the Lord of Misrule. B.

<sup>10</sup> fluttering F.

<sup>11</sup> throng B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> <sup>12</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> handkechies F.

<sup>14</sup> confused B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> that F.

My Lord of  
mis-rules  
cognizances.

[5 M 3. A.]  
[6 leaf 93, back  
B.\*]

Wearing my  
Lord of mis-  
rules badges.

Sacrifice  
brought to  
this filthe  
Ydol, my L.  
of mis-rule.

[2<sup>r</sup> leaf 94. B.†]

[2<sup>3</sup> M 3, back. A.]

<sup>1</sup>They haue also certain papers, wherin is painted some babblerie or other of Imagery woork, & these they call ‘my Lord of mis-rules badges<sup>2</sup>’: these they giue to euery one that wil giue<sup>3</sup> money for them to maintaine them in<sup>4</sup> their hethenrie, diuelrie, whordome, drunkenenes, pride, and <sup>6</sup>what not.<sup>7</sup> And who will not be<sup>8</sup> buxom to them, and giue them<sup>9</sup> money for these<sup>10</sup> their deuil[i]sh<sup>10</sup> cognizances, they are<sup>11</sup> mocked & flouted at<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup>not a little.<sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> And so assotted<sup>15</sup> are some, that they not only giue them monie to maintain their abomination withall, but also weare their badges & cognizances in their hats or caps openly. But let them take heede; for these are<sup>16</sup> badges, seales, brands, & cognizances of the deuil, whereby he knoweth his Servants and Clyents<sup>17</sup> from the Children of God; And so long as they weare them, *Sub vexillo diaboli militant contra Dominum et legem suam*: they fight vnder the banner and standerd of the deuil against Christ Iefus, and all his lawes. Another forte of fantasticall fooles bring to these hel-hounds (the Lord of mis-rule and his complices) some bread, some good-ale, some new-cheese, some olde,<sup>18</sup> some custards,<sup>19</sup> & fine cakes<sup>19</sup>; some one thing, some another; but if they knew that as often as they bring any thing<sup>20</sup> to the maintenance of these execrable pastimes, they offer sacrifice to the deuil and sathanas, they would repent and withdraw their hands; *which God graunt they may!*

*Spud.* This is a horrible prophanation of the fabaoth (the Lord knoweth), & more pestilent then pestilence it self. but what? be there any<sup>21</sup> abuses in their May-games like vnto these?

*Philo.* As many as in the other. The order of them is thus:

<sup>1</sup> Then for the further innobling of this honorable Lurdane (Lorde I should saie) added in B, E, F. <sup>2</sup> or Cognizances added in F.

<sup>3</sup> give them F.

<sup>4</sup> in this B, E, F.

\* leaf 93, back. The Lord of Misrules cognizance. B.

<sup>7</sup> els added in F. <sup>8</sup> shewe hym self B, E, F. <sup>9</sup> them not in F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> the deuilles B, E, F. <sup>11</sup> shall be B, E, F. <sup>12</sup> at not in F.

<sup>13</sup>—<sup>13</sup> shamefully B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> Yea, and many times carried vpon a Cowlstaffe, and diued ouer head and eares in water, or otherwise most horriblie abused added in F. <sup>15</sup> assotted F.

<sup>16</sup> are the B, E, F. <sup>17</sup> vassals F. <sup>18</sup> olde cheese B, E, F.

<sup>19</sup>—<sup>19</sup> some cakes, some flaunes, some Tartes, some Creame, some meate B, E, F (but F begins with some Cracknels.) <sup>20</sup> thing not in B, E, F.

† leaf 94. The order of Maie games. B.

<sup>22</sup> B, E, F make a fresh chapter here, with the heading:—The maner of Maie-games in England.

Against *May*<sup>1</sup>, *Whitsonday*, or<sup>2</sup> other time, <sup>3</sup>all the yng men and maides, olde men and wiues, run gadding ouer night to the woods, groues,<sup>3</sup> hils, & mountains,<sup>4</sup> where they spend all the night in plesant pastimes; & in the morning they return, bringing with them birch<sup>5</sup> & branches of trees, to deck their assemblies withall. and no meruaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord ouer their pastimes and sportes, namely, Sathan, prince of hel. But the<sup>6</sup> cheifeſt iewel they bring from thence is their<sup>7</sup> May-pole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus. They haue twentie or fortie yoke of Oxen, euery Ox having a sweet nose-gay of flouers placed<sup>9</sup> on the tip of his hornes; and these Oxen drawe home this May-pole (this ſtinking Ydol, rather) which is couered all ouer with floures and hearbs,<sup>10</sup> bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and ſometime<sup>11</sup> painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women and children, following it with great deuotion. And thus beeing reared vp with handkercheefs and flags houering<sup>12</sup> on the top, they straw the ground rounde<sup>13</sup> about, binde green bougheſt about it, ſet vp ſommer haules, bowers, and arbors hard by it; And then fall they to<sup>14</sup> daunce about it, like<sup>15</sup> as the<sup>16</sup> heathen people did at the dedication of the<sup>17</sup> Idols, wheroft this is a perfect pattern, or rather the thing it ſelf. I haue heard it credibly reported (and that *viva voce*) by men of great grauitie<sup>18</sup> and reputation, that of fortie, threescore, or a hundred maides going to the wood ouer night, there haue ſcareſly the third part of them returned home againe vndefiled. These be the frutes which theſe cursed pastimes bring foorth. <sup>19</sup>Neither the<sup>20</sup> Jewes, the<sup>21</sup> Turcks,

The order of  
their May-  
games.

[\* side-note here  
in B.]

\* A great Lord  
present in May<sup>8</sup>  
games as  
superintendent  
therof.

[<sup>10</sup> leaf 94, back.  
B.]

The manner  
of bringing  
home their  
May-poles.

[<sup>16</sup> M 4. A.]

May-poles a  
pattern of the  
heathen Ydols.

The frute of  
May-games.

<sup>1</sup> day added in F.

<sup>2</sup> or ſome B, E, F.

<sup>3—3</sup> of the yeare, euery Parishe, Towne, and Village assemble themſelues together, bothe men, women, and children, olde and yong, euen all indifferently: and either goyng all together, or deuidyng themſelues into companies, they goe ſome to the Woodes and Groues, ſome to the B, E, F.

<sup>4</sup> ſome to one place, ſome to another, added in B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> bowes added in B, E, F. <sup>6</sup> their B, E, F. <sup>7</sup> the F.

<sup>8</sup> May not in F. <sup>9</sup> tyed E, F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 94, back. The fruites of Maie games. B.

<sup>11</sup> ſometimes F. <sup>12</sup> ſreaming B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> round not in B, E.

<sup>14</sup> banquet and paſt, to leape and added in B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> like not in B, E, F. <sup>17</sup> their B, E, F. <sup>18</sup> credite added in F.

<sup>19</sup> Assuredly I thinke added in B, E, F. <sup>20</sup> the not in B, E, F.

<sup>21</sup> nor B, E, F.

*Sarafins*, nor *Pagans*, nor any other nations,<sup>1</sup> how wicked or barbarous foever, haue euer vsed such deuilish exercises as these; nay, they would haue been ashamed once to haue named them, much lesse haue<sup>2</sup> vsed them. Yet wee, that would be Christians, think them not amisse.  
*The Lord forgiue vs, and remooue them<sup>3</sup> from vs!*

*Spud.* What is the manner of their church ales, which you say  
 [<sup>4</sup> leaf 95. B.\*] they vse; for they seem vn<sup>4</sup>couth and straunge to mine eares?

### *The Manner of Church-ales in Ailgna.*

[<sup>5</sup> M 4, back. A.]

The manner  
of Church-ales  
in Ailgna.

THE manner of them is thus: In certaine Townes where drunken *Bachus* beares all<sup>6</sup> the fway, against a<sup>7</sup> *Christmas*, an<sup>8</sup> *Easter*, *Whitsonday*, or some other time, the Church-wardens (for so they call them) of euery parish, with the consent of the whole Parish, prouide half a score or twenty quarters of mault, wherof some they buy of the Church-fstock, and some is giuen them of the Parishioners them selues, euery one conferring somewhat, according to his abilitie; which mault, beeing made into very strong ale or beere, it<sup>9</sup> is set to sale, either in the Church, or<sup>10</sup> some other place affigned to that purpose.

The filthiest  
beast, the  
godlyest man.

[<sup>16</sup> leaf 95, back.  
B.†]

Then, when the<sup>11</sup> *Nippitatum*, this Huf-cap (as they call it) and this *nectar* of lyfe, is set abroche, wel is he that can get the fooneft to it, and spend the moft at it; for he that fitteth the closest to it, and spends the moft at it, he is counted the godlieft man of all the reſt<sup>12</sup>; but who either<sup>13</sup> cannot, <sup>14</sup>for pinching pouertie,<sup>14</sup> or otherwife,<sup>15</sup> wil not stick to it, he is counted one deftitute bothe of vertue and godlynes. In ſo much as you ſhall haue many poor men make hard ſhift for money to ſpend ther<sup>16</sup>at,<sup>17</sup> for it<sup>18</sup> beeing put into this *Corban*, they are perfwaded it is meritorious, & a good ſeruice to God. In this kinde of

<sup>1</sup> people B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> to haue B, E.

<sup>3</sup> them farre F.

\* leaf 95. Church-ales in Ailgna. B.

<sup>6</sup> all *not in* B; all the *not in* E, F.

<sup>7</sup> a *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> and B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> it *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> or in F. <sup>11</sup> this B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> and moft in Gods fauour, because it is ſpent vpon his Church forſoth *added in* B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> either for want B, E, F. <sup>14-14</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> for feare of God's wrath *added in* E, F.

† leaf 95, back. Churchale money beſtowed. B.

<sup>17</sup> and good reaſon *added in* B, E, F.

<sup>18</sup> it *not in* B, E, F.

practise they continue six weeks, a quarter of a yeer, yea, half a yeer togither, swylling and gulling, night and day, till they be as drunke <sup>[<sup>1</sup> M 5. A]</sup> as Apes,<sup>2</sup> and as <sup>3</sup>blockish as beasts.<sup>3</sup>

*Spud.* Seeing they haue so good vtterance, it shoulde feeme they haue good gaines. But, I pray you, how doe they bestowe that money which is got therby?

*Philo.* Oh! well, I warent you, if all be true which they say: For they repaire their Churches and Chappels with it; they buy bookees for seruice, cuppes for the celebration of the Sacrament, surplessees for Sir Ihon, and such other necessaries; And they maintaine other extraordinarie charges in the<sup>4</sup> parishes besydes. These be their<sup>5</sup> exceptions, these be their<sup>5</sup> excuses, and these be their pretended<sup>6</sup> allegations, wherby they blind the world, and conueigh themselues away in uisibly in a clowd. But if they daunce thus in a net, no doubt they will be espied.

For if it wer so *that* they bestowed it as they say, do they think that the Lord will haue his howse build<sup>7</sup> with drunkenesse, gluttony, and such like abomination? Must we do euill that good may come of it? must we build this house of lyme and stome with the defola<sup>8</sup>tion and vitter ouerthrow of his spirituall howse,<sup>9</sup> clenfed and washed in<sup>9</sup> the preciuose blood of our Sauiour Iesu Christ? But who feeth not that they bestow this money vpon nothing lesse than in building and repayring of Churches<sup>10</sup> and Oratories? For in most places lye they not like swyn coates? their windowes rent, their dores broken, their walles fall<sup>11</sup> downe, the<sup>12</sup> roofe all bare, and what not out of order? Who feeth not the booke of God, rent, ragged, and all betorn,<sup>13</sup> couered in duft, so as this *Epitaphe* may be writ with ones finger vpon it, *ecce nunc in puluere dormio?* (Alas!) behold I sleep in duft and oblyuion, not once scarce looked vpon, much lesse red vpon,<sup>14</sup> and the<sup>15</sup> least of all preached vpon. And, on the other fide, who feeth not (for<sup>16</sup> this I speake but<sup>17</sup> in way of *parenthesys*<sup>17</sup>) in the meane

How the  
money is spent  
which is got by  
Churchales.

Wil the Lord  
haue his house  
built with  
maintenance  
of euill?

[<sup>8</sup> leaf 96. B.t]  
[<sup>10</sup> M 5, back.  
A.]

The decay of  
Churches,  
which are lacer-  
at, rent, and  
torn.

Sumptuousnes  
of their owne  
mansions

<sup>2</sup> Rattes B, E; Swine F.

<sup>3—3</sup> mad as March Hares F.

<sup>4</sup> their B, E, F.

<sup>5—5</sup> golden reasons, these bee their faire B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> pretensed B, E.

<sup>7</sup> builded F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 96. The decay of Churches in Ailgna. B. <sup>8—9</sup> purchased with F.

<sup>11</sup> fallen B. <sup>12</sup> their B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> yea added in F. <sup>14</sup> on B, E, F.

<sup>15</sup> the not in F.

<sup>16</sup> for not in B, E, F.

<sup>17—17</sup> to a friend, I pray you say nothing F.

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tyme, their owne howses and mansion places are curiously build, and sumptuously adorned: which plainly argueth that they rather bestow this drunken got-money vpon prophane vses and their own priuat affaires, than vpon the howse of prayer, or the temple of God. And yet this their doing is wel liked of, and no man may say<sup>1</sup> black is their eye<sup>1</sup>: For why? Thei do all things well, and according to good order, as they<sup>2</sup> say; And when time commeth, like good accoumptantes, they make their accoumptes as please themselues.

[<sup>2</sup> the A.]

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 96, back.  
B.♦]

Sp. Were it not better, & more consonant<sup>3</sup> to the truth, that euery one contributed<sup>4</sup> somewhat, according to his abilitie, to the maintenance of<sup>5</sup> templaries &<sup>6</sup> oratories,<sup>5</sup> than thus to maintaine them by drunken churchales, as you say thei do?

[<sup>7</sup> M 6. A.]

Churches<sup>8</sup> are to  
be maintained  
by mutuall  
contribution of  
euery one  
after his  
power.<sup>10</sup>

7 Philo. It weare muche better. And so we read, the Fathers of the old Testament, euery one after his abilitie, did impart some-what to the building<sup>9</sup> and restauration<sup>9</sup> of the Tabernacle which Moyes erected to the Lord; So as in the end there was such abundance of all things, as the Artificers, consulting with Moyes, were glad to request the People to stay their liberalitie, for they had more than they knew what to do withall. These People made no drunken Church-ales to build their edefice<sup>11</sup> withal, notwithstanding their importable charges and intollerable costes. But as their zeel was feruent, and very commendable in bringing to the Church, so our zeal is more than frosen & blame-worthie in detracting from the Church, and bestowing it vpon whordom, drunkennesse, gluttony, pride, and such like abhominations: *God amend it!*

Spud. How do they solemnise their feastes and wakeffes there; and what order do they obserue in them?

Our zeal  
waxen cold  
and frosen  
in respect of  
the zeal of the  
former world.

*The maner of keeping of Wakeffes, and feasts  
in Ailgna.*

[<sup>12</sup> leaf 97 B.†]

[<sup>13</sup> M 6, back.  
A.]

<sup>12</sup> *Philoponus.*

THis is their order therein: euery towne, parishe, and Village, some at one tyme of the Yeere, some at another (but<sup>13</sup> so that euery

<sup>1—1</sup> Domine, cur ita facis? F.

\* leaf 96, back. Keepyng of Wakesses in Ailgna. B.      <sup>4</sup> contribute B.

<sup>5—5</sup> Temples and Churches F.      <sup>6</sup> or B, E.

<sup>8</sup> Churges A.      <sup>9—9</sup> and instauracion E; not in F.      <sup>10</sup> this side-note not in F.  
<sup>11</sup> house of Prayer F.      <sup>†</sup> leaf 97. Keepyng of Wakes in Ailgna. B.

<sup>1</sup> towne, parish, & village<sup>1</sup> keep<sup>2</sup> his proper day assignd and appropriat to it self, (which they call their Wak day) vse<sup>3</sup> to make great preparation and ordenaunce<sup>4</sup> for good cheer. To the which all their Freends and kyns-folks, farre and neer, are inuited, wher is such gluttony, such drunkennesse, such saturitie<sup>5</sup> and impletion vied, as the like was neuuer seen: In so muche as the poore men that beare *the* charges of these feasts and wakefes, are the poorer, and keep the Worser howses a long tyme<sup>6</sup> after. And no marueil, for manie spend more at one of these wakefes than in all the whole yeer besides. This makes many a one to thripple & pinch, to runne into debte and daunger, and finallie brings many a one to vtter ruine and decay.

Saturitie in  
feasts and  
wakefesses.

The great  
charges of  
Wakefesses.

*Spud.* Wold you not haue one freend to vistite another at certen tymes of the yeer?

*Philo.* I disallowe it not, but much commend it. But why at one determinat<sup>7</sup> day more than at another (except busines vrged it); why should one and *the* same day continue for euer, or be distinct from other dayes by the name of a wake day? why should there be more exceffe of meats and drinks at that day than at another<sup>8</sup>? why should they abstaine from bodeley labor<sup>9</sup>.ij. or three dayes after, peraduenture the whole week, spending it in drunkennesse, whordome, gluttony, and other filthie Sodo<sup>10</sup>miticall exercyses.

Against wakes  
& feasts

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 97, back.  
B.†]

[<sup>10</sup> M 7]

*Spud.* Seeing you allowe of one Freend to vistite another, would you not haue them to congratulat their comming with some good cheer?

*Philo.* Yes, truely; but I allowe not of such exceffe of ryot & superfluitie as is there vsed. I thinke it conuenient for one Freend to vistite another (at sometimes) as oportunitie & occasion shall<sup>11</sup> offer it selfe<sup>11</sup>; but wherfore shuld the whole towne, parish, village, and cuntry keepe one and the same day, and make such gluttonous feasts as they doo? And therfore,<sup>12</sup> to conclude,<sup>12</sup> they are to no end, except it be to draw a great<sup>13</sup> frequencie of whores, drabbes,<sup>14</sup> theives, and verlets together, to maintaine whordome, bawdrie, gluttony, drunken-

Wherto  
wakefesses and  
feasts do very  
aptly tend.

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> one B, E, F.      <sup>2</sup> keeps F.      <sup>3</sup> vseth F.      <sup>4</sup> prouision E, F.

<sup>5</sup> fulnesse F.      <sup>6</sup> yeare F.      <sup>7</sup> prefixed F.      <sup>8</sup> any other E, F.

† leaf 97, back. The fruictes of Wakefesses. B.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> bee offered F.      <sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> in my opinion B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> a great *not in* E, F; frequencie of *not in* F.      <sup>14</sup> drabbes *not in* B, E, F.

neffe, thiefe, murther, swearing, and all kind of mischief and abhomination; For these be the ends wherto these feastes and wakeffes doo tende.<sup>1</sup>

*Spud.* From whence sprang these feasts and wakeffes first of all; can you tell?

*Philo.* I cannot tell, except from the Paganes and heathen People, who, whan they were assembled together, and had offred Sacrifices to their wodden<sup>2</sup> Goddes, and blockish ydols, made feasts and banquets together before them, in ho<sup>3</sup>hour and reuerence of them, so<sup>4</sup> appointed the same yearly to be obserued in<sup>5</sup> memoriall of the same<sup>6</sup> for euer. But whence<sup>7</sup> soever they had their exordium,<sup>8</sup> certen it is the deuill was the Father of them, to<sup>9</sup> drown vs in perdition, and destruction of body and soule: which Gon forefend<sup>10</sup>!

*Sp.* As I remember, you spoke<sup>11</sup> of dauncing before, inferring that the fabaoth is<sup>12</sup> greatly prophaned therby: whereof, I pray you, shew mee your iudgement.

### *The horrible Vice of pestiferous dauncing, vsed<sup>13</sup> in Ailgna.*

#### *Philoponus.*

DAuncing, as it is vsed (or rather abused) in these daies, is an introduction to<sup>14</sup> whordom, a preparatiue to wantonnes, a prouocatiue to vncleanes, & an introite<sup>15</sup> to al kind of lewdenes, rather than a pleasant exercyse to the mind, or a holsome practise for the body<sup>16</sup>: yet<sup>17</sup>, notwithstanding, in *Ailg[na]* both men, wemen, & children, are so skilful in this laudable science, as they maye be thought nothing inferiour to *Cynoedus*, the<sup>18</sup> prostitut ribauld, nor yet to *Sardanapalus*, that effeminate varlet. Yea, thei are not ashamed to erect scholes of dauncing,

Scholes of  
dauncing  
erected.

<sup>1</sup> as farre as euer I could judge added in B, E, F, but E, F, have learne for  
judge: F then adds:—& the best fruits that they bring foorth.

<sup>2</sup> false F.

† leaf 98. Dauncyng in Ailgna. B.

<sup>4</sup> and so B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> in a F.

<sup>6</sup> them for the same B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup> original F.

<sup>9</sup> seeking thereby to F.

<sup>10</sup> remoue farre from vs F.      <sup>11</sup> spake B, E, F.      <sup>12</sup> was B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> not in F.      <sup>14</sup> all kind of added in F.      <sup>15</sup> entrance F.

<sup>16</sup> (as some list to cal it) added in B, E; (as some would haue it). And F.

<sup>17</sup> And yet, E.

<sup>18</sup> that B, E, F.

thinking it an ornament to their children to be expert in this noble science of heathen diuelrie: and yet this people<sup>1</sup> glory of their chris- tianitie & integritie of <sup>2</sup>life. Indeed, *verbo tenus Christiani boni voci- tentur*, But *vita et moribus Ethnicis et paganis peiores<sup>3</sup> reperientur<sup>4</sup>*: From <sup>5</sup>the mouth outward they may be said to be good Christians, but [leaf 98, back. B.\*] in life & maners farre worser than the heathen or *Paganes*. Wheroft if they repent not & amend, it shalbe easier for that<sup>6</sup> Land of *Sodoma* and *Gomorra*, at the day of iudgement, then for them.

*Spud.* I haue heard it said, that dauncing is both a recreation for the minde, & also an exercysē for the body, very holsome; and not only that, but also a meane wherby loue is acquired.

*Ph.* I will not much denie but being vsed in a meane, in tyme and place conueniente, it is a certen solace<sup>7</sup> to the minds of such as take pleasure in such vanities; but it is no good reason to say, some men take pleasur in a thing, *ergo*, it is good, but the contrarie<sup>8</sup> is true rather<sup>8</sup>: For this is<sup>9</sup> (*basis<sup>10</sup> veritatis*) a ground of<sup>11</sup> truth,<sup>9</sup> that whatso- ever a carnall man, with vncircumcised heart, either desireth or taketh pleasure in, is most abhominable & wicked before god. As, on the other fide, what the spirituall man regenerat, & borne anew in Christ, by the direction of God his spirit, desireth or taketh delight in, is good, and according to the will of God: And seeing mans nature is too pro- clive<sup>12</sup> of it selfe to finne, it hath no need of allurements & allections<sup>13</sup> to<sup>14</sup> fin (as dauncing is) but rather of restraints & inhibitions<sup>15</sup> from the same, which are not there to be found. For what clipping, what culling, what kissing and buffing, what<sup>16</sup> smouching & slabbering one of another, what filthie groping and vncleane handling is not practised euery wher in these dauncings? yea, the very deed and action it selfe, which I will not name for offending chraft eares, shall be purtrayed and shewed<sup>17</sup> foorth in their bawdye gestures of one to another. All which, whither they blow vp *Venus* cole or not, who is so blind

Dauncing a  
pleasure to  
them that  
delight in  
vanities.

What allure-  
ments to sin  
be in daunc-  
ing.  
[leaf 99. B.t]

[leaf 99. B.t]

<sup>1</sup> forsooth added in F.

\* leaf 98, back. Dauncyng, an allurement to sinne. B.

<sup>3</sup> deteriores F.      <sup>4</sup> inueniantur B, inuenientur E.      <sup>6</sup> the B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> or recreation added in B, E, F.

<sup>8—9</sup> is rather true B, E, F.

<sup>9—9</sup> a maxime F.

<sup>10</sup> basis et fundamentum B, E.

<sup>11</sup> or foundation of B, E; E has and for or.

<sup>12</sup> prone F.

<sup>13</sup> enticements F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 99. Dauncyng, a corrosive. B.

<sup>15</sup> to stay him added in F.

<sup>17</sup> shadowed F.

## 156 Dancing vnholsome for the body. The Anatomie

Dauncing no  
recreation, but  
a corrosive to  
a good Chris-  
tian.

The only  
thing wherin  
a good chris-  
tian doth  
delight.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 99, back.  
B.]

[<sup>6</sup> sign. N 1. A.]

Dancing no  
holson exer-  
cise for the  
Bodie.

What looue  
dancing pro-  
cureth.

that seeth not? wherfore, let them not think that it is any recreation (which word is abusively vsed to exprefse the ioyes or delights of the mind, which signifieth a making againe of that which before was made,) to the mind of a good Christian, but rather a corrosive<sup>1</sup> most sharp and nipping. For feing that it is euill in it self, it is not a thing wherin a Christian Mans heart may take any<sup>2</sup> comfort. The only<sup>3</sup> *summum bonum*, wherin a true Christians heart is recreated and comforted, is the meditation of the passion of Iefus Christ, the effusion of his blood, the remission of sins, and the contemplation of the ineffable ioyes and beatituds after this life, prepared for the faithfull in the blood of Iefus Christ. This is the only thing wherin a Christian man ought to reioyse and take delight in, all other pleasures & delights of this lyfe set a parte as amarulent<sup>4</sup> and bitter, bringing foorth fruit to eternall deſtruſion, but the other to eternall lyfe. And wheras they conclude it<sup>5</sup> is a hole<sup>6</sup>ſome exercize for the bodie, the contrary is moſte true; for I haue knownen diuers, by<sup>7</sup> the immoderate vſe therof, haue in ſhort time become decrepit and lame, ſo remaining to their dying day. Some haue broke their legs with ſkipping, leaping, turning, and vawting, and ſome haue come by one hurt, ſome by another, but neuer any came from thence without ſome parte of his minde broken and lame; ſuch a wholsome exercize it is! But, ſay they, it induceth looue: fo I ſay alſo; but what looue? Truely, a luſtful loue, a venereous loue, a concupiſcentious, baudie, & beaſtiall loue, ſuch as proceedeth from the ſtinking pump and lothſome fink of carnall affection and fleſhly appetit, and not ſuch as diſtilleth from the bowels of the hart ingenerat by the ſpirit of God.

Wherfore I exhort them, in the bowels of Iefus Christ, to eſchue not only from euil, but alſo from all apperance of euil, as the Apoſtle willeth them, proceeding from one vertue to another; vntil they growe to<sup>8</sup> perfect men in Chrife Iefus, knowing that we muſt giue accounts at the day of<sup>9</sup> iudgment of euery minut and iote of time,<sup>10</sup> from the day<sup>11</sup> of our birth to the time<sup>12</sup> of our death: for there is nothing more precious then time, which is giuen vs to glorifie God in<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> corrosive F.

<sup>2</sup> any pleasure or F.

<sup>3</sup> enely A.

<sup>4</sup> leaf 99, back. Dauncyng vnholsome for the body. B.

<sup>5</sup> that it E, F.

<sup>7</sup> that by B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> to bee F. <sup>9</sup> of F. <sup>10</sup> that is lent us in this life *added in* E, F.

<sup>11</sup> first day B, E, F. <sup>12</sup> last houre B, E, F. <sup>13</sup> by B; in, by E, F.

good-woorks, and not to spend in luxurious exercises <sup>1</sup> after our owne fantasies and delights.

\* We must render accounts for time heer lent vs.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 100. B.\*]  
[<sup>2</sup> N 2, back]

*Spud.* But I haue heard them affirme that dauncing is prouable <sup>2</sup> by the woord of God ; for (say they) did not the women come foorth of all the Cities of *Israel* to meet king *Saule* ? and <sup>4</sup> *Dauid*, returning from the slaughter of *Goliath*, with psalteries, flutes, tabrets, Cymbals, and other musicall Instruments, dauncing & leaping before them ? Did not the *Israelites*, hauing passed ouer the red sea, bring foorth their Instruments, and danced for ioy of their deliurance ?

[Bible examples of dancing.]  
[<sup>2</sup> Sa. 18.]

Exo. 15.

Exo. 32.

Againe, did they not daunce before the golden Calf, which they had made in *Horeb* or *Sinai* ? Did not king *Dauid* daunce before the Ark of the Lord ? Did not the Daughter of *Iephatah* daunce with tabret and harp at the return of her Father from the Feeld ? Did not the women of the *Israelits* dance comming to visit good *Judith* ? Did not the Damsel dance before King *Herod* ? Did not *Christ* blame the people for their not dancing when he said, wee haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced ?

[<sup>2</sup> Sa. 6.]

Judic. 11.  
Iudic. 15.

Mat. 14.  
Luc. 7.

Saith not *Salomon*, ‘there is a time to weep, and a time to laughe, a time to mourne, and a time to daunce ?’

And dooth not the Prophet *Dauid*, in many places of his Psalmes, command and commaund dauncing, and playing vpon Instruments of Musick ?

<sup>5</sup> Wherfore (for thus <sup>6</sup> they conclude) seeing these holy Fathers (<sup>5</sup> sign. N 2. A.) (wherof some were guided by the instinctio<sup>n</sup> <sup>7</sup> of <sup>8</sup> God his <sup>9</sup> Spi<sup>rit</sup>) haue not only taught it in doctrine, but also expreſſed it by <sup>10</sup> their Examples of life, who may open his mouth once to speake against it ?

[<sup>5</sup> leaf 100, back.  
B.\*]

*Philo.* The Fathers, as they were men, had their errors, and erred as men, for *Hominis est errare, decipi et lali* : it is naturall for man to erre, to be deceiued & to slide from the trueth. Therfore the Apostle faith, follow mee in all things as I follow Christ ; but to the intent that they, who perpend <sup>11</sup> the Examples of the Fathers and <sup>12</sup> Scripture falsly <sup>12</sup> wrested to maintaine their deuiliſh dauncings withall, may fee their owne impietie & groſſe <sup>13</sup> ignorance diſcouered, I wil compendi-

No man without errors both in lyfe and doctrine.

\* leaf 100. Testimonies in the behalf of dancing. B.

<sup>3</sup> probable E, F.

<sup>4</sup> and also king E, F.

<sup>6</sup> this E, F.

<sup>7</sup> instinct F.

<sup>8—9</sup> Gods F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 100, back. None withoute errors. B.

<sup>10</sup> in B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> pretende E, F.

<sup>12—12</sup> Scriptures fasly (sic) F.

<sup>13</sup> not in F.

158 Euil examples not to be followed. The Anato[mie]

ously set down the true fence and meaning of euery place, as they haue cyted them perticularly. For the firſt, wheras they fay that the Women came foorth in daunces with timbrels and Instruments of Ioy

[<sup>1</sup> Sa. 18.

The first  
pillare of  
dauncing  
ouerthrown.

[<sup>2</sup> N 2, back. A.]

No good con-  
ſequēnt to ſay  
others did ſo,  
ergo it is  
good, or wee  
may doo the  
like.

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 101. B.\*]

to meet *Dauid* and *Saule*, I afke them for what caufe they did ſo? Was it for wantonnes, or for very ioye of hart for their Victorie gotten ouer<sup>1</sup> the *Philistines*, their fworne Enemies? Was it in prayſe of God, or to firre vp filthie luſt in them felues, or for niceſenes onely, as our daunces bee? <sup>2</sup>Did men and women daunce togither, as is now vſed to be doon? or rather was it not doon amongst women only? for ſo faith the text, the women came foorth, &c. But admit it were neither ſo, nor ſo, wil they conclude a generall rule of a particular example? it is no good reaſon to fay, ſuch and <sup>3</sup>ſuch did ſo, therfore it is good, or we may doo ſo; but all things are to be poysed in the balance of holy ſcripture, and therby to be allowed or diſallowed, according to the meaning of the holy Ghoſt, who is only to be heard and obeyed in his woord.

The *Israelitish* women, hearing of the fame of *Dauid*, and how he had killed their deadly enemie *Goliath*, came foorth to meet him, playing vpon instruments, dancing, & ſinging ſongs of ioye and thanks-giuing to the Lord,<sup>4</sup> who had giuen them victorie, and deliuered them from the deadly hostilitie of him who fought their diſtruſtion euery way. Now, what maketh this for our leud, wanton, nice and vbiqūitarie dauncings,—for ſo I may call them because they be vſed euery where,—let the godly iudge. who feeth not rather that this example (let *Cerberus* <sup>5</sup>the dog of hel alatrate what he<sup>6</sup> lift to the contrary) clean ouerthroweth them. Theirs was a godly kind of dancing in praife of God; ours, a luſtful, baudie kinde of deamenour<sup>6</sup> in praife of our felues: theirs, to ſhew their inward ioy of minde for the bleffings<sup>7</sup> of <sup>8</sup>God beſtowed vpon them; ours, to ſhow our actiuitie, agilitie and curiouſe nicitie, and to procure luſtful louue and ſuch like wickednes infinit. But to their ſecond allegation: the Children (ſay they<sup>9</sup>) of *Israel* danced, being deliuered out of the feruitude of *Pharo*, and hauing paſ<sup>10</sup>ſed ouer the red ſea. I graunt

[<sup>8</sup> sign. N 3. A.]

Their ſecond  
Pillar shaken.

[<sup>10</sup> leaf 101,  
back. B.†]

<sup>1</sup> againſt F.

\* leaf 101. Euil examples not to be followed. B.

<sup>4</sup> their God added in F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> and all other hel-houndes barke what thei B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> dauncing F.

<sup>7</sup> blessing F.

<sup>9</sup> they ſay F.

† leaf 101, back. The Israelites Daunces. B.

they did so, and good cause they had so to doo ; For were they not emancipate<sup>1</sup> and set free from three great calamities and <sup>2</sup>extreame miseries<sup>3</sup> : First, from the seruile bondage of *Egipt* ; from the swoord of *Pharo*, who pursued the rereward of their hoste ; and from the danger<sup>3</sup> of the red sea, their enemies beeing ouer-whelmed in the same.

[Why the  
Israelites  
danced.]

For these great and inestimable benefits and bleffings, receiuied at the hands of God, they played vpon Instruments of mufick, leaped, daunced, and fung<sup>4</sup> godly songs vnto the Lord, shewing by these outward gestures the inward ioy of their harts and mindes. Now, what conducedeth this for<sup>5</sup> the allowance of our luxurios dauncings ? Is it not directly against them ? They danced for ioy in thanks<sup>6</sup> to god, wee for vainglorie : they for loue to God, wee for loue of our felues : they to shew the interior ioy of the minde for <sup>7</sup>God his bleffing heaped<sup>7</sup> vpon them ; we to shew our concinitie, dexteritie and vain curiositie in the same ; they to stir vp and to<sup>8</sup> make them felues the apter to praise God ; we to stir vp carnall appetites <sup>9</sup>and fleshlie motions : they to shewe their humilitie before God ; and we to shew our pride both before God and the world. But how so euer it be, sure I am, their dauncing was not like oures, confisiting in measures, capers, quauers, & I cannot tel what, for thei had no such leasure in E<sup>10</sup>gipt<sup>11</sup> to learne such vaine curiositie in that lustfull<sup>12</sup> bawdie schoole, for making of brick and tyles. And notwithstanding it is ambiguous whether this<sup>13</sup> may be called a dauncing or not, at lefft not like oures, but rather a certen kind of modeft leaping, skipping or moouing of the body to exprefse the ioye of the mind in prayse of God ; as the Man did, who, being healed by the power of our Sauiour Christe, walked in the Temple, leapping, skipping & praifing God.

[How the  
Israelites  
danced.]

[<sup>10</sup> leaf 102. B. f.]  
[<sup>11</sup> Egipt A.]  
The dauncing  
of our Forfa-  
thers mai not  
be called a  
dauncing, but  
rather a Godly  
triumphing &  
reioycing in  
heart for ioy.

We neuer read that they euer daunced but at<sup>14</sup> some wonderfull portent or straunge iudgment<sup>15</sup> of God<sup>16</sup> ; and therfore made<sup>17</sup> not a common practise of it, or a daylie occupation, as it were ; much leffe

<sup>1</sup> deliuered F.      <sup>2—3</sup> extram (sic) miseries at once F.      <sup>3</sup> daungers E, F.

<sup>4</sup> sang F.

<sup>5</sup> to E, F.

<sup>6</sup> thanks-geuing E, F.

<sup>7—7</sup> Gods blessings bestowed F.

<sup>8</sup> to not in B, E, F.

+ leaf 102. A confutation of dauncing. B.

<sup>12</sup> lustfull not in B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> they E, F.

<sup>14</sup> when E, F.

<sup>15—15</sup> great blessing F.

<sup>16</sup> was shewed added in E ; was bestowed vpon them F.      <sup>17</sup> they made F.

Their 3. Reason  
examined.

set vp schools of it, and frequenting<sup>1</sup> nothing els night and<sup>2</sup> day, Sabaoth day and<sup>3</sup> other, as we do. But to their<sup>4</sup> third Reason: The *Israelites* daunced before the Calf in *Horeb*. And what than? They made a Golden Calf and adored it: maye we therfore do the like? They committed ydolatrie there; therfore is ydolatrie good because they committed it?

[<sup>5</sup> sign. N 4. A.]

<sup>5</sup> *Adam* disob[e]yed God, and obeyed the deuil: is obedience therfore to the deuil good, because hee did so?

Therfore wee must not take heede what man hath doon heertofore, but what God hath commaunded in his woord to be doon, and that followe, euen to the death. But, to be shhort, as it is a fruilious thing<sup>6</sup> to say, because they committed<sup>7</sup> Idolatrie, therfore may wee doo the like, so it is no lesse ridiculous to say, because they daunced, therfore wee may doo the same; for as it is not lawfull to commit Idolatrie because they did so, so is it not lawfull to daunce because they daunced.

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 102, back.  
B.\*]

So that if this place inferre<sup>8</sup> any thing for dauncing, it inferreth that wee must neuer daunce but before a golden Calf, as they did: but, I think, by this time they are ashamed of their dances. therfore of this place I need to say no more, giuing them to note that this their dauncing, in respect of the end therof, was farre dissonant<sup>9</sup> from ours; for they daunced in honour of their Idol, wee clean contrary, though neither the one nor the other be at any hand tollerable.<sup>10</sup>

Their 4. Reason.

Their fourth reason: Did not *Dauid* daunce before the Ark? say they. very true; and this place (as the rest before) refelleth their cuftomarie dauncings of men and women togither moste excellentlie;

[<sup>11</sup> N 4, back. A.]

For<sup>11</sup> *Dauid* danced him selfe alone, without either woman or musicall Instrument to effeminate the minde. And this dauncing of *Dauid* was no vfaull thing, nor frequented euery day, but that one time, and that in prayse of God for the deliuerie<sup>12</sup> of the Ark of God his testament out of the hands of the Infidels and hethen people: the ioy of this holy Prophet was so vehement for this great blessing of God (such

[<sup>13</sup> leaf 103. B.†]

a feruent zeale he bore<sup>13</sup> to<sup>14</sup> the trueth), that it<sup>15</sup> burst foorth into

<sup>1</sup> frequented E, F.      <sup>2</sup> nor F.      <sup>3</sup> nor F.      <sup>4</sup> the B, E.

<sup>6</sup> reason E, F.      \* leaf 102, back. Dauncyng reproud. B.

<sup>8</sup> conferre E, F.      <sup>9</sup> different F.

<sup>10</sup> lawfull F.      <sup>12</sup> deliuernace B, E, F.      <sup>13</sup> did beare F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 103. Why *Dauid* daunced. B.      <sup>15</sup> he B, E, F.

<sup>1</sup>exterior action,<sup>1</sup> the more to induce others to prayse God also. Would God we would dance, as *Dauid* daunced, heer for the deliuerie of his alsauing woord out of the hands of that *Italian Philislin* & archenemy of all trueth, the Pope of *Roome*! for in this respect I would make one<sup>2</sup> to daunce, to leap, to skip, to triumph, and reioyce as *Dauid* did before the Ark. By this, I trust, any indifferent man feeth, that by this place they gain as much for the maintenance of their leude<sup>3</sup> dancings and baudie chorufes, as they did by citing<sup>4</sup> the former places; that is, iuft nothing at all, which they may put in their eies and see neuer the wurffes.

Why David  
daunced be-  
fore the Ark.

Their fift reason: Did not *Ieptath* his daughter meet her Father, when he came from war, dancing before him, and playing vpon Instruments of Ioy<sup>5</sup>? *Ieptath*, going foorth to warre against the *Amonites*, promised the <sup>6</sup>Lord (making a rafhe vowe) that if it would please his Maiefie to giue him victorie ouer his Ennemis, he wold sacrifice the first lyuing thing that shuld meet him from his house. It pleased God that his sole daughter and heire, hearing of her Fathers prosperous return (as the maner of the Cuntrey was), ran foorth to meeete her Father, playing vpon instruments in praise of God, and dauncing before him for ioye. Now, what prooueth this for their daunces? Truely, it ouerthroweth them,<sup>7</sup> if it be well considered: for first we read that she did this but once, we daylie: She in prayse of God, we in prayses of our selues: she for ioy of her Fathers good succeſſe, we to ſtere vp filthie and vncleane motions: She with a virginall grauitie, we with a babiſh<sup>8</sup> leuitie: ſhe in comly maner, we in bawdie geſture. And, moreouer, this ſheweth that women are to daunce by themſelues (if they wil needs daunce), and men by themſelues; for ſo importeth the Text, making no mention of any other her collegues or Companions dancing with her.

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 103, back.  
B.†]

Wherfore &  
how the  
Daughters of  
Ieptath  
daunced.

[Each sex must  
dance by itſelf.]

Their<sup>9</sup>. vi. Reason: Did not the *Israelitish* wemen daunce before <sup>Ther. 6. Reason.</sup> *Judith*, comming to viſit her? I graunt they did ſo: the ſtorie is [*Judith*, Ca. 15,  
B. E.] thus:

*Holofernes*, oppoſing himſelue againſt the *Israelits*, the chosen

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> outward ſhew of the ſame F.

<sup>2</sup> my ſelue added in E, F.

<sup>3</sup> lasciuious added in F.

<sup>4</sup> citing not in E, F.

<sup>5</sup> musicke F.

† leaf 103, back. *Jeptha* his daughters daunce. B.

<sup>8</sup> wanton E, F.

<sup>9</sup> The E, F.

people of God, and intending to ouerthrowe them, and to blot out  
 [¶ N 5, back. A.] <sup>1</sup>their remembrance for euer from vnder heauen, assembled a huge  
 power, and besieged them on euery fide.

Judith cutteth  
of the head of  
holofernes.

The *Israelits*, seeing themselues *circumvalled*,<sup>2</sup> and in great  
 daunger on each fide, suborned good *Judith*, a vert[u]ous, Godlye  
 Woman (for without some stratagem or pollicie wrought, it was vn-  
 possible for them in the eyes of the world to haue escaped) to repaire  
 to *Holofernes*, &, by some meanes or other, to work his destruction :  
 who, guided by the hand of God, attempted the thing & brought it  
 happily to passe. For the cut of his head with his owne fauchine,<sup>3</sup>  
 [¶ leaf 104. B.\*] wrap<sup>4</sup>ping his body in the canopie wherin he lay, sleepingly<sup>5</sup> possest  
 as he was with the spirit of drunkennesse: this done, the Women  
 of *Israell* came together, and went to visit this worthie Woman, and  
 to congratulat her prosperous succeſſe with instrumēnts of musick,  
 finging of Godly songs, and dauncing for ioye in honor and prayſe to  
 God for this great victorie obtained. Now, who feeth not that these  
 women sang, daunced, and played vpon instrumēntes in prayſe of  
 God, & not for any other lewdnes or wantonnes, as commonly the  
 world doth now adaies? This also ouerthroweth the dauncinges of  
 Men and Women together in one companie; for though there was  
 an infinite number of People by, yet the Text faith, there daunced

The vnlawfull-  
nes of daunc-  
ing of men  
and women  
together.

[¶ sign. N 6. A.] <sup>6</sup>none but onely Women, which plainly argueth the vnlawfulnesse of  
 it in respecte of Man.<sup>7</sup> And this being but a particular fact, of a fort  
 of imprudent<sup>8</sup> Women, shall we draw it into example of lyfe, and  
 thinke it lawfull or good because they did practise it?

A custome to  
daunce in  
prayſe of God.

[¶<sup>2</sup> leaf 104, back. B.†] <sup>12</sup>Which kinde of thankefull dauncing, or spirituall reioycing, wold

<sup>2</sup> about *added in* B, E ; compassed about F.

<sup>3</sup> Faulchone F.

\* leaf 104. How dauncyng is vnlawfull. B.

<sup>5</sup> sleepyng B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> men & women together E, F.

<sup>8</sup> simple F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> bestowed F.

<sup>10</sup> Consistorie B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> it E, F.

† leaf 104, back. Dauncyng stirreth vp lust. B.

God we did<sup>1</sup> follow, leauing all other wanton dancing to their Father the Deuill!

Their .vij. Reason: Did not (quothe they) the Damosell daunce before Kinge *Herode*, when the head of *John Baptis̄t* was cut of? She daunced, indeed; And herein they maye see the fruite of dauncing, what goodneffe it bringeth: For was not this the cause of the beheading of *John the Baptis̄t*? See whether dauncing styrreth not vp lust, and inflameth the mind; For if *Herode* with seeing her daunce was so inflamed in her loue, and rauished in her <sup>2</sup> behauour, that he promised her to giue her whatsoeuer she wold desire, though it were half of his Emperie<sup>3</sup> or Kingdome, what wold he haue beene if he had daunced with her? and what are those that daunce with them hand in hand, cheek by cheek, with buffing and kissing, slabbering and smearing, most beastly to behold? in so much as I haue heard many impudently say that they haue chosen their Wyues, and wyues their Husbands, by dauncing; Which plainly proueth the wickedneffe of it.

Dauncing  
styrreth vp  
lust.

[<sup>2</sup> N 6, back. A.]

Their .viii. reason: Did not Christ rebuke the People for not dauncing, saying, ‘we haue pyped vnto you, but you haue not daunced’? They may as well conclude that Christ in this place was a Pyper, or a Minstrell, as that he alowed <sup>4</sup> of dauncing, or reprooved them for not exercysing the same. This is a Metaphoricall <sup>5</sup> or Allegoricall <sup>6</sup> kinde of speach, wherin our Sauiour Christ goeth about to reprooue and checke the stynckednes, the rebellion and pertinacious contumacy of the *Scribes* and *Phariseis*, who were neither mooued to receiue the glad tydings of the Gospell by the aufteritie of *John the Baptiste*, who came preaching vnto them the doctrine of repentaunce in mourning fort, neither yet at the preaching of our Sauiour him selfe, breaking vnto them the <sup>6</sup> pure *Ambrosia*, the <sup>6</sup> *Cælestial Manna*, the word of life, in ioy<sup>7</sup>full and gladsome maner.

Their .8. Reason.  
Luc. 7.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 105. B. f.]

The more  
than obdurat  
hardnes of the  
Iewes.

[<sup>7</sup> sign. N 7. A.]

*Ihon the Baptis̄t* he piped vnto them, that is, he preached vnto them aufteritie of life, to mourn for their finnes, to repent, to fast, pray, and such like. Our Sauiour Christ he pyped (that is) preached vnto them the glad & comfortable tidyngs of the Gospell, yet at neither of these <sup>8</sup> kinde<sup>9</sup> of concions<sup>8</sup> they were any whit mooued,

<sup>1</sup> would B, E, F. <sup>3</sup> Empire B, E, F. <sup>†</sup> leaf 105. The contumacie of the Iewes. B.  
<sup>5—5</sup> not in F. <sup>6</sup> that E, F. <sup>8—8</sup> kinds of preachings F. <sup>9</sup> kinde E.

either to imbrace Christ or his gospell: Wherfore he sharply rebuketh<sup>1</sup> them by a similitude of foolishe Children, fitting in the market place and piping vnto them that wold not daunce. This is the true vndoubted fence of this place, which, whether it ouerthrow not all kinde of lewd dauncing (at least maketh nothing for them) allowing a certen kind of spirituall dauncing,<sup>2</sup> and reioysing of the heart vnto God (that I may suspend my owne iudgement), let wyse men determine.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 105, back.  
B.]

Eccle. 3.  
Their. 9. Reason.

Salomon  
meaneth a  
certen kind of  
a spirituall  
dauncing or  
reioysing of  
the heart.

[<sup>4</sup> N 7, back. A.]

Their .ix. Reason: Saith not *Salomon*, 'there is a time to weep, & a time to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to daunce'? This place is directly against their vsuall kinde of dauncing; For saith not the Text, 'there is a time', meaning somtime, now and than, as the *Israelites* did in prayse to<sup>3</sup> God, when anie notable thing happened vnto them, and not euery daye and howre, as we do, making an occupation of it, neuer leauing it, vntil it leauie vs. But what and if *Salomon* speaketh here<sup>4</sup> of a certen kind of spirituall dauncing and reioysing of the heart in praise to<sup>5</sup> God? This is easilly gathered by the circumstances of the place, but specially by the sentence precedent; (viz. there is 'a time to mourn & a time to dance', &c.) that is, a time to mourn for our finnes, & a tyme to daunce or reioyse for the vnspeakable treasures purchased vnto vs by the death & passion of Iesus christ. How much this place maketh for defence of their nocturnall, diurnall, wanton, lewde, and lascivious dauncings (if it be censured in the imparciall ballance of true iudgement) all the world may see and<sup>6</sup> iudge.

Their ultimum  
refugium.

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 106. B.]

And now, to draw to an end, I will come vnto their *ultimum refugium*: That is, Doth not *David* both command, and also command, dauncing and playing vpon instruments in<sup>7</sup> diuerse of his Psal.? In all those places the Prophet speaketh of a certen kind of spirituall dauncing and reioysing of the heart to<sup>8</sup> the Lord, for his graces & benefits in mercie bestowed vpon vs. This is the true kinde of dauncing, which the word of God doth allow of in any place, and not that we should trippe like rammes,<sup>9</sup> skip like goats,<sup>10</sup> & leap like

<sup>1</sup> rebuked F.

\* leaf 105, back. Salomons spirituall dauncyng. B.

<sup>2</sup> of B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> of F.

<sup>6</sup> and A.

† leaf 106. Why our feete were giuen vs. B.

<sup>8</sup> in B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> Goates F.

<sup>10</sup> Does F.

mad men: For to the end our feet were not giuen vs, but rather to represent the image of God in vs, to keep Companie with the Angels, & to glorifie our heuenly Father thorow good works.

*Spud.* Do you condemne al kinde of daun<sup>1</sup>cing<sup>2</sup> as wicked and propane?

[<sup>1</sup> sign. N 8. A.]

*Ph.* All lewde, wanton & lasciuious dauncing in publique assemblies & conuenticles, without respect either of sex, kind, time, place, Person, or any thing els, I,<sup>3</sup> by the warrant of the word of God, do vtterly condemne: But that kind of dauncing which is vied to praise and laud the name of God withall (as weare the daunces of the people of the former world) either priuatly or publicquely, is at no hand to be dysallowed, but rather to be greatly commended. Or if it be vfed for mans comfort, recreation and Godly pleasure priuatly (euer y sex distinckted<sup>4</sup> by themselues), whether with musick or otherwyse, it cannot be but a very tollerable exercize, being vfed moderatly and in the feare of God. And<sup>5</sup> thus, though I condemne all filthie, luxurios and vncleane dauncing, yet I condemne not al kind of dauncing generally; For certen it is, the exercyse it self, in it own nature, <sup>6</sup>qualitie & proprietie,<sup>6</sup> though to some it is lawfull, to otherosome vnlawfull in dyuerse respects, is both ancient & general, hauing been vfed euer in all ages, as wel of the Godly, as of the wicked, almost from the beginning. Wherfore, when I condemne the same in some, my meaning is in respecte of the manifold abuses therof. And in my iudgement, as it is vfed now a dayes, an occupation being made of it, and a continuall exercyse,<sup>7</sup> without any difference or respect had either to time, Person, sex or place, in publique assemblies and<sup>8</sup> frequencies<sup>8</sup> of People, with suche beastlie slabberings, buffings<sup>9</sup> & smouchings, and<sup>10</sup> other filthie gestures & misdeameanors therein accustomed, it is as vnpossible to be vfed without doing of infinit hurt, as it is for a naked Man to lye in the middest of a hote burning<sup>11</sup> fire, and not to consume.<sup>12</sup> But these abuses, with other the like (as there be legions moe in it) being cut of from the exercyse it selfe, the thing<sup>13</sup> remayneth

<sup>14</sup>very commendable<sup>14</sup> in some respectes. Or els, if our daunces

What dauncing  
is condemned by the  
word of God.

[<sup>5</sup> leaf 106, back.  
B. f.]

[Dauncing how  
lawful, how  
vnlawfull, E, F.]

[<sup>7</sup> N 8, back. A.]

[Dauncing  
vnpossible to be  
vfed without  
hurt E, F.]

<sup>2</sup> then added in F.

<sup>3</sup> I comes after God in F.

<sup>4</sup> distinct F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 106, back. What dauncyng is condemned. B.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> and quality F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> great meetings F.

<sup>9</sup> kissinges B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> with B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> glowing F.

<sup>12</sup> burne B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> thing it self B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> more tollerable B, E, F.

166 Men & wom[en] to dance asunder. The Anatomie

tended, as I haue said, to the setting foorth of God his glorie (as the daunces vsed in <sup>1</sup>preter time<sup>1</sup> did) to draw others to pietie and fancietie of life, and to<sup>2</sup> praise and reioyce in<sup>3</sup> God, to recreat the minde oppressed with some <sup>4</sup>great toyle or labor, taken in true virtue and godlynes, I would not (being don in the feare of God, men by them selues, and Wemen by them selues, for els it is not possible to be without finne) much gainstand it. But I see the contrarie is euery where vsed, to the great dishonor of God and corruption of good maners, which God amend.

*Spud.* And wherfore would you haue Men to daunce by them selues, and Women by them selues?

*Philo.* Because <sup>5</sup>it is, without all doubte, a <sup>6</sup>prouocation to lust and venery,<sup>5</sup> and the fire of lust once conceiued (by some irruption or other) bursteth foorth into open action of whoredome and fornication. And therfore a certain godly Father said wel, *Omnis saltus in chorea, est saltus in profundum inferni;*<sup>8</sup> Euery leap, or skip in dance, is a leap toward hel. Yet, notwithstanding, in *Ailgna* it is counted a vertue and an ornament to a<sup>9</sup> man, yea, and the onely way to attaine to promotion & aduancement, as experience teacheth.

*Spud.* Notwithstanding, for my further instruction, I pray you shewe mee what Fathers and Councils haue judged of it, and what they haue writ and decreed against it.

*Philo.* If I should <sup>10</sup>goe foorth to<sup>10</sup> shew all the inuestigations of Fathers, all the decrees of counsels, and all the places of holy Scripture against the same, I should neuer make an end: wher<sup>11</sup>fore of many I wil seleet a few, hoping that they wil suffice any reasonable man. *Syrach* faith, frequent not the company of a woman that is a singer or a dauncer, neither heare her, least thou be intrapped in her craftines. *Christosome*, dylating vpon *Mathew*, faith, In euery dance the deuil daunceth by, for companie, though not visible to the eye, yet palpable<sup>12</sup> to the minde. *Theophilus*, writing vpon *Mark*, the fixt Chapter, faith, *Mira collusio saltat per puellam*<sup>13</sup> *Diabolus*: This is<sup>14</sup> a

<sup>1—1</sup> former ages F.      <sup>2</sup> to the E, F.      <sup>3</sup> rejoycyng in B, E, F.  
<sup>\*</sup> leaf 107. Men & women to dance asunder. B.

<sup>5—5</sup> otherwise it prouoketh lust, and stirreth vp concupiscence F.  
<sup>7</sup> This repeated side-note not in B, E, F.      <sup>8</sup> *Cloace* F.      <sup>9</sup> a not in F.

<sup>10—10</sup> not in F.      <sup>†</sup> leaf 107, back. Testimonies against Dancing. B.

<sup>12</sup> sensible F.      <sup>13</sup> illam E, F.      <sup>14</sup> There is B.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 107. B.\*]

Why men shold  
daunce by them  
selues and women  
by themselves.

[<sup>6</sup> sign O r. A.]

<sup>7</sup> Why men  
shold daunce  
by theuzselues  
and Women by  
them-selues.

[<sup>11</sup> leaf 107, back.  
B †]  
Testimonies of  
Fathers, coun-  
cels and  
Writers against  
dauncing.

Eccle. 13.

Mat. 4.

wun<sup>d</sup>erful deceit, for the deuil danceth amongst them for company. [<sup>1</sup> O 2, back. A.] *Augustine*, writing vpon the 32. Psalme, saith, it is better to digge all *Augustine*. the Sabaoth day then to dance. *Erasmus*, in his Booke *de contemptu Mundi*, saith, Whose minde is so well disposed, so stable, or wel setled, which these wanton dances, with swinging of armes, kicking of legs, playing vpon instruments, and such like, would not<sup>2</sup> ouercome and corrupt? Wherfore, saith hee, as thou desirest thine owne credit and welfare, eschew these scabbed and scuruy compaines of dauncers.

*Ludovicus Vives* saith, amongst all pleasures, dauncing and volup- [<sup>3</sup> leaf 108. B.\*] tuousnes is the kingdome of *Venus*, and the empire of *Cupid*: wher- *Lodouicus vives*. fore, saith hee, it were better for thee to stay at <sup>3</sup>home, and to break either a leg or an arme of thy body, then to break the legges and armes of thy<sup>4</sup> minde & soule, as thou doost in filthie scuruy dauncings. And, as in all Feasts and pastimes, dauncing is the last, so it is the extream of all other vice. And again, there were (saith he) from far cuntries, certain men brought into our parts of the world, who, when they saw men daunce, ran away meruelously affraid, crying out, and thinking them to haue been mad. And no meruaile, for who, seing them<sup>5</sup> leap, skip,<sup>5</sup> & trip like Goates<sup>6</sup> & hindes,<sup>6</sup> if hee neuer saw them<sup>7</sup> before, would<sup>8</sup> not think them either mad, or els possest [B sign. O 2. A.] with some furie? *Bullinger*, paraphraſting vpon *Mathew* 14, saith, *Bullinger*. After feasting, fwilling, and gulling, commeth dancing, the root of all filthynes and vncleannes.

Maifter *Caluin*, writing vpon *Job*, Ser. 8, Cap. 12, calleth dauncing the cheefe mischeef of all mischeefs, saying, there be such vnchaſt gestures in it as are nothing els but inticements to whordome.

*Marlorate*, vpon *Mathew*, saith, whosoeuer hath any care either of honeftie, sobrietie, or grauitie, haue long fince bad *adieu* to all filthie dauncing.

No man (saith a certaine heathen Writer) if hee be sober, daunceth, except hee be mad.

<sup>9</sup> *Salustius*, commendynge *Sempronius*, that renowmed whore, for many goodly gifts, condemneth her for her ouer great ſkil in dauncing; concluding, that dauncing is the Inſtrument of lecherie.

<sup>2</sup> not be B.

\* leaf 108. Dauncyng the cheeffest mischeef. B.

<sup>4</sup> the E, F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> leap like Squirrilles, skippe like hindes B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> as thei doe B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> any B, E, F.

† leaf 108, back. Dauncyng a world of sinne. B.

*Salust.*

[<sup>9</sup> leaf 108, back. B.]

Ciceron.

*Ciceron* saith, a good man would not dance in open assemblies, though hee might by it get infinite treasure.

The Council of *Laodecea* decreed that it should not be lawful for any Christian to dance at mariages, or at any follemne feast.

In an other Council it was enaeted, that no man should daunce at any marriage, nor yet at any other time.

[<sup>1</sup> O 2, back. A.]

<sup>1</sup> The Emperour *Iustinian* decreed, that for no respect in feasts or assemblies there shold be any dauncing, for feare of corrupting the Beholders, and inticing men to finne.

All Writers,  
bothe holy and  
prophane,  
against  
dauncing.

Thus you may see, bothe Scripture, counsels, and Fathers, holy and prophane, heathen and other, euen all in generall, haue detested and abhorred this filthie dauncing, as the <sup>2</sup> quauemire or plash<sup>2</sup> of all abomination, and therfore it is no exercise for any Christians to followe; for it stirreth vp the motions of the flesh, it induceth lust, it inferreth baudrie, affoordeth ribaldrie, maintaineth wantonnes, & ministreth oile to the stinking lamp of deceitful pride; and, *in summa*, nourisheth a world of wickednes and finne.

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 109. E.†]

<sup>3</sup> *Spud.* Now that the wickednes of it is so manifestly shewed, that no man can denie it, I pray you,<sup>4</sup> who inuented this noble science, or from whence <sup>5</sup> sprang it<sup>5</sup>?

Who inuented  
dauncing, and  
from whence it  
sprang.

*Philo.* Heereof there be fundry and diuers opinions; for some holde an opinion (and very likely) that it sprang from the heathen idolatrous *Pagans* and Infidels, who, hauing offered vp their sacrifices, <sup>6</sup> victimats,<sup>7</sup> and holocaustes,<sup>6</sup> to their false Gods, in reuerence of them, and for ioy of their so dooing vsed to daunce, leape, and skip before them.

And this may be prooved by the *Israelits* themselues, who, hauing seen and learned the same <sup>8</sup> practise in *Egipt*, feared not to imitate the like in the wildernes of *Horeb*. Some again suppose that *Pyrrhus*, one of *Sibils* Preifts, deuised it in *Creet*. Others holde that the Priests of<sup>9</sup> *Mars*, who in *Roome* were had in great estimation for their dexteritie in dauncing, inuented it. Others think that one *Hiero*, a truculent<sup>10</sup> and bloody Tirant in *Sicilia*, who, to set vp his tyrannie the more, inhibited the people to speake one to an other, for feare of

A Supposall  
who inuented  
dauncing.<sup>2—2</sup> quagmire or puddle F.<sup>4</sup> shewe me, added in B, E, F.<sup>7</sup> victimats not in B.<sup>†</sup> leaf 109. Who inuented Dauncyng. B.<sup>5—5</sup> it sprang F. <sup>6—6</sup> and oblations F.<sup>9</sup> of of F.<sup>10</sup> Turculent F.

imurrections and commotions in his kingdome, was the occasion of the inventing therof: for when the *Sicilians* sawe that they might not, vnder pain of death, one speake to another, they invented dauncing to expresse the inward meaning and intentions of the minde by outward becks and exterior gestures of the body; which vse afterward grew <sup>[† leaf 109, back B.]</sup> <sup>1</sup>into custome, and now into nature. But what soever men say of it, or from whence soever it sprang, *S. Chrysostom* saith plainly (to whom I willingly subscribe<sup>1</sup>), that it sprang from the teates of the Devils brest, from whence all mischeef els dooth flow. Therfore, to conclude, if of the egges of a *Cochatrice* may be made good meat for man to eat, and if of the web of a spider can be made good cloth for mans body,<sup>2</sup> then may <sup>3</sup>it be prooued that<sup>3</sup> dancing is<sup>4</sup> good, and an exercise fitte for a christian man to followe, but not before.<sup>5</sup> Wherefore

*God of his mercy take it away* <sup>6</sup>from vs!

[§ O 3, back. A]

*Spud.* What say you of<sup>7</sup> Musick? is it not a laudable science?

*Of Musick in Ailgna, and how it allureth  
to vanitie.*

*Philo.*

I Say of Musick as *Plato, Aristotle, Galen*, and many others haue said of it; that it is very il for yng heds, for a certaine kinde of nice,<sup>8</sup> smoothe sweetnes in<sup>9</sup> alluring the auditorie<sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup>to niceenes<sup>12</sup>,<sup>11</sup> effeminacie,<sup>13</sup> pufillanimitie,<sup>14</sup> & lothsomnes of life,<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup>so as it may not improperly be compared to a sweet electuarie of honie, or rather to honie it-self<sup>15</sup>; for as honie and such<sup>17</sup> like sweet things,<sup>17</sup> receiuied into the stomack, dooth delight at the first, but afterward they make<sup>18</sup> the stomack so<sup>19</sup> quasie,<sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup>nice and weake, that it is not able to admit<sup>21</sup> meat of hard digestion: So sweet Musick at the first delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraueth the minde, making it weake and<sup>23</sup>

[‡ leaf 110. B.]  
A comparison  
betwixt hony  
and dancing.<sup>16</sup>

\* leaf 109, back. Dauncyng vnpossible to be good. B.

<sup>2</sup> body to weare B, E, F.      <sup>3—5</sup> not in E, F.      <sup>4</sup> befor is in E, F.

<sup>5</sup> els E, F.

<sup>7</sup> to F.

<sup>8</sup> nice not in B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> in it B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> hearers F.

<sup>11—12</sup> to a certaine kind of F.

<sup>12</sup> niceenes not in B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> and added in F.

<sup>14—15</sup> not in F.

<sup>15—16</sup> muche like vnto Honey B, E, F.

<sup>16</sup> musicke B, E, F.

<sup>17—18</sup> other sweete Conserues B, E; other sweete thinges F.

<sup>18</sup> maketh for they make B, E, F.

<sup>19</sup> so not in B, E, F.

<sup>20</sup> queasie F.

<sup>21—22</sup> and vnable to receive B, E, F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 110. Hurte by Musicke. B.

<sup>23</sup> weake and not in B, E, F.

Wits dulled  
by Musick.  
[<sup>1</sup> sign. O 4. A.]

quasie,<sup>1</sup> and inclined to all licenciousnes of lyfe whatsoeuer. And right as good edges are not sharpned <sup>2</sup>(but <sup>3</sup>obtused) by beeing whetted<sup>3</sup> vpon softe stones, so good wits, by hearing of soft musick, are rather dulled then sharpned, and made apt to all wantonnes and finne. <sup>4</sup> And therfore<sup>4</sup> Writers affirme *Sappho* to haue been expert in musick, and therfore whorish.

Authors of the  
bringing in of  
musick.

*Tyrus Maximius* faith, the bringing in of musick was a cup of poysion to all the world.

*Clytomachus*, if hee euer heard any talking of looue, or playing vpon<sup>5</sup> musicall Instruments, would run his way, and bidde them farwel.

*Plutarchus* complaineth of Musick, and faith, that it dooth rather femenine the minde as prickes vnto vice, then conduce to godlines as spurres vnto Virtue.

*Pythagoras* condemnes them for fooles, and bequeathes them a cloke-bag, that measure Musick by sound and eare. Thus you heare the iudgement of the wise concerning Musick: now iudge therof as you list your self.

*Spud.* I haue heard it said (and I thought it very true) that Musick dooth delight bothe man and beast, reuiueth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh it apter<sup>6</sup> to the seruice of God.

Musick the  
good gift of  
God.  
[<sup>7</sup> O 4, back. A.]  
[<sup>8</sup> leaf 110, back.  
B.†]

*Philo.* I graunt Musick is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth bothe man <sup>7</sup>and beast, reuiueth the spirits, comforteth the hart, and maketh <sup>8</sup>it redyer<sup>9</sup> to serue God; and therfore did *Dauid* bothe vsse musick him self, & also commend the vsse of it to his posteritie (and beeing vsed to that end, for mans priuat recreation, musick is very laudable).

Of musick in  
publique assen-  
bles and  
conuenticles.

But beeing vsed in publique assenbles and priuate conuenticles, <sup>10</sup> as directories<sup>10</sup> to filthie dauncing, thorow the sweet harmonie & smoothe melodie therof, it estrayngeth the mind, stireth vp filthie lust, womannisheth the minde, rauisheth the hart, enflameth concupisence, and bringeth in vnkleannes. But if musick openly were vsed<sup>11</sup> (as I haue said) to the praise<sup>12</sup> and glory of God, as our Fathers vsed it, and

<sup>1</sup> queasie F.      <sup>3—3</sup> dulled by whetting F.      <sup>4—4</sup> And hereof is it that F.  
<sup>5</sup> of B, E, F.      <sup>6</sup> and readier added in F.

† leaf 110, back. How Musicke is tollerable. B.      <sup>9</sup> apter F.  
<sup>10—10</sup> as a Directorie B, E, F.      <sup>11</sup> openly follows used in B, E, F.      <sup>12</sup> prasie A.

as was intended by it at the first, or priuatly in a mans secret Chamber or house, for his owne solace or<sup>1</sup> confort to driue away the fantasies of idle thoughts, solicitude,<sup>2</sup> care, sorrowe, and such other perturbations and molestations<sup>3</sup> of the minde, the only ends wherto true Musick tends, it were very commendable and tollerable.<sup>4</sup> If Musick were thus vsed it would comfort man wunderfully, and mooue his hart to serue God the better; but beeing vsed as it is, it corrupteth good minds, maketh them womannish, and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mischeef.<sup>5</sup>

How musicke  
were tollerable  
& good.

*Spud.* What say you, then, of Musitions & Minstrels, who liue only vpon the same art?

*Philo.* I thinke that all good minstrelles, sober and chaste musicions (speking of suche drunken sockets and bawdy parasits as range the Cuntreyes, ryming and singeing of vncleane, corrupt, and filthie songs in Tauerne, Ale-houses, Innes, and other publique asssemblies,) may daunce the wild Moris thorow a needles eye. For how shoulde thei bere chaste minds, seeing that their exercysse is the pathway to all vncleanes.<sup>6</sup> Their is no shif so<sup>7</sup> balanced with maffie matter,<sup>8</sup> as their heads are fraught<sup>10</sup> with all kind of bawdie songs, filthie ballads and scuruiue rymes, seruing for euery purpose, and for euery Cumpanie.

[6 sign. O 5. A.]  
The scarcis-  
ty of good  
musitions  
and min-  
strelles.

[7 leaf xxx. B.t]

The marchan-  
dice of min-  
strelles and  
musitions.

<sup>11</sup> Who be<sup>12</sup> more bawdie<sup>12</sup> than they? who vncleaner than they? who more licentious and loose<sup>13</sup> minded<sup>14</sup>? who more incontinent than they? and, briefely, who more inclyned to all kind of insolencie and lewdnes than they? wherfore, if you wold haue your sonne softe, womannish, vncleane, smoth mouthed, affected to bawdrie, scurrilitie, filthie rimes, and vnseemely talking; brifly, if you wold haue him, as it weare, transnaturled into a woman, or worse, and inclyned to all kind of whordome and abomination, set him to dauncing school, and to learn musicke, and than shall you not faile of your purpose. And if you would haue your daughter whoorish, bawdie, and vncleane, and a filthie speaker, and such like, bring her vp in<sup>15</sup> musick and dauncing, and, my life for youres, you haue wun the goale.

The wickednes  
of musitions  
and minstrels.

[15 O 5, back. A.]  
How to haue  
Children  
lerned in all  
wickednes.

<sup>1</sup> and B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> to mitigate F.

<sup>3</sup> passions F.

<sup>4</sup> lawful F.

<sup>5</sup> vncleannes F.

† leaf xxx. Good Musitions scarce. B.

<sup>8</sup> Baudry & filthines F.

<sup>9-10</sup> laden with merchandize F.

<sup>10</sup> pested F.

<sup>11</sup> As for example added in B; For prooфе whereof added in E, F.

<sup>12-12</sup> baudier F.

<sup>13</sup> looser E, F.

<sup>14</sup> then they added in F.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf 111, back.  
B.]  
The scarcytic  
of dyuines.

1 And yet, notwithstanding, it weare better (in respekte of<sup>2</sup> acceptation<sup>3</sup>) to be a Pyper, or<sup>4</sup> bawdye minstrell, than a deuyne, for the one is looued for his ribauldrie, the other hated for his grauitie, wifdome, and sobrietie.

Euery towne, Citie, and Countrey, is full of these minstrelles to pype vp a dance to the Deuill; but of<sup>5</sup> dyuines, so few there be<sup>6</sup> as they<sup>7</sup> maye hardly be feene.<sup>6</sup>

But some of them will reply, and say, what, Sir! we haue lycenses from iustices of<sup>8</sup> peace to pype & vse our minstralſie to our best commoditie. Cursed be those licences which lycense any man to get his lyuing with the deſtruction of many thouſands!

But haue you a lycence from the Arch-iustice of peace,<sup>9</sup> Christe Iefus? If you haue ſo, you may be glad; if you haue not (for the Worde of God is againſt your vngodly exercyſes, and condemneth them to Hell,) than may you as rogues, extrauagantes, and ſtraglers<sup>10</sup> from the Heauenlye Country,<sup>10</sup> be arreſted of the high iuſtice of peace,<sup>11</sup> Christ Iefus,<sup>12</sup> and be puniſhed with eternall death,<sup>12</sup> notwithstanding your pretēſed<sup>13</sup> licences of earthly men. Who<sup>14</sup> ſhall ſtand betwixt you and the Iuſtice of God at the daye of Iudgement? Who ſhall excuse you for draw<sup>15</sup>ing ſo manye thouſandes to Hell? ſhall the Iuſtices of peace? ſhall their licenses? Oh, no: <sup>16</sup> For neither ought they to graunt anye licences<sup>17</sup> to anie to doo hurt withall; neither (if they would) ought any to take them.

[<sup>15</sup> sign. O 6. A.]

No lycences to  
do herte withall  
are to be  
graunted.

[<sup>18</sup> leaf 112. B.]

A Caueat to  
muſitions,  
minſtrells,  
& all others  
of that<sup>20</sup> ſtampe.

18 Giue ouer, therfore, your Occupations, you Pypers, you Fidlers, you minſtrells, and you muſitions, you Drummers, you Tabrettters, you Fluters, and all other of that wicked broode; for the blood of all thone whome you drawe to deſtruction, thorow your prouocations<sup>19</sup> and intyng allurementes, ſhalbe powred vpon your heads at the day of

\* leaf 111, back. Licences for Minſtrells. B.

<sup>2</sup> of worldly B, E. <sup>3</sup> the accompt of the world F.

<sup>4</sup> or a F.

<sup>5</sup> of good F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> that ſmall ſkil in Arithmeticke will ſuffice to number them F.

<sup>7</sup> any B, E.

<sup>8</sup> of the B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> of peace *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> of peace *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup>—<sup>12</sup> *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> presented A, pretēſed B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> Then who F.

<sup>16</sup> It wil not goe for payment at that day *added in* F.

<sup>17</sup> licencens A.

+ leaf 112. A Caueat for Minſtrells. B. E has: Cardes, Dice, vnlawfull on the Sab.

<sup>19</sup> example F.

<sup>20</sup> twat A.

Judgement. but hereof enough, and, perchaunce, more than will like<sup>1</sup> their humour.<sup>2</sup>

*Spud.* Is it not lawfull vpon the Sabaoth daye to playe at Dice, Cardes, Tables, Bowles, Tenniffe, and suche other pleaſaunt exercyſes, wherein Man taketh pleasure and delight?

*Cards, Dice, Tables, Tenniffe, Bowles, and other exercyſes vſed vnlawfully in Ailgna.*

<sup>3</sup> *Philoponus.*

[<sup>3</sup> O 6, back. A.]

THese be no Sabaothlike<sup>4</sup> exercyſes for any Christian man to follow any day at all, much leſſe vpon the Sabaoth daye, which the Lord wold haue to be consecrat to himſelfe, and to be ſpent in holy and Godly exercyſes, according to his will. As for cards, dice, tables, bowls, tenniffe, and ſuch like, thei are *fūta officia*, a certen kind of ſmooth, deceiptfull, and fleightie thefte, wherby many a one is ſpoiled of all that euer he hath, ſometimes of his life withall, yea, of body and foul for<sup>5</sup> euer. And yet (more is the pitie) theſe be the onely exercyſes vſed in euery mans howſe, al the yeer thorow; But ſpecially in Christmas tyme, there is nothing els vſed but cards, dice, tables, masking, mumming, bowling, & ſuch like fooleries. And the reaſon is, they<sup>6</sup> think they haue a commiſſion and prerogatiue that time to do what they luſt,<sup>7</sup> and to follow what vanitie they will. But (alas!) do they thinke that they are priuiledged at that tyme to doo euill? the holier the time is (if one time were holier than another, as it is not) the holier ought their workes<sup>8</sup> to be. Can anie<sup>9</sup> time diſpenſe with them, or giue them libertie to ſin? No, no: the ſoule which finneth shall dye, at what time ſo euer it offendeth. But what will thei ſay? Is it not Christmas? muſt we not be mery? truthe it is, we ought, both than and at<sup>11</sup> all tymes beſides, to be merie in the Lord, but not otherwyſe; not to ſwile and gull<sup>12</sup> more that time than at any other time, nor<sup>13</sup><sup>12</sup> to lauifh forth more at that time than<sup>14</sup> at another<sup>14</sup> time.<sup>15</sup>

Exercises vnlawfull vpon the Sabaoth day.

*Fūta officiosa.*

All wicked games vſed in Christmas tyme.

No tyme priuiledged to a man to ſinne.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 112, back. B.]

[<sup>\*\* sign. O 7. A.]</sup>

<sup>1</sup> please E, F.

<sup>2</sup> daintie humours F.

<sup>4</sup> not in F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 112, back. Al wicked Games vſed in Christmas. B.

<sup>6</sup> for that they F. <sup>7</sup> list B, E, F. <sup>8</sup> exerciſes B, E, F. <sup>9</sup> anie not in F.

<sup>10</sup> priuiledgeth E, F. <sup>12—12</sup> in more then will ſuffice nature, nor F.

<sup>13</sup> not A. <sup>14—14</sup> at any other B, E, F. <sup>15</sup> times A, B, E, F.

The true  
keeping of  
Christmas.

Wickednes in  
Christmas.

Valawful for  
one Christian  
to play with  
another to  
win his  
money.

[<sup>11</sup> O 7, back. A.]

[Gamynge worse  
then open theft  
E, F.]

[<sup>15</sup> leaf 113, back.  
B. f.]

But the true celebration of the Feast of christmas is to meditat (and as it were to ruminat<sup>1</sup>) vpon the incarnation and byrthe of Iefus Christ,<sup>2</sup> not onely<sup>3</sup> that time, but all the tymes and daies of our life, and to shewe our felues thankeful to his<sup>4</sup> Maiestie for the same. Notwithstanding, who<sup>5</sup> is ignorant<sup>6</sup> that more mischiefe is that [6 leaf 113. B.\*] time committed than in all the yeere besides? <sup>6</sup> what masking and mumming! wherby robberie, whordome,<sup>7</sup> murther,<sup>8</sup> and what not,<sup>9</sup> is<sup>9</sup> committed! what dicing & carding, what eating and drinking, what banqueting and feasting is than vsed more than in all the yeere besydes! to the great dishonor of GOD, and impouerishing of the realme.

*Spud.* Is it not lawfull for one Christian to play with another at anye kinde of game, or to winne his monie, if he can?

*Philo.* To play at tables, cards, dice, bowls, or the like (though a good Christian man will not so ydely and vainely spend his golden dayes) one Christian with another, for their priuat recreations, after some oppresyon of studie, to driue awaye fantasies<sup>10</sup> and suche like, I doubt not, but they may, vsing it moderatly, with intermission and in the feare of<sup>11</sup> GOD; But to play for lucre of gaine, and for desire onely of his Brothers substaunce (rather than for any other cause) it is at no<sup>12</sup> hand lawfull, or<sup>13</sup> to be suffered.

For as it is not lawful to robbe, steale and purloine by deceit or flaignt, so is it not lawfull to get thy Brothers goods from him by carding, dicing, tabling, bowling, or any other kynd of thefte; for these playes<sup>14</sup> are no better; nay, worser than open theft; for open theft euery Man can be ware of, but this being a craftie pollitick theft, and commonly don vnder pretence of Freendship, few or none at all can beware of<sup>15</sup> it. The commaundement faith, thou shalt not couet nor desire any thing that belongeth to thy Neighbour: Now, it is manifest that those that playe for monie, not onelye couet their

<sup>1</sup> in the secrete cogitations of our myndes added in B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> God and man added in B, E, F. <sup>3</sup> at added in E, F.

<sup>4</sup> blessed added in F. <sup>5</sup> knoweth not E, F; is so for is B.

\* leaf 113. Great wickenes in Christmas. B.

<sup>7</sup> and sometimes added in B, E, F.

<sup>8</sup>—<sup>9</sup> not in B, F.

<sup>9</sup> what no, tis A.

<sup>10</sup> or melancholy passions added in F.

<sup>12</sup> not at any for at no F.

<sup>13</sup> nor F.

<sup>14</sup> games B, E, F.

† leaf 113, back. Gamynge houses. B.

Brothers monie, but also vse craft, falsehood and deceit to wyne the fame.

The *Apostle* forbiddeth vs to vse deceipt in bargaining, in buying or selling; much leſſe than ought we to vſe deceipt in gaming.

Our Sauiour Chrif̄t biddeth euery man do to an other as he would another ſhould do vnto him. Which rule, if it were dulie obſerued, were ſufficient to with[d]raw men both from all kynd of gameing, and also from all kynd of <sup>1</sup>indyrect and <sup>1</sup>vniuſt dealing. For as thou woldest not that another man ſhould winne thy money, ſo thou oughteft not <sup>3</sup>to deſire the winning of his, for thou muſt do as thou wouleſt be done by.

A rule to  
reſtraine  
vnlawfull  
gameing.<sup>2</sup>

[<sup>3</sup> sign. O 8. A.]

*Spud.* If gameing for money be ſo vnlawfull, wherfore are there howfes<sup>4</sup> and places appointed for maintenance of the fame?

*Philo.* That excuseth not the fault, but aggrauateth it rather. And truely great pitie it is, that theſe brothel howfes (for ſo I call all gameing howfes) are ſuffered as they be: For are they not the very ſeminaries and nurſeries of all kynd of abhormination, whatſoeuer heart can thinke, or tongue exprefſe?

Gaming  
houses with  
their wicked-  
nes.

And therfore I marueile, that thoſe who keep and maintaine theſe gameing howfes can euer<sup>5</sup> haue light hearts, or once to<sup>6</sup> looke <sup>7</sup> vp towards Heauen, that not onely ſuffer this manifeſt theft in their howfes (for gameing is no better) but also maintaine and nouriſh<sup>8</sup> the fame.

[<sup>7</sup> leaf 114. B.†]

The *Apostle* faith, not onely they that doo euill *digni ſunt morte*, are worthie of death, but alſo *qui conſentiant facientibus*, thoſe who conſent to them that do it.

Call to mind, than, what euills come of this wicked excercyſe, I beſeeche you.

For doth not ſwearing, tearing, and blaſpheminge of the Name of God; doth not ſtinkinge Whordome, Thefte, Robberie, Deceipt, Fraude, Cofenage, fighting, Quareling, and ſometymes Murder; <sup>9</sup> doth not pride, rapine, drunke[n]eſſ, beggerye, and, in fine, a shamefull end followe it, as the shadowe doth followe the body? wherfore I will not doubtē to call theſe gameing howfes, the slaughter howfes, the

<sup>1—1</sup> not in F.

<sup>2</sup> gamening A.

<sup>4</sup> gamyng houses B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> neuer F.

<sup>6</sup> to not in B, E, F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 114. Infamy gotten by gamyng. B.

<sup>8</sup> vphold F.

shambles, or blockhowfes of the Deuill, wherin he butchereth Christen mens soules infinit waies, God knoweth: the Lord suppreffe them!

*Spud.* Weare there euer anie lawes made against the inordinat abufe hereof? or haue the Godly in any age misliked it?

*Philo.* In all ages and times both the godly sober Christians haue detested it, and holsome lawes haue been promulgat<sup>1</sup> against it.

*Octavius Augustus* was greatly reproched of the Writers of his time for his great delight in gaming, notwithstanding his manifold vertues besides.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf 114, back. B.\*] *Cicero* obiected to *Marcus Antonius* his often gaming, as a note of infamie vnto him.

The noble *Lacedemonians* sent their Ambassadours to *Corinth* to conclud a peace, who coming thither, and finding the People playing at dice and cards and vnthrifstie games, returned back again (*infecta pace*) their peace vunconcluded, saying it shold neuer be reported that they wold ioyne in league with Dice-players and gamesters.

[<sup>3</sup> sign. P 1. A.] The same *Lacedemonians* sent to *Demetrius*, in derision of his diceplaying, a paire of <sup>3</sup>dice of gold. Sir *Thomas Eliot* (that worthie Knight) in his ‘Book of gouernance’ asketh, who will not think him a light man of small credit, dissolut, remise, and vaine, that is a Dice-player<sup>4</sup> or gamester?

Publius faith, *Quantò peritior est aleator in sua arte, tanto nequior est, & vita, & moribus*: How much conninger a man is in gaming and diceplaying, so much corrupter he is both in life and maners. Iustinian made a lawe that none shold play at dice, nor cards, for no cause, neither priuately nor openly.

*Alexander Seuerus* banished all gamesters out of his dominions; And if anie were found playing, their goods were confiscat, and they counted as mad men euer after, neuer trusted nor esteemed of anie.

[<sup>5</sup> leaf 115. B.†] <sup>6</sup>*Ludovicus* ordeined that al gamesters shold depart<sup>7</sup> his land, for feare of corrupting of others.

*K. Richard* the second forbad all kynd of gaming, and namely dice-playing.

<sup>1</sup> published F.

\* leaf 114, back. Lawes against Gamyng. B.

<sup>4</sup> Dici-player A.

<sup>5</sup> this side-note not in E, F.

† leaf 115. Punishment for Gamyng. B.

<sup>7</sup> out of added in F.

*K. Henrie* the fourth ordeined that euery Dice-player should be Punishment for gaming. imprisoned six daies for euery feuerall time he offended in gaming.

*K. Edward* the fourth ordeined, who so kept gaming howfes should suffer imprisonment three yeeres, and forfeit xx. li.<sup>1</sup> & the Players to be imprisoned two years & forfeit .x. pound.

*K. Henri* the feuenth ordeined that euery Dice-player should be imprisoned all a day, and the <sup>2</sup> Keeper of the dicing howse to forfeit [The penalty for those that keep gaming houses.] for euery offence vi. shil. viij.d., and to be bound by recognizance to good behauior.

*K. Henrie* the eight ordeined that euery one that kept dicing houses shoudl forfeit xl. shil., and the Players to forfeit vi. shil. viij.d., with many<sup>3</sup> good lawes and sanctions<sup>4</sup> set foorth against this raging Abuse of gaming; which, <sup>5</sup>to auoid tediousnes<sup>6</sup> I omit, beseeching the Lord to root vp and supplant these, and all other stumbling blocks in his church <sup>6</sup>what so euer.<sup>6</sup>

*Sp.* As I remember, in the Catalogue of abusess before, you said, the sabaoth day was prophaned by bearbaiting, cockfighting, <sup>7</sup> hauking, hunting, keeping of faires, courts, & markets, vpon the said day. Is it not lawful, than, to follow these exercyses vpon the sabaoth day neither?

[7 leaf 115, back.  
B. t.]

### *Beare baiting and other exercyfes, vsed vnlawfully<sup>8</sup> in AILGNA.*

#### *Philoponus.*

THESE Hethnicall<sup>9</sup> exercyfes vpon the Sabaoth day, which *the* Lord<sup>10</sup> hath consecrat<sup>10</sup> to<sup>11</sup> holy vses,<sup>11</sup> for the glory of his Name, and our spirituall comfort, are not in any respect tollerable, or to be suffered. For is not<sup>12</sup> the baiting of a Bear, besides that it is a filthie, stinking,<sup>13</sup> and lothsome game, a<sup>14</sup> daungerous &<sup>15</sup> perilous exercyse? [15 sign. P 2. A.] wherein a man is in daunger of his life every minut of an houre; which thing, though it weare not so, yet what exercyse is this meet

[Bearbaiting on Sundays.]

<sup>1</sup> pound B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> other added in F.

<sup>4</sup> statutes F.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> least I might seeme tedious F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> & common wealth F.

† leaf 115, back. Beare bayting. B. <sup>8</sup> vpon the Sabbath day added in F.

<sup>9</sup> Heathnisch F.

<sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> would haue consecrated B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup>—<sup>11</sup> his seruice F.

<sup>12</sup> is not not in B, E, F.

<sup>14</sup> is it not a B, E, F; dangerous and not in F. <sup>15</sup> and a B, E.

No Creature  
to be abused.

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 116. B.]

God is abused  
when his  
Creatures are  
misused.

Keeping of  
mastyues and  
bandogs.  
[<sup>8</sup> P 2, back. A.]

[<sup>14</sup> leaf 116, back.  
B.]

for any Christian? what christen heart can take pleasure to see one poore beast to rent, teare, and kill another, and all for his foolish pleasure? And although they <sup>1</sup>be bloody<sup>1</sup> beasts to mankind, & seeke his destruction, yet we are not to abuse them, for his sake who made them, & whose creatures they are. For, notwithstanding that they be euill to vs, & thirst after our blood, yet are thei good creatures in their own nature & kind, & made to set foorth the glorie<sup>2</sup> & magnificence of <sup>3</sup>the great<sup>3</sup> God, & for our vse; & therfore for his sake<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>not to be abused.<sup>5</sup> It is a [com]mon saying amongst all men, borowed from the french, *Qui aime Iean, aime son chien;*<sup>6</sup> loue me, loue my dog: so, loue God, loue his creatures.

If any should abuse but the dog of another mans, wold not he who oweth the dog think that the abuse therof<sup>7</sup> resulteth to himselfe? And shall we abuse the creatures of God, yea, take pleasure in abusing them, & yet think that the contumely don to them redoundeth not to him who made them? but admit it weare graunted that it weare lawfull to abuse the good Creatures of God, yet is it not lawfull for vs to spend our golden yeers in such ydle and vaine exercyses, daylie and hourelie as we do.

<sup>8</sup> And some, who take themselues for no small fooles, are so farre afflotted that they will not fikk to keep a dosen or a score of great mastiues <sup>9</sup>and bandogs,<sup>9</sup> to their no small charges, for the maintenance of this goodly game (forsooth); and will not make anie bones of. xx. xl. C.<sup>10</sup> pound at once to hazard at a bait, with "feight dog, feight beare (say they<sup>11</sup>), the deuill part all!" And, to be plaine, I thinke the Deuill is the<sup>12</sup> Maister of the game, beareward and all. A goodly pastyme, forsot, worthie of commendation, and wel fitting<sup>13</sup> these Gentlemen of such reputation. But how muche the Lord is offended for the prophanation of his Sabaoth by such vnsauorie exercyses, his Heauenly Maiestie of late hath reueiled, pouring foorth his <sup>14</sup>heauie

<sup>1</sup>—<sup>1</sup> bloody be F.

<sup>2</sup> power added in B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> our B, E, F.

\* leaf 116. Keepyng of Mastiues. B.

<sup>5</sup>—<sup>5</sup> we ought not to abuse them B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> that is added in F.

<sup>7</sup> done to his dog F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> not in B, E, F.

<sup>10</sup> yea, an hundred B, E, F.

<sup>11</sup> say they not in B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> the not in F.

<sup>13</sup> fitting F.

† leaf 116, back. A wofull crye at Syrap [=Parys] garden. B.

wrath, his fearfull iudgements,<sup>1</sup> and dreadfull vengeance vpon the Beholders of these vanities.<sup>2</sup>

*A Fearfull Example of God his Iudgement vpon  
the prophaners of <sup>3</sup>his Sabaoth.<sup>3</sup>*

[Accident at the  
Bear-House in  
Paris Garden,  
Southwark, on  
Sunday, Jan. 13,  
1583.]

VPon the 13. day of Ianuarie laſt,<sup>4</sup> being the Sabaoth day, Anno 1583, the<sup>5</sup> People, Men, Wemen, and Children, <sup>6</sup>both yonge and old, an infinit number flocking<sup>6</sup> to <sup>7</sup>thoſe infamous places, where [7 sign. P 3. A.] these wicked exercyfes are vſuallie practiſed, (for they haue their courts, gardens, & yards for *the same purpoſe*) <sup>8</sup>when they were<sup>8</sup> all come together and mounted aloft vpon their scaffolds and galleries, and in middest of al their iolytie & pastime, all the whole building (not one ſtick ſtanding) fell down with a moſt wonderfull and fearefull conuulfion; So that either two or three hundred men, wemen, and children (by estimation<sup>9</sup>), wheroſe ſeuuen were killed dead, <sup>10</sup>ſome were<sup>10</sup> wounded, ſome lamed, and othersome bruſed and crushed almost to the death. Some had their braines daſht out, ſome their heads all to ſquasht,<sup>11</sup> ſome their legges broken, ſome their arms, ſome their backs, ſome their ſhoulders, ſome one hurt, ſome another. So that you ſhould haue hard a woful crie, even pearcing the ſkyes, <sup>A woful crie.</sup> <sup>12</sup> parents bewayling their children, Children their louing Parents, wyues<sup>13</sup> their Husbands, and Husbands their wyues, marueilous to be- [13 leaf 117 B.t] hould<sup>14</sup>! This wofull ſpectacle and heauie iudgement, pitifull to heare of, but moſt ruefull to behold, did<sup>15</sup> the Lord ſend<sup>16</sup> down from Heauen, to ſhew vnto the whole World how greeuously he is offended with thoſe that ſpend his Sabaoth in ſuch wicked exercyfes; In the meane tyme, leauing his temple defolat and emptie. God graunt all men may take warning hereby, to ſhun the ſame for feare of<sup>17</sup> like or worſer<sup>18</sup> iudgement to come!

[17 P 3, back. A.]

\* Paris—(F. J. F.)   <sup>1</sup> iudgment B, E, F.   <sup>2</sup> as hearafter followeth B, E, F.  
<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> the Sabaoth daie B, E, F.   <sup>4</sup> last not in F.

<sup>5</sup> there reſorted an infinite number of for the E, F.

<sup>6</sup>—<sup>6</sup> of each ſort E, F.   <sup>8</sup>—<sup>8</sup> and beyng B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> by estimation not in B, E, F.   <sup>10</sup>—<sup>10</sup> were ſome F.   <sup>11</sup> quasht B, E, F.

<sup>12</sup> this ſide-note not in F.   † leaf 117. A wofull ſpectacle at the Theatres.

<sup>14</sup> haue heard F.   <sup>15</sup> did not in B, E, F.   <sup>16</sup> ſent B, E, F.

<sup>18</sup> sharper B, E, F.

*A fearfull Iudgement of GOD, shewed at  
the Theaters.*

THE like Iudgement (almost<sup>1</sup>) did the Lord shew vnto them a little befor, being assembled at their Theaters, to see their bawdie enterluds and other trumperies<sup>2</sup> practised: For he caused *the earth* mightely to shak and quauer, as though all would haue fallen down; wherat the People, fore amazed, some leapt down (from the top of the turrets, pinacles, and towres, wher they stood) to the ground; whero<sup>3</sup> some had their legs broke, some their arms, some their backs, some hurt one where, some another,<sup>4</sup> & many fore crusht and bruised; but not any but they went away fore<sup>5</sup> affraid, & wounded in conscience. And yet can neither *the one* nor *the other* fray them from these diuelish exercyses, vntill the Lorde consume them all in his

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 117, back.  
B.†]

<sup>6</sup> wrath; which God forbid! The Lord of his mercie open the eyes of the maiefstrats to pluck down these places of abuse, that god may be honored and their consciences disburthened<sup>7,8</sup>.

Cockfeighting  
vpon the  
Sabbath.\*  
[<sup>9</sup> day added in  
F.]  
[<sup>10</sup> sign. P 4. A.]

Befids these exercises, thei flock, thick & three fold, to *the cockfeights*, an exercys nothing inferiour<sup>9</sup> to *the rest*, wher nothing is vsed but swering, forswering, deceit, fraude, collusion, cose<sup>10</sup>nage, scoulding, railing, conuictious talking, feighting, brawling, quarreling, drinking, whooring; &, which is worst of all, robbing of<sup>11</sup> one an other of their goods, & *that* not by direct, but indirect means & attempts: & yet to blauch & set out these mischies withall (as though they were vertues) thei haue their appointed daies & set howrs, when these diuelries must be exercised. They haue houses erected to *the*<sup>12</sup> purpose, flags & ensignes hanged out, to giue notice of it to others, and proclamation goes out to proclaim *the same*, to th' end *that* many may come to the dedication<sup>13</sup> of this solemne feast of mischief: <sup>14</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> in effect F.

<sup>2</sup> fooleries there F.

<sup>3</sup> whereby F.

<sup>4</sup> another where F.

<sup>5</sup> sore B, E, F; store A.

† leaf 117, back. Cockfightyng in Ailgna. B.

<sup>7</sup> discharged F.

<sup>8</sup> A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F:—Cockfightyng in Ailgna; F has:—Cockfighting vpon the Sabbath day in England. <sup>9</sup> not in F.

<sup>11</sup> of not in F.

<sup>12</sup> that B, E, F.

<sup>13</sup> celebration F.

<sup>14</sup>—<sup>14</sup> not in B, E, F; A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E:—Hawking and Hunting in Ailgna; F has:—Hauking and hunting vpon the Sabbath day in England.

Lord supplant them!<sup>14</sup> And as for hawking & hunting vpon the Hawking & sabaoth day,<sup>1</sup> it is an exercyse vpon that day no leffe vnlawful than hunting vppon the sabaoth.  
 the other; <sup>2</sup> For no man ought to spend any day of his life, much <sup>[\* leaf 118. B.\*]</sup> leffe euery day <sup>3</sup> in his life,<sup>3</sup> as many do, in such vaine & ydle pastimes: wherfore<sup>4</sup> let Gentlemen take heed; for, be sure, accounts must be giuen at the day of iudgement for<sup>5</sup> euery minut of time, both how they haue spent it, & in what exercyses. And let them be sure no more libertie is giuen them to mispend an howre, or one iote of the Lord his goods, than is giuen to the poorest and meanest person that liueth vpon the face of the earth. I neuer read of any, in the volume of the sacred scripture,<sup>6</sup> that was a good man and a Hunter.

No more  
libertie giuen  
to one  
than \* another  
for mispend-  
ing of their  
goods.  
[\* then to F.]

*E/sau* was a great hunter, but a reprobate; *If/maell* a great hunter, <sup>[\* P 4, back. A.]</sup> but a miscreant; *Nemrode*, a great hunter, but yet <sup>8</sup>a reprobate<sup>8</sup> and a vessell of wrath. Thus I speake not to condemne hawking and hunting altogether, being vsed for recreation, now and than, but against the continuall vse therof daylie, hourly, weekly, yeerly, yea, all the time<sup>9</sup> of their life without intermission. And such a felicitie haue some in it, as they make it all their ioye, bestowing more vpon hawkes and hounds, and a sort of idle lubbers to followe them, in one yeer, than they will impart<sup>10</sup> to the poore members of Christ Iesus in vii. yeers, peraduenture, in all the dayes of their life. So long as man in Paradice perfisited in innocency, all beastes what so euer weare obedient to him, and came and prostrated<sup>11</sup> themselues be<sup>12</sup>fore him; But euer since his fall they haue fled from him, & disobeyd him, because of his sin; that seeing he disobeyed the Lord, they again disobeed<sup>13</sup> him. For so long as man obeyed God, so long they obeyed him, but so soone as man disobeyed God, they disobeyed him, & became enemies to him; as it were, seeking to reuenge the<sup>15</sup> iniurie which man had don vnto<sup>16</sup> God in disobeying his lawes. Wherfore the cause why all beastes do fly from vs, and are become Enemies to<sup>17</sup> vs, is our disobedience to

No good  
hunters [in]  
scripture.

Cost bestowed  
in hawks and  
dogges.

<sup>[\* leaf 118, back.  
B.]</sup>  
When all  
beasts weare  
obedient to  
man, &  
wherfore they  
rebell.

<sup>1</sup> day not in E, F.

\* leaf 118. Hawkyng and huntyng. B.

<sup>3—3</sup> not in F.

<sup>4</sup> And therfore F.

<sup>5</sup> of F.

<sup>6</sup> Scriptures F.

<sup>8—8</sup> an abiect E, F.

<sup>9</sup> times F.

<sup>10</sup> glie F.

<sup>11</sup> humbled F.

+ leaf 118, back. Why beastes rebell against man. B. <sup>13</sup> disobey F.

<sup>15</sup> that E, F.

<sup>16</sup> to F.

<sup>17</sup> vnto F.

the LOR<sup>D</sup>, which we are rather to forow for, than to hunt after their deaths by the sheading of their blood.

[<sup>1</sup> sign. P 5. A.]

For pleasure  
sake only no  
man ought to  
abuse any of  
the creatures  
of God.

Hurt by  
hunting to  
poore Men.

[<sup>6</sup> leaf 119. B.]

<sup>1</sup> If necessitie, or want of other meats, inforceth vs to seek after their liues, it is lawfull to vse them, in the feare of God, with thanks to his name; but for our pastimes and vain pleafures sake, wee are not in any wise to spoyle or hurt them. Is he a christian man, or<sup>2</sup> rather a<sup>3</sup> pseudo-christian,<sup>3</sup> that delighteth in blood? Is he a Chriftian that spendeth all his life in wanton pleasures and plesauant delights? Is hee a Chrifitian that buieth vp the corne of the poor, turning it into bread (as many doo) to feed dogs for his pleasure? Is hee a christian that liueth to the hurt of his Neighbour, in treading and breaking down his hedges, in casting open his gates, in trampling of his corne, & otherwise<sup>4</sup> in preuidicing<sup>4</sup> him, as hunters doo? wherfore God giue them grace to see to it, and to mend<sup>5</sup> it<sup>6</sup> betimes ere it be to late; for they know *mora trahit periculum*, delay bringeth danger. Let vs not deferre to leauethe<sup>7</sup> euil and to doo good, least the wrath of the Lord be kindled against vs, and confume vs from of<sup>8</sup> the vpper face of the Earth.<sup>9</sup>

*Spud.* What fay you to keeping of Markets, of<sup>10</sup> Fayres, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabaoth day? Think you it is not lawful to vse the same vpon any<sup>11</sup> day?

*Philo.* No trueley; for can you<sup>12</sup> serue God & the deuil togither? can wee carrie to God, and ferrie to the deuil? can we serue two Maisters,<sup>13</sup> and neither offend the one nor<sup>14</sup> the other? can wee serue God and Mammon? can wee please God and the world bothe at one time? The Lord wil not be serued by peecemeale; for either he wil haue the whole man, or els none: For faith he, ‘*Thou shalt loue the Lord thy God with all thy soule, withall thy minde, withall<sup>15</sup> thy power, withall thy strength*,’ and so foorth, or els with none at all. Then, seeing that we are to giue ouer our felues so wholly and totally to the seruice of God al the daies of our life, but ef-

<sup>2</sup> or not B, E, F.      <sup>3—3</sup> cruel Tartarian F.      <sup>4—4</sup> annoying F.

<sup>5</sup> amend F.      <sup>6</sup> leaf 119. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

<sup>7</sup> the *not in* B, E, F.      <sup>8</sup> of *not in* B, E, F.

<sup>9</sup> *A new chapter-heading follows this in B, E, F:—Markettes, Faires, Courtes, and Leetes vpon the Sabbath daie in Ailgna [England F.].*

<sup>10</sup> of *not in* F.      <sup>11</sup> that E, F.      <sup>12</sup> we F.      <sup>14</sup> nor displease E, F

<sup>15</sup> withall A.

pecially vpon the Sabaoth day, being confe<sup>1</sup>crate to that end, <sup>[1 leaf 119, back.  
B.]</sup> we may not intermedle with these prophane exercisef vpon that day. For it is more then manifest *that* these faires, markets, courtes, and leetes, vpon the Sabaoth day, are not only a hinderance vnto vs in the true<sup>2</sup> seruice of God, and an abuse of the Sabaoth, but also lead vs the path way to hel. For what cosonage is not there practised? what falshod, deceit, & fraude is not there exercised? what disfimulation in bargaining? what setting foorth<sup>3</sup> of fucate<sup>3</sup> & deceiuable wares, is not there frequented<sup>4</sup>? what lying, swering, forswering, drunkennes, whordom, theft, & sometimes murther, either there or by the way thither, is not euery where vsed<sup>5</sup>? In courtes & leets, what enuie, malice, & hatred is noorished<sup>6</sup>? what expoſtulation, railing, ſcoulding, periuring, & reperiuring is maintained? <sup>[7 sign. P 6. A.]</sup> what oþreſſion <sup>The euils in  
Courtes and  
Leets practised.</sup> of the poore, what fauouring the<sup>8</sup> rich, what iniuſtice & indirect dealing? what bribing, deceiuing, what poling & pilling is there<sup>9</sup> practised? it would make a christian hart to bleed in beholding it. And yet, notwithstanding, we muſt haue these goodly pageants played vpon the ſabaoth day (in a wanion), becauſe there are no mo daies in the week. And heerby<sup>10</sup> the ſabaoth is contaminat,<sup>10</sup> Gods woord contemned, his commandements diſanuſled, his sacraments conculcate, his ordinances negle<sup>11</sup>cted, &, <sup>[11 leaf 120. B.t]</sup> in ſumma, his blood trod vnder feet, and all mischeef maintained. <sup>[12]</sup> *The Lord cut of these, with all other ſin, both from their ſoules and thy Sabaoth, that thy name may be glorified and thy Church truely edified<sup>12</sup>!*

*Spud.* Is the playing at football, reding of mery bookeſ, & ſuch like deleſtations, a violation or prophanation of the Sabaoth day?

*Ph.* Any exercife which withdraweth vs from godlines, either vpon the ſabaoth<sup>13</sup> or any other day els, is wicked & to be forbiden.<sup>14</sup> Now, who is ſo groſly blinde, that ſeeth not *that* theſe aforesaid exercifeſ not only withdraw vs from godlines & vertue, but alſo haile & allure vs to

<sup>Playing at  
Foot-ball</sup>

\* leaf 119, back. Fayres on the Sabaoth day. B.

<sup>2</sup> true not in F. <sup>3—3</sup> counterfeit F. <sup>4</sup> vsed B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> committed B, E, F. <sup>6</sup> noorished A. <sup>8</sup> of the F. <sup>9</sup> the (*sic*) F.

<sup>10—10</sup> it commeth to pasſe that the Sabbath is prophaned F.

<sup>†</sup> leaf 120. Footeball playing in Ailgna. B.

<sup>12—12</sup> not in B, E, F. *A new chapter-heading follows, Plaiyng at Footeball*  
<sup>\* in Ailgna.\*</sup> (\*—\* vpon the Sabbath and other dayes in England F.)

<sup>13</sup> day added in F. <sup>14</sup> forbidded (*sic*) F.

Foot-ball a  
freendly kind  
of fight.

[<sup>1</sup> P 6, back. A.] wickednes and fin. for as concerning football playing, I protest vnto you it may rather be called a freendly kinde of fight, then a play or recreation; A bloody and murthering practise, then a felonely sporte or pastime. <sup>1</sup> For dooth not euery one lye in waight for his Aduerarie, seeking to ouerthrowe him & to picke him on his nose, though it be vpon hard stones? in ditch or dale, in valley or hil, or what place soeuer it be, hee careth not, so he<sup>2</sup> haue him down. And he that can serue *the* most of this fashion, he is counted the only felow, and who but he? so that by this meanes, somtimes their necks are broken, <sup>3</sup>sometimes their backs, <sup>3</sup>sometime their legs, sometime their armes; <sup>4</sup>sometime one part thurst out of ioynt, sometime an other; sometime<sup>5</sup> the<sup>6</sup> noses gush out with blood, sometime<sup>5</sup> their eyes start out<sup>7</sup>; and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoeuer scapeth away the best, goeth not scotfree, but is either sore<sup>8</sup>wounded, craised<sup>9</sup>, and bruised, so as he dyeth of it, or els scapeth very hardly. and no meruaile, for they haue the<sup>10</sup> fleights to meet one betwixt two, to dashe him against the hart with their elbowes, to hit him vnder the shrot ribbes with their griped fifts, and with their knees to catch him vpon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with a<sup>11</sup> hundreded such murdering deuices: and hereof groweth enuie, malice, rancour, cholor, hatred, displeasure, enmitie, and what not els: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience dayly teacheth.

Foot-Ball  
playing a mur-  
thering Play.

[<sup>12</sup> sign. P 7. A.] <sup>12</sup> Is this murthering play, now, an exercize for the Sabaoth day? is this a christian dealing, for one brother to mayme and hurt another, and that vpon prepensed malice, or set purpose? is this to do to another as we would wish another to doo to vs? *God make vs more careful ouer the bodges of our Bretheren!*<sup>13</sup>

Reading of  
wicked  
bookes.  
[<sup>14</sup> leaf 121. B.] <sup>14</sup> And as for the<sup>15</sup> reading of wicked Bookes, they are vtterly vn-lawfull, not onely to bee read, but once to be named; & that not (onely) vpon the Sabaoth day, but also vpon any other day; as

<sup>2</sup> he mai E, F.

<sup>3—5</sup> not in F.

<sup>+</sup> leaf 120, back. Great hurt by Foote-ball play. B.

<sup>5</sup> sometimes F. <sup>6</sup> their B, E, F. <sup>7</sup> of their heads *added in* F.

<sup>8—6</sup> crushed F. <sup>9</sup> craised *not in* B, E. <sup>10</sup> the *not in* B, E, F. <sup>11</sup> an F.

<sup>13</sup> *A new chapter-heading follows in B, E, F.* Readynge of wicked bookes in Aligna. [England. F.]

<sup>+</sup> leaf 121. Reading of wicked bookes hurtful. B.

<sup>15</sup> the *not in* F.

which tende to the dishonour of God, deprauation of good manners, and corruption of christian soules. For as corrupt meates doo annoy the stomack, and infect the body, so the reading of wicked and vn-godly Bookes (which are to the minde, as meat is to the body) infect the soule, & corrupt *the* minde, hailing it to distruktion, if the great mercy of God be not present.<sup>1</sup>

The evil  
comming by  
reading evil  
Bookes.

And yet, notwithstanding, whosoeuer wil set pen to paper now a dayes, how vnhoneft foever, or vnfeemly of christian eares, his argument be, is permitted to goe forward, and his woork plausibly<sup>2</sup> admitted and<sup>2</sup> freendly licensed, and gladly imprinted, without any prohibition or contradiction at all: wherby it is growen to this iſſue, that bookes & pamphlets of scurilitie and baudrie are better esteemed, and more vendible, then the godlyeft and ſa<sup>3</sup>geſt bookes that be: for<sup>4</sup> if it [3 P 7, back. A.] be a godly treatife, reproouing vice and teaching vertue, away with it! for no man (almoſt) though they make a floorish of vertue and godlynes, will buy it, nor (which is leſſe) ſo much as once touch it. This maketh the *Bille*, the<sup>5</sup> bleffed Book of God, to be ſo little eſteemed; That woorthie<sup>6</sup> Booke of *Martyrs*,<sup>7</sup> made by that famous Father & excellent Inſtrument in God his Church, Maiſter *John Fox*, ſo little to be accepted, and all other good books little or nothing to be<sup>8</sup> reuerenced; whilſt other toyes, fantafies, and bableries, wherof the world is ful, are ſuffered to be printed. Theſe prophane ſcheduoles, ſacraligious libels, and hethnical pamphlets of toyes & bableries (the Authors wheroft may<sup>9</sup> vendicate to them ſelues no fmal commendations<sup>9</sup> at the hands of the deuil for inuenting the ſame) corrupt mens mindes, peruerit good wits, allure to baudrie, induce to whordome, ſuppreſſe vertue & erect vice: which thing, how ſhould it be otherwife? for are they not inuented & excogitat by *Belzebul*, written by *Lucifer*, licensed by *Pluto*, printed by *Cerberus*, & ſet a-broche to ſale by the infernal furies themſelues, to *the* poyſoning of the whole world? But let the Inuentors, the licensors, the printers, & the sellers of theſe vaine toyes, and more then Hethnicall impieties, take heed; for the blood of all thoſe which perish, or take hurt<sup>10</sup> thorow theſe

[7 leaf 121, back  
B.\*]

[The hurte that  
wicked books  
tryng E, F.]

<sup>1</sup> present not in F.

<sup>2</sup>—<sup>2</sup> receiued F.

<sup>4</sup> but B, E, F.

<sup>5</sup> that B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> renowned F.

[<sup>10</sup> 'Q 1', A.  
wrongly sign'd;  
leaf P 8 is misſt;  
the catchword is  
right.]

\* leaf 121, back. Hethnicall booke in Ailgna. B.

<sup>8</sup> to be not in F.

<sup>9</sup>—<sup>9</sup> challenge no ſmall reward F.

wicked bookees, shalbe powred vpon their heads at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

*Spud.* I pray you how might al these inormities and Abuses be reformed? For it is to small purpose to shew the abuses, except you shewe withall how they might be reformed<sup>1</sup>

[<sup>1</sup>\* leaf 122. B.\*]

[The Laws  
against Evil  
Doers are not  
enforsit.]

*Philo.* By putting in practise and executing<sup>2</sup> those good lawes,<sup>3</sup> wholsome fancies<sup>3</sup>, and Godly<sup>4</sup> statutes, which haue beene heretofore, and daily are, set foorth and establisched, as GOD be thanked, they<sup>5</sup> are manie. The want of the due execution wherof is the cause of all these mischies, which both rage and raigne amonst vs.

*Spud.* What is the caufe why these lawes are not executed, as they ought to be?

*Philo.* Truely, I cannot tell, excepte it be thorow the negligence and contempt<sup>6</sup> of the inferiour Magistrates. Or els, perhaps (which thing happeneth now and than), for money they are bought out, dis franchisched and dispensed withall; for, as the saying is, <sup>7</sup> quid non pecunia potest: what is it but money will bring to passe<sup>7</sup>? And yet, notwithstanding, shall it be don inuisibly in a clowde (vnder benedicite I speake it) the Prince being borne in hand that the same are<sup>8</sup> daliie executed<sup>8</sup>. This fault is the corruption of those that are put in trust to see them executed, as I haue<sup>9</sup> tould you, and (notwithstanding) do not.

[Why the lawes  
are not executed  
as they ought  
to bee E, F.]  
[<sup>9</sup> P 8, back.  
(wrong Q 2, blc.)  
A.]

*Spud.* This is a great<sup>10</sup> corruption &<sup>10</sup> Abuse, doubtles, and worthie of great punishment.

[<sup>11</sup>\* leaf 122, back.  
B.†]

[They that buy

*Ph.* It is so truely; for if they be good lawes, tending to the glorie of GOD, the publique weale of the Cuntrey and correction of vices, it is great pytie that money should buy them out. For what is that els, but to sell vertue for lucre, Godlynes for droffe, yea, mens souls for corruptible monney? Therfore, those that sell them are not onely Traitors to GOD, to their Prince and Countrey, but are also the Deuils Marchants, and<sup>12</sup> ferrie the bodies and soules of Chriftians, <sup>13</sup> as

<sup>1</sup> amended B, E, F.

\* leaf 122. How to reforme Abuses. B.      <sup>3—3</sup> not in F.

<sup>4</sup> Godly A; Godly B, E, F.      <sup>5</sup> there B, E, F.      <sup>6</sup> corruption F.

<sup>7—7</sup> Pecunia omnia potest, Money can do all thynges B, E, F.

<sup>8—8</sup> duly executed (sic) B, E, F.      <sup>10—10</sup> not in B, E, F.

† leaf 122, back. Lawes not executed. B.      <sup>12</sup> to B, E, F.

<sup>13—13</sup> as much as lieth in them F.

it were, in *Charons boate*<sup>1</sup> to the *Stigian flood* of Hell, burning with fire and brimstone for euer.

And those that buy them are Traitors to God, their Prince, and Countrey also.

For if the lawes were at the first good (as, God be praised, al<sup>2</sup> the lawes in *Ailgna* be), why shuld they be suppreffed<sup>3</sup> for money? and if they were euill, why were they diuulg'd,<sup>4</sup> but had rather beeene buried in the wombe of their Mother before th[e]y had euer seene the light.

And why were lawes infituted<sup>5</sup>, but to be executed? Els, it were as good to haue no lawes at all (the People lyuing orderly) as to haue good lawes, and them not executed.

The Prince ordeining a law may lawfully repeale & adnull<sup>6</sup> the same againe, vpon speciall<sup>7</sup> causes & confiderations, but no inferiour maiefrat or subieete what so euer, may stop the course of any lawe made by the Prince, without daunger of damnation to his owne<sup>8</sup> soule, as the Word of God beareth witnesse.

And therfore, wo be to those men that will not execut the sentence of the lawe (being so Godly and so Christian as thei be in *Ailgna*) vpon Malefactors and Offenders!

Verely they are as guiltie of their blood before God, as euer was *Iudas* of the death<sup>9</sup> of Christe Iefus.

*Spud.* Seeing it is so that al flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of God, and that there is fuch abhomination amongst them, I am perswaded the<sup>10</sup> daye of Iudgement is not farre of; For when iniquity shall haue filled vp his measure, than shall the end of all<sup>11</sup> appeare, as *Christ* witnesseth in his *Euangelie*.

*Philo.* The day of the Lord cannot be farre of; that is most certen; For what wonderfull portents,<sup>12</sup> strang miracles, fearful signes, and dreadfull Judgements<sup>13</sup> hath he fente of late daies, as Preachers & fortellers of his wrath, due vnto vs for our impenitence<sup>14</sup> & wickednes of life. Hath he not caused the earth to tremble and quake? the [The wonderful

or sell lawes for  
money are  
traitors to God  
E, F.]

[None maie stay  
the course of the  
lawes, but the  
Prince E, F.]

[7 sign. Q 2 A.]

[9 leaf 123. B,†]

[The day of  
Judgment is  
not far off.]

<sup>1</sup> ouer the Sea of this world added in B, E, F.

<sup>2</sup> the most of B, E, F.

<sup>3</sup> bought out F.

<sup>4</sup> published F.

<sup>5</sup> constitute B, E, F.

<sup>6</sup> annul F.

<sup>8</sup> not in F.    † leaf 123. The latter daie at hande. B.    <sup>10</sup> that the E, F.

<sup>11</sup> all things E, F.    <sup>12</sup> not in F.    <sup>13</sup> tokens F.    <sup>14</sup> impenitencie E, F.

signes and  
tokens ; which  
the Lord hath  
sent to warne vs  
of the daie of  
judgement E, F.]  
[<sup>1</sup> Q 2, back. A.]

[<sup>3</sup> leaf 123, back.  
B.\*]

[All God's  
Creatures are  
wroth with us,  
but we don't  
mend.]

[<sup>6</sup> sign. Q 3. A.]

[<sup>9</sup> Materiall hell  
after this life E,  
F.]

[<sup>10</sup> leaf 124. B.†]

same Earth to remoue from place to place? the seas and waters to roare, swell, & brust out, and ouerflow their bankes <sup>1</sup>to the destruction of many thousands? hath he not caused the Elements and Skyes to send foorth flashing fire? to raine downe wheat, a wonderfull thing as euer was heard, and the like? hath he not caused wonderfull Eclypses in the Sunne and Moon, with most dreadfull coniunctions of Starres and Planets, as the like this thousand yeeres haue not been<sup>2</sup> heard of? haue not the clowdes distilled downe abundance of rayne and showres, with all kinde of vnseasonable wether, to the destroying (almost) of al thinges vpon the Earth? haue we not seene Commets, blasing starres, firie <sup>3</sup>Drakes, men feighting in the ayre, most fearfully to behold? Hath not dame Nature her selfe denied vnto vs her operation in sending foorth abortiues, vntimely births, vgglesome monsters and fearfull mishapen Creatures, both in man & beast? So that it feemeth all the Creatures of God are angrie with vs, and threaten vs with destruction, and yet <sup>4</sup>we are<sup>4</sup> nothing at all amended: (alas) what<sup>5</sup> shal become of vs! Remember we not there is a God that shal iudge vs righteously? that there is a Deuill who shall torment vs after this lyfe vnspeakably, if we repent not? At that day the wicked shall find that there is a Material Hell, a place of all kinds of tortures, wherein they shal be punished in fire and brimstone amongst the terrible Company of vgglesome <sup>6</sup>Deuills, world without end, how light so euer they make account of it in this World.

For some such there be that, when thei heare mention of Hell, or of the paines therof in the other World, they make a mocke at<sup>7</sup> it, thinking they be but metaphoricall speaches, onely spoke to terrifie vs withall, not<sup>8</sup> otherwyse. But certen it is, as there is a God that will reward his Children, so there is a Deuill that will remunerat his Seruaunts; And as there is a Heauen, a Materiall place of perfect ioye prepared for the Godly, so there is a Hell, a Materiall place of punishment for the wicked and reprobate, prepared for the Deuil & his Angels, or els the word of God is in <sup>10</sup>no wyse to be credited; which blasphemie once to think<sup>11</sup>, God keep all his Children from!

<sup>2</sup> seene or added in F.      \* leaf 123, back. Gods warninges late shewed. B.

<sup>4</sup>—<sup>4</sup> are we F.      <sup>5</sup> that A, B, E; what F.      <sup>7</sup> of F.      <sup>8</sup> and not F.

<sup>9</sup> A materiall F.

† leaf 124. A reward for good and euill. B.

<sup>11</sup> think of F.

*Spud.* But they will easilly auoid this; for they say it is writ<sup>1</sup>, at what time so euer a sinner doth repent him of his finne, I wil put all his fin<sup>2</sup> out of my remembrance, saith the Lord. So that, if they maye haue three words at the last, they will wish no more. What think you of these felowes?

*Philo.* I think them no men, but Deuills; no Christians, but worse <sup>3</sup>than *Tartarians*<sup>3</sup>, and more to be auoided than the poison of a serpent; for the one slayeth but the body, but the other both body & soul for euer. Wherfore let euery good Christen Man take heed of them, and <sup>4</sup>auoid them; For it is truely said *cum bonis bonus eris*, [<sup>4</sup>Q 3, back A.] et *cum peruerteris peruerteris*<sup>5</sup>: with the good thou shall<sup>6</sup> learne good, but with the wicked thou shall<sup>6</sup> be peruerted.

[Men who put off  
repentance till  
their deaths are  
but Devils.]

*Spud.* Do you think, than, that that cannot be a true repentance, which is deferred to the last gaspe?

*Ph.* No, truely; For true repentance must spring out of a lyuelie faith, with an inward lothing, hating<sup>7</sup>, and detestinge of finne. But this deferred repentance springeth not of faith, but rather of the feare of death, which he feeth imminent before his eyes, of the grief and tediousnes of paine, of the Horror of Hell, and feare of God his ineuitable iudgement, which he knoweth now he must needs abyde. And therfore this can be no true repentance; For there is<sup>8</sup> two maner of re<sup>9</sup>pentances, the one a true repentance to life, the other a false re-  
pentance to death. As we maye see by *Iudas*, who is said to haue repented, and, which is more, to haue confessed his faulte, and, which is most of all, to haue made restitution, and yet was it a false re-  
pentance. And why? because it sprang not out of true faith, but as before.

[No true repen-  
tance which is  
deferred to the  
last gaspe E, F.]

*Peter* repented and weeped bitterly, and was sauued therby, though he neither made confession nor satiffaction; and why? Because it sprang of a true and lyuely faith. So these felowes may say they repent, but except it be a <sup>11</sup>true re-  
pentance, springing of faith, it can [<sup>11</sup>sign. Q 4 A.] serue them no more to life, than the pretensed re-  
pentance of *Iudas* did serue him to saluation.

[<sup>11</sup>leaf 124, back.  
B, f.]

[Two maners<sup>10</sup> of  
repentance, a  
false re-  
pentance E, F.]

<sup>1</sup> written F.

<sup>2</sup> wickednes E, F.

<sup>3</sup>—<sup>3</sup> then either Turks or Iewes, or any other infidels whatsoeuer F.

<sup>5</sup> peruerteris B, F.

<sup>6</sup> shalt F.

<sup>7</sup> not in F.

<sup>8</sup> are E, F.

+ leaf 124, back. Who are true repenant. B. <sup>10</sup> maner of repentaunces F.

Let them beware, for *Cain* repented, yet is he condemned. *Esaū* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Antiochus* did repent, yet is he condemned; *Iudas* did repent, yet is he condemned, with infinite moe. And why so? Because their prolonged repentaunce sprange not of faith, &c.<sup>1</sup>

Thus they may see, that euerye light affection is no true repentance, And that it is not ynoch to say at the last, I repent, I repent; For vñles it be a true repentance indeed, it is worth nothing. But, indeed, if it weare so that man had *liberum arbitrium*, free wil<sup>2</sup> of himself to repent truely when he wold, and that God<sup>3</sup> promised in his word to accept of that repentance, it weare another matter. But repentance is *donum Dei*, the gifte of God, *de sursum veniens a patre luminum*, com<sup>4</sup>ming from aboue from the Father of light, & therfore it is not in our powers to repent when we will. It is the Lord that giueth the gift, when, where, & to whom it pleaseth<sup>5</sup> him; & of him are we to craue it incessantly by faithfull prayer, & not otherwise to presume of our owne repentance, when, indeed, we haue nothing lesse than a true repentance.

[Every light affection is no true repentaunce E, F.]

[<sup>4</sup> leaf 125. B.t]

<sup>6</sup> Q 4, back A.] <sup>6</sup> Spud. Than, thus much I gather by your words, that as true repentance (which is a certen inward grief and sorrow of the<sup>7</sup> heart, conceiued for our finnes, with a hatred and lothing of the same) [f]erueth to saluation thorow the mercie of Gov in Christ, so fained repentance faueth not from perdition. And, therfore, we must repent dayly and howrely, and not to<sup>8</sup> deferre our repentaunce to the last gaspe, as many doo, than which nothing is more perilous.

*Philo*. True, it is; for maye not he be called a great Foole, that by deferring and prolonging of repentance to the last cast<sup>9</sup> (as they say) will hazard his body and soule to eternall damnation for euer? Wheras, by daily repentaunce, he maye assure him selfe both of the fauour of God, and of life euerlasting (by faith) in the mercy of God, thorow the most precious blood of his deare Sonne, Iesus Christ, our alone Sauiour and Redemer, to whome be praise for euer!

<sup>1</sup> & of an inward hatred vnto sin, &c. F.

<sup>2</sup> and power added in F.

<sup>3</sup> God had F.

<sup>4</sup> leaf 125. Repentance not to be deferred. B.

<sup>5</sup> shall please B, E, F.

<sup>7</sup> the not in F.

<sup>6</sup> did not for not to F.

<sup>9</sup> gasp F.

*Spud.* Now must I needs say, as the Wyse King *Salomon* said, All things are vaine and <sup>1</sup> transitorie, and <sup>2</sup> nothing is permanent vnder the Sonne: the workes of men are vnperfect and lead to destruction, <sup>[<sup>1</sup> leaf 125, back. B.]</sup> their exercyses are vaine and wicked altogether.

Wherfore I, setting apart all the vanities of this lyfe, will from henceforth consecrate <sup>3</sup> my selfe to the seruice of my God, and to <sup>F sign. R x. A.]</sup> follow him in his Woord, which onely is permanent and leadeth vnto life.

And I most hartelie thanke the Lord<sup>4</sup> God for your good Company this day, and for your graue instructions; promising, by the assistance of God his grace, to followe and obey them to my possible power all the daies of my life.

*Philo.* God giue you grace so to do, and euery Christen man els, and to auoid all the vanities and deceiuable pleasures of this life; for certenly they tread<sup>5</sup> the path to eternal destruction, both of body and soule for euer, to as many as obey them.

The joyes of  
this life tread  
the path to  
death.

For it is vnpossible to wallowe in the delights and pleasures of this World, and to lyue in ioy for euer in the Kingdom of Heauen. And thus we, hauing spent the daye, and also consummate<sup>6</sup> our iorney, we must now depart, beseeching God that we may both meeete againe in the Kingdome of Heauen, there to raigne and lyue

with him for euer, through Iesus Christe our Lorde;

to whome, with the Father and the holy

Spirit, be all honour & glorie

for euer more.

Amen.

*FINIS.*<sup>7</sup>

<sup>†</sup> leaf 125, back. A Christian protestation. B. <sup>2</sup> and that F.

<sup>4</sup> Lord my E, F. <sup>5</sup> leade E, F. <sup>6</sup> ended our F.

<sup>7</sup> F then concludes with this line:—God haue the praise, both now and alwaies.  
Amen.



[sign. R x  
back. A.]

## ¶ Faults escaped in printing.

Letter.	Page.	Line.	Fault.	Correction.
In B	vij	6	the in Lord	in the Lord
In B	xi	5	what is ther	what thing is there
In D	xi [p. 49]	3	<i>initimur</i>	<i>nitimur</i>
In D	xvij [p. 50]	9 [l. 1]	<i>tante meriades</i>	<i>tantæ meryades</i> <sup>2</sup>
In D	xv	16	supplied	applyed [p. 52, l. 11]
In F	i	19	Read thus : [See p. 65, 4th paragraph]	<i>Spud.</i> I pray you shew me the opinions of the Fathers, concerning this coloring of faces.
In F	ix [p. 71]	3 [l. 8]	Antiquities	Antiques <sup>2</sup>
In F	xvj	5	pesteruing	pestering
In I	iji [p. 105]	26 [l. 9]	refug meat	refuse meate
In I	iji [","]	27 [","]	patrings	parings
In I	vijj [p. 108]	16 [l. 23]	<i>appetitum</i>	<i>appetitui</i>



{sign. R 2. A.}

Perused, authorised, &  
allowed, according to the order  
appointed in the Queenes Maiesties Iniu-  
ctions.



At London  
Printed by Richarde  
Jones: dwellinge at the Signe of the  
Rose and the Crowne, neere vnto  
Holborne Bridge.

1583<sup>3</sup>.

[In F, a plate covers the page following (R 2, back), with this on the scroll :—*Qvel che mi molestava . accendo . et . ardo.* This plate is not in B, E.]

<sup>1</sup> this page '192' not in F.<sup>2</sup> The reader should make this correction. The other references are either wrong, or refer to another copy than that collated for this edition.<sup>3</sup> 1585 E, 1595 F.

EXTRACTS  
FROM  
PHILLIP STUBBES'S  
*Life of his Wife.*

1591.



# A Christal Glasse for Christian vvomen.

CONTAYNING

*An excellent Discourse, of the godly life  
and Christian death of Mistresse Katherine Stubbes  
who departed this life in Burton vpon  
Trent, in Staffordshire, the 14 day  
of December. 1590.*

With a most heauenly confession of the Christian  
Faith, which she made a little before her departure:  
together, with a most wonderfull combate be-  
twixt Satan and her soule: worthie to  
be imprinted in the tables of eue-  
ry Christian heart.

**Set downe worde for worde as shē spake it, as neere  
as could be gathered, by P. S. Gent.**

Reuel. 14. ver. 13.

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lorde, euen so saith the  
Spirite, for they rest from their labours, and their workes  
follow them.



Imprinted at London by Richard Ihones, at the  
**Rose and Crowne neere Holborne  
Bridge. 1591.**



# A Christall Glas, for Christian women: wherein they may see a wonderfull and true example of a right vertuous life and Christiau death: as by the discourse following, to

[leaf A 2]

their further instruction and comfort,  
it may appeare.

[Sidenotes by  
F. J. F.]

Alling to remembrance (most Christian Reader) the finall ende of mans creation, which is to glorifie God, and to edifie one another in the way of true godlinesse, I thought it my duetie as well in respect of the one, as in regarde of the other, to publish this rare and wonderfull example, of the vertuous life, and Christian death, of mistresse *Katherine Stubbes*, who whilst she liued, was a myrrour of womanhoode, and nowe being dead, is a patterne of true Christianitie. She was of honest and wealthie parentage, and her father had borne office of worship in his companie: he was zealous in the truth, and of a sound Religion. Her mother was a Dutch woman, both discreete and wife, of singuler good grace and modeftie: and, which did most of all adorne her, she was both religious, and verie zealous. This couple liuing together in the Citie of London certain yeares, it pleased God to bleffe them with children, of whom this *Katherine* was yongest faue one. But as she was yongest faue one by course of nature: so was she not inferiour to any of the rest, or rather farre excelled them all without comparisyon by manie degrees, in the indumentes and qualites of the mind. At xv. yeares of age (her father being dead) her mother bestowed her in marriage to one maister *Stubbes*, with whom she liued four yeares, and almost an halfe, verie honestly and godly, with rare commendations of all that knewe her, as well for her singuler wisedome, as also for her modeftie, courtesie, gentlenesse, affabilitie and good gouernment. And aboue

I publish my  
wife's Life, to  
glorify God and  
edify men.

Her Father, a  
citizen.  
Her Mother,  
Dutch.

My wife, their  
youngest child  
but one.

At 15 she married  
me, and livd with  
me 4 years.

She was zealous  
for the truth, and  
opp̄sd Papists  
and Atheists.

[leaf A 2, back]

all, for her feruent zeale which she bare to the truth, wherein she seemed to surpasfe manie: Infomuch as if she chanced at any time to be in place where either Papists or Atheists were, and heard them talke of Religion, of what countenaunce or credite soever they seemed to be, she would not yeeld a iote, nor giue place vnto them at all, but would most mightily iustifie the truth of God, against their blasphemous vntruthe, and conuince them: yea, and confound them by the testimonies of the worde of God. Which thing, how could it be otherwise? for her whole heart was bent to feeke the Lorde, her whole delight was to bee conuersant in the Scriptures, and to meditate vpon them day and night: infomuch that you could feldome or neuer haue found her without a Bible, or some other good booke in her hands. And when she was not reading, she would spend the time in conferring, talking and reasoning with her husband of the worde of God, and of religion: asking him: "what is the fence of this place, and what is the fence of that? Howe expounde you this place, and howe expounde you that? What obserue you of this place, and what obserue you of that?" So that shee seemed to bee, as it were, rauished with the same spirite that *David* was, when hee saide: 'The zeale of thy houise hath eaten me vp.' Shee followed the commaundement of our Sauiour Christ, who biddeth vs to search the Scriptures, for in them you hope to haue eternal life. She obeyed the commandement of the Apostle, who biddeth women to be silent, and to learne of their husbands at home. She would suffer no disorder or abuse in her house, to be either vnreproved, or vnreformed.

And so gentle was shee, and curteous of nature, that she was neuer heard to gine any the lie, nor so much as to (thou) any in anger. Shee was neuer knownen to fall out with any of her neighbours, nor with the least childe that liued: much lesse to scolde or brawle, as many will now adayes for euerie trifle, or rather for no cause at all. And so solitarie was shee giuen, that shee woulde verie feldome, or neuer, and that not without great compulsion, go abroade with any, either to banquet or feast, to gossip or make merie (as they tearme it), infomuch that shee hath beene accused to doo it in contempt and disdaine of others.

When her husbande was abroade in London, or elsewhere, there was not the dearest friend she had in the world that coulde get her

She was seldom  
without a Bible  
or good book in  
hand.

She was always  
asking me to  
explain texts.

She suffered no  
disorder in her  
house.

She never  
scolded or  
brawld;

or gossipt.

abroad to dinner or supper, or to any other exercise what soeuer: She'd not go to parties alone.  
 neither was she giuen to pamper her bodie with delicate meates, wines, or strong drinke, but refrained them altogether. And as she [leaf A 3] excelled in the gift of sobrietie, so she surpassid in the vertue of humilitie. For it is well knowne to diuerse yet liuing, that she vtterly abhorred all kinde of pride, both in apparell, and otherwife. She coulde neuer abide to heare any filthie or vncleane talk of scurrilitie, neither swearing nor blaspheming, cursing nor banning, but would reprove them sharply, shewing them the vengeance of God due for such deserts. And which is more, there was neuer one filthy, vncleane, vndecent, or vnseemly word heard to come forth of her mouth, nor neuer once to curse or ban, to fweare or blasphemee God any maner of way: but always her speach were such, as both glorified God, and ministred grace to the hearers, as the Apostle speaketh. And for her conuersation, there was neuer any man or woman that euer opened their mouthes against her, or that euer either did or could accuse her of the least shadown of dishonestie, so continently she liued, and so circumspectly she walked, eschewing euer the outward appearance or shewe of euill. Againe, for true loue and loialtie to her husband, and his friends, she was (let me speake it without offence), I thinke, the rarest in the worlde: for shee was so farre from perswading her husbande to bee lesse beneficall to his friendes, that shee woulde perswade him to bee more beneficall to them. If shee sawe her husband merrie, then shee was merrie; if hee were sadde, she was sadde; if he were heauie, or passionate, shee would endeouour to make him glad; if he were angrie, she would quickly please him, so wisely shee demeaned her selfe towardes him. Shee woulde neuer contrarie him in any thing, but by wise counsaile, and politike aduice, with all humilitie and submision, seeke to perswade him. And so little giuen was she to this worlde, that some of her neighbours marauayled why shee was no more carefull of it, and would aske her sometimes, saying: "Mistresse *Stubbes*, why are you no more carefull for the things of this life, but fit always poaring vpon a booke, and studying?" To whome she woulde answere: "If I shoulde be a friend to this worlde, I shoulde be an enemie to GOD: for God and the worlde are two contraries. *John* biddeth mee, 'loue not the world': affirming, that if I loue the world, the loue of the father is

She abhorrd  
pride and foul  
talk;

lived continently,  
and shund all  
show of evil.

She was  
generous:  
sympathizd with  
her husband,  
and never crosst  
him.

She card not for  
this world, but  
for God.

[leaf A 3, back]

She felt she  
should not live  
long,

but should die  
in child-birth.

Her boy was  
born,

and she did very  
well,

till a burning  
ague seizd her.

She never slept  
an hour together  
for 6 weeks;

but in all her  
suffering, no  
impatient word  
escapt her.

not in me. Againe, Christ biddeth mee, first seeke the kingdome of heauen, and the righteousnesse thereof, and then all these worldly things shall be giuen to me. ‘Godlinesse is great riches if a man be content with that he hath.’ I haue chosen with good *Martha* the better part, which shall neuer be taken from me. Gods treasure (shee would fay) is neuer drawne drie. I haue inough in this life, God make me thankeful, and I know I haue but a short time to liue here, and it standeth me vpon to haue regard to my saluation in the life to come.” Thus this godly yong woman helde on her course three or foure yearees after shee was married: at which time it pleased God, that shee conceyued with a man childe: after which conception shee would say to her husband, and many other her good neighbours and friends, not once, nor twice, but manie times, that she should neuer beare more children, that that child woulde bee her death, and that shee shoulde liue but to bring that childe into the worlde. Which thing (no doubt) was reuealed vnto her by the Spirite of God, for according to her prophecie, so it came to passe.

The time of her account being come, shee was deliuered of a goodly man childe, with as much speede, and as safely in all womens iudgements, as any could be. And after her deliuerie, she grewe so strong, and luffie, that she was able within foure or five dayes to sit vp in her bed, and to walke vp and downe her chamber, and within a fortnight, to goe abroade in the house, being throughly well, and past all daungers, as euerie one thought. But presently vpon this so sudden recouerie, it pleased God to visite her againe, with an extreame hote and burning quotidian Ague, in which ficknes she languished for the space of six weekes, or there aboutes. During all which time, shee was neuer feene, nor perceiued to sleepe one houre together, neither night nor day; and yet the Lord kept her (which was miraculous) in her perfect vnderstanding, fence, and memorie, to the last breath; prayed bee the Lorde therefore! In all her fickenesse, which was both long and grieuous, she neuer shewed any signe of discontentment, or of impaciencie: neither was there euer heard one worde come forth of her mouth, sounding either of desperation, or infidelitie: of mistrust, or distrust, or of any doubting or wauering, but alwayes remayned faithfull, and resolute in her God. And so definious was she to be with the Lorde, that these golden sentenses were neuer

forth of her mouth, "I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." [leaf A 4]

And, "oh miserable wretch that I am, who shall deliver me from this  
body subject to sin? Come quickly, Lord Jesus, come quickly!"

Like as the heart desireth the water springs, so doth my soul thirst

after thee, O God. I had rather bee a doorekeeper in the house of

my God, than to dwell in the tents of the wicked:" with manie

other heauenly sentences, which (least I should seeme to tedious) I

willingly omit. She would alwaies pray in her fickenesse absolutely,

that God would take her out of this miserable worlde: and when her

husband and others would desire her to pray for health, if it were the

will of God: Shee would answere, "I pray you, pray not that I shoulde

live, for I thinke it long to be with my God. Christ is to me life,

and death is to me aduantage. I cannot enter into life, but by death,

and therfore is death the doore or enterance into euerlasting life to

me. I knowe and am certainly perswaded by the spirite of God,

that the sentence of my death is giuen alreadie, by the great Judge, in

the Court or Parliament of heauen, that I shall nowe depart out of

this life: and therefore pray not for me, that I might live here, but

pray to God to giue me strength, and pacience, to perseuere to the ende,

and to close vp mine eyes in a iustifying faith in the blood of my Christ."

Sometimes she would speake very softly to herselfe, and sometimes

very audibly, these words, doubling them a thousande times together,

"Oh my good God, why not nowe? Why not nowe, oh my good

God? I am readie for thee, I am prepared, oh receyue me nowe for

thy Christ his sake. Oh send thy messenger death to fetch me, send

thy sergeant to arrest me, send thy purfeuant to apprehend me, thy

herauld to summon me: oh send my Iailour to deliver my soul out

of prison, for my body is nothing else but a filthie stinking prison to

my soul. Oh sende thy holie Angels to conduct my soule into the

euerlasting kingdome of heauen!" Other some times she would lie as

it were in a slumber, her eies closed, & her lips uttering these words

very softly to her selfe: "Oh my sweete Jesus, oh my loue Jesus: why

not nowe, sweete Jesus, why not nowe?" as you heard before. "Oh

sweete Jesus, pray for mee! pray for me, sweete Jesus!" repeating them

many times together. These and infinite the like were her dayly

speaches, and continuall meditations: and neuer worser worde was [leaf A 4, back]

there heard to come forth of her mouth during all the time of her

She desired to be  
set free, and to  
be with Christ.

She knew death  
was the door to  
everlasting life.

She prayed God  
to send and  
fetch her.

She called on  
Jesus.

*She often smil'd sweetly,*

*seeing visions  
and heavenly  
sights.*

*She took leave  
of her boy, and*

*bequeath't him  
to me as the  
Lord's.*

*She repented of  
having been too  
fond of her little  
dog.*

[leaf B]

fickneſſe. She was accuſtomed many times as ſhe lay, verie ſuddenly to fall into a ſweete ſmiling, and ſometimes into a moſt heartie laughter, her face appearing right faire, redde, amiable, and louely: and her countenaunce ſeemed as though ſhe greatly reioyced at ſome glorious fight. And when her husband would aſke her why ſhe ſmiled and laughed ſo, ſhe woule ſay, “if you ſaw eſch glorious viſions and heauenly fights as I fee, you would reioyce and laugh with me: for I fee a viſion of the ioyes of heauen, and of the glorie that I ſhall go to; and I fee infinite millions of Angels attendant vpon me, and watching ouer me, readie to carrie my foule into the kingdome of heauen.” In regard whereof, ſhe was willing to forſake herſelfe, her husband, her childe, and all the world beſides. And ſo calling for her childe, which the Nurſe brought vnto her, ſhe tooke it in her armeſ, and kiſſing it, ſaid: “God bleſſe thee, my ſweete babe, and make thee an heire of the kingdome of heauen:” and kiſſing it againe, deliuereſ it to the Nurſe, with theſe words to her husband standing by: “Beloued hufband, I bequeath this my child vnto you; he is nowe no longer mine, he is the Lords and yours. I forſake him, you, and all the worlde, yea, and mine owne ſelfe, and eſteeme all things dungue, that I may winne Iefus Christ. And I pray you, bring vp this child in good letters, in discipline; and aboue all things, ſee that he be brought vp in the exercife of true Religion.”

The childe being taken away, ſhe ſpyed a little Puppie, or Bitch, (which in her life time ſhe loued well,) lying vpon her bed: ſhe had no ſooner ſpied her, but ſhe beate her away, and calling her hufband to her, ſaid: “Good hufband, you and I haue offendeth God grieuously in receyuing this Bitch many a time into our bed: the Lord giue vs grace to repent for it and al other vanities!” And afterward coulde ſhee neuer abide to looke vpon the Bitch any more. Hauing thus godly diſpoſed of all things, ſhe fell into an extacie, or into a traunce or ſownde, for the ſpace almost of a quarter of an houre, ſo as every one thought ſhe had beene dead. But afterward ſhe, comming to her ſelfe, ſpake to them that were preſent, (as there were many both worshipfull and others) ſaying: “Right worshipfull and my good neighbours and friends, I thanke you all, for the great paines you haue taken with me: and whereas I am not able to requite you, I beſeech the Lord to reward you in the kingdome of heauen. And for that I

knowe that my hower-glaſſe is runne out, and my time of departure hence is at hande, I am perſwaded, for three cauſes, to make a confeſſion of my fayth, before you all. The firſt cauſe that moueth me is, for that thoſe (if there be any ſuch here) that are not thorowly reſoluēd in the trueth of God, may heare and leарne what the ſpirite of God hath taught me out of his bleſſed and alſauing worde. The ſecond cauſe that moueth me hereto, is, for that none of you ſhoulde iudge that I died not a perfect Christian, and a liuely member of the myſti-  
 call bodie of Iefus Christ, and ſo by your raſh iudgement might incurre the diſpleaſure of God. The thirde and laſt cauſe, is for that, as you haue beeene witneſſes of part of my life, ſo you might bee witneſſes of my faith and beliefe alſo. And in this my confeſſion, I woulde not haue you to thinke, that it is I that ſpeakē vnto you, but the ſpirite of God which dwelleth in me, and in all the elect of God, vndeſte they be reprobaſes: for *Paul* ſayeth, *Rom. 8*, ‘If any one haue not the ſpirite of Christ dwelling in him, he is none of his.’ This bleſſed ſpirite hath knocked at the doore of my heart, and God hath giuen mee grace to open the doore vnto him, and hee dwelleth in me plentifullie. And therefore I pray you giue me pacience a little, and imprint my wordes in your hearts, for they are not the wordes of flesh and blood, but of the ſpirite of God, by whom I am ſealed to the day of redempſion.”

*A moſt heauenly confeſſion of the Christian faith,  
 made by this bleſſed ſeruant of God Miftreſſe  
 Stubbes a little before ſhe died.*

She wiſht to  
 make confeſſion  
 of her faith,  
 1. to confirm  
 others;

2. to teſtify that  
 ſhe died a  
 Christian;

3. that her  
 friends might be  
 witneſſes of her  
 belief.

My Wife's  
 Confeſſion of  
 Faith.



Lthough the Maiestie of God be both infinite and vnspeakeable, and therefore can neither be conſeuēd in heart, nor exprefſed in wordes, yet to the end you may know what that God is, in whom I beleeeue, as farre as he hath reuealed himſelfe vnto vs in his holy worde, I will define him vnto you, as the ſpirite of God ſhall illuminat my heart. I beleeeue therefore with my heart, and freely confeſſe with my mouth, here before you all, that this God in whom I beleeeue, is a moſt glorious ſpirite, or ſpirituall ſubſtance, a diuine eſſence, or

[leaf B 1, back]

I believe in God  
in 3 Persons,

&c., &c., &c.

I believe that  
we shall know  
each other in  
heaven.

Dives in hell  
knew Abraham  
and Lazarus in  
heaven.

Much more shall  
we know one  
another in the  
life to come.

essenciall being, without beginning or ending, of infinite glorie, power, might & maiestie, inuisible, inacceſſible, incomprehensible, and altogether vnspeakable. I beleue and confesse, that this glorious Godhead, this bleſſed ſubtaunce, eſſence, or being, this diuine power which we call God, is deuided into a trinitie of Persons, the father, the ſonne, and the holy ſpirite, diuinct onely in names and offices, but all one and the fame in nature, in eſſence, ſubtance, deitie, maiestie, glorie, power, might, and eternitie. . . . .

[ . . . . . ]

"When God had caſt *Adam* into a deade ſleepe, and made woman of a ribbe of his fide, hee brought her vnto him, and he knewe her freight way, and called her by her name. Coulde *Adam* in the ſtate of innocencie knowe his wife, hee lying in a dead ſleepe, whileſt ſhe was in making? And ſhall not we being reſtored to a farre more excellent dignitie and perfection, then euer was *Adam* in, not knowe one another? Shall our knowledge bee leſſe in heauen then it is in earth? Doo wee knowe one another in this life, where wee knowe but in part, and fee as it were but in a Glaffe, and ſhall wee not knowe one an other in the life to come, where all ignorance ſhall bee done away?

"In the 16. of *Luke*, we reade howe that the riche man lying in hell, knewe *Abraham* and *Lazarus* in heauen. Then I reaſon thus: If the wicked that be in hell in torments do knowe those that be in heauen ſo farre aboue them: how much more ſhall the godly knowe one another, beeing altogether in one place, and fellowe Citizens in the kingdome of heauen? We reade alſo in the 17. of *Matth.* howe our Sauiour Chriſt, meaning to ſhewe vnto his diſciples, *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, as it were a shadowe, or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, and therefore hee is ſayde to bee tranſfigured before them, and his face did ſhine as the Sunne, and his apparell was like the light. And there appeared vnto them *Moyſes* and *Elias*, fayeth the text.

"Then it followeth, that if the Diſciples being in their naturall corruption, and but in shadowe or glimmering of the ioyes of heauen, did knowe *Moyſes* and *Elias*, the one whereof dyed almoſte two thouſande yeareſ before, the other not much leſſe, howe much more ſhall wee knowe one another in the life to come, all corruption being taken

away, and we in the full fruition and possession of all the ioies & glory of heauen? This is my fait<sup>1</sup>, this is my hope, & this is my trust; this hath [leaf C 2, back] the spirit of God taught me, and this haue I learned out of the booke of God. And (good Lord) that hast begun this goodnes in me, finish it, I beseech thee, & strengthen me that I may perseuerre therein to the ende, and in the ende, through Iesus Christ my onely Lord and sauiour." And she had no sooner made an end of this most heauenly confession of her faith, but Satan was readie to bid her the combate; whom she mightily repulsed, and vanquished, by the power of our Lord Iesus, on whom she constantly beleueed. And wheras before she looked with a sweet, louely, and amiable countenance, red as the rose, and most beautifull to beholde, now vpon the sudden, she bent the browes, she frowned, and looking (as it were) with an angry, . She scowld at stearne, & fierce countenance, as though she saw some filthie, vggel- some, and displeasant thing, she brust foorth into these speaches following, pronouncing her wordes as it were scornfully and disdainfully, in contempt of him to whom she spake.

*A most wonderfull conflict betwixt Satan and her soule, and of her valiant conquest in the same, by the power of Christ.*

How my Wife abus'd Satan.



Ow now, Satan? what makes thou here? Art thou come to tempt the Lords seruant? I tell thee, thou hel-hound, thou hast no part nor portion in Hell-hound, me, nor by the grace of God neuer shalt haue. I was, now am, and shalbe the Lords for euer. Yea, Satan, I was chosen and elected in Christ to euerlasting saluation, before the foundations of the world were laid: and therefore thou maist get the[e] packing, thou damned dog, & go shake thine eares, for in me hast thou nought. But what dost thou lay to my charge, thou foule fiend? Oh, that I am a sinner, and therefore shall be damned: I confess in deede that I am a sinner, and a grieuous sinner, both by originall finne, and actuall finne; and that, I may thanke thee for. And therfore, Satan, I bequeath my finne to thee, from whome it first proceeded, and I appeale to the mercie of God in Christ Iesus. Christ came to sauе [leaf C 3] finners (as he saith himselfe) and not the righteous: 'behold the

be off!  
Damned dog,  
be gone!

Tho' I am a  
sinner,

yet Christ's  
blood has  
cleansd me.

All my sins are  
pardond for his  
name's sake.

Deceitful devil,

Christ has paid  
my debt to God  
for me.

Firebrand of  
Hell, auoid!

[leaf C 3, back]

Pack! Or I will  
call on Michael.

Lambe of God (faith Iohn) that taketh away the finnes of the world.' And in another place, he crieth out : 'the blood of Iesus Christ doth cleanse vs from al finne.' And therefore, Satan, I constantly beleue that my finnes are washed away in the precious blood of Iesus Christ, and shall neuer be imputed vnto mee. For Chrifts righteousnesse is my righteousnesse, his holinesse my holines, his innocencie my innocencie, and his blood a full recompence and satissfaction for all my finnes. But what fayest thou more, Satan? Dost thou aske me how I dare come to him for mercy, he being a righteous God, and I a miserable sinner? I tell the, Satan, I am bolde thorow Christ to come vnto him, being assured and certaine of pardon and remission of all my finnes for his names sake. For, doth not the Lord bid all that be heauie laden with the burden of finne, to come vnto him, and he will ease them? Chriftes armes were spred wide open (Satan) vpon the Croffe (with that she spred her owne armes) to embrace me, and all penitent finners: and therefore (Satan) I will not feare to present my selfe before his footstoole, in full assurance of his mercie for Christ his sake. What more, Satan? Doeſt thou say, it is written, that God wil reward euery one according to his works, or according to his deserts? But it is written againe, thou deceitfull deuill, that Chrifts righteousnesse is my righteousnesse, his works my works, his deserts my deserts, & his precieus blood a full satissfaction for all my finnes. Oh, but God is a iust God, thou saiſt, and therefore must needs in iustice condemne me. I grant (Satan) that he is a iust God, and therefore hee cannot in iustice punish me for my finnes, which hee hath punished alreadie in his sonne. It is against the law of iustice, to punish one fault twice. I was, and am, a great debter vnto God the Father, but Christ Iesus hath paied the debt for me: and therefore it standeth not with the iustice of God to require it againe. And therefore auoid, Satan, auoid, thou firebrande of hell! auoid, thou damned dog, and tempt me no more! for he that is with me is mightier than thou, euen the mightie and victorious Lion of the tribe of *Iuda*, who hath bruized thy head, and hath promised to be with his children to the end of the world. Auoid therfore, thou daſtard, auoid, thou cowardly ſouldier, remoue thy ſiege, and yeelde the **field wonne**, & get thee packing, or else I wil cal vpon my grandcaptaine Chrift Iesus, that valiant *Michael*, who beate thee in heauen,

and threw thee downe to hell, with all thy hellish traine, and diuelish crew." She had scarcely pronounced the last wordes, but she fell suddenly into a sweet smiling laughter, saying, " Now is he gone, now is he gone! do you not see him flie like a cowarde, and runne away like a beaten cocke? He hath lost the field, and I haue wonne the victorie, euen the garland, and crowne of euerlasting life; and that, not by my owne power or strength, but by the power and might of Iesuſ Christ, who hath ſent his holy Angels to keepe me." And ſpeaking to them that were by, ſhe ſaid, " would God you ſaw but what I ſee! Do you not ſee infinite millions of moft glorious Angels ſtand about me, with firie charets ready to defend me, as they did the good prophet *Elizeus*. These holy Angels, these miniftring ſpirits, are appointed by God to carrie my ſoule into the kingdome of heauen, where I ſhall behold the Lord face to face, and ſhall ſee him, not with other, but with theſe fame eyes. Now am I happie and bleffed for euer, for I haue fought the good fight, and by the might of Christ haue wonne the victorie. Now from henceforth ſhall I neuer taste neither of hunger nor cold, paine nor woe, miferie nor affliction, vexation nor trouble, feare nor dreade, nor of any other calamitie, or aduerſitie, whatſoever. From henceforth is laid vp for mee a crowne of life, which Christ ſhal giue to thoſe that feare him. And as I am now in poſſeſſion thereof by hope, ſo ſhall I bee anon in full fruition thereof by preſence of my ſoule, and hereafter of my bodie alſo, when the Lord doth pleafe." Then ſhe ſpake softly to herfelfe as followeth.

"Come, Lord Iesuſ, come, my loue Iesuſ, oh fende thy purſeuant (sweet Iesuſ) to fetch me! Oh (sweet Iesuſ) ſtrengthen thy feruant, & keepe thy promife!" Then ſang ſhe the diuers Psalmes moft sweetly, and with a chearefull voice: which done, ſhe deſired her husband that the 103. Psalme might bee fung before her to the Churche. And further, ſhee deſired him that hee woulde not mourne for her, alledging the Apostle *Paul*, where he faith: ' Brethren, I woulde not haue you to mourne, as men without hope, for them that die in the Lord': affirming that ſhe was not in caſe to be mourned for, but rather to bee reioyced for: for that ſhee ſhould paſſe (ſhe ſaide) from earth to heauen; from men to holie Saints, to Angels, to Cherubins and Seraphins, yea to God himſelfe. *After which* wordes, very ſuddenely, ſhe ſeemed, as it were, greatly to reioyce, and to looke very cheere-

Then ſhe laught, for Satan ran off like a beaten cock.

She ſaw millions of Angels about her.

By Christ's might ſhe had won the victory.

She calld on Jesus to fetch her.

She ſang Psalms sweetly.

She bade me not mourn for her.

[leaf C 4]

She lookt cheerfully,

and welcomd  
death;

commended her  
spirit to her  
God,

and then slept  
sweetly in the  
Lord.

She was but 18  
when she died.  
May we all  
follow her  
example!

fully, as though she had seene some glorious fight: and lifting vp her whole body, and stretching foorth both her armes, as though shée would imbrace something, said: “I thanke my God, through Iesus Christ, he is come, he is come, my good Iayler is come to let my soule out of prison! Oh sweet death, thou art welcome, welcome, sweet death! neuer was there any guest so welcome to mee as thou art! Welcome, the messenger of euerlaſting life: welcome, the doore and enterance into euerlaſting life: welcome (I say), and thrise welcome, my good Iayler! do thy office quickly, and fet my soule at libertie. Strike (sweet death), strike my heart, I feare not thy blowe. Now it is done. Father, into thy blessed hands I commend my spirit! Sweete Iesus, into thy blessed hands I commend my spirit! Blessed spirit of God, I commit my soule into thy handes! Oh moft holy, blessed, and glorious Trinitie, three persons and one true euerlaſting God, into thy blessed handes I commit both my soule and my bodie:” at which wordes her breath staied; and fo, neither mouing hand nor foot, she slept sweetly in the Lord.

Thus haſt thou heard (gentle Reader) the diſcourse of the vertuous life and christian death of this faithfull feruaunt of God, Mistrefſe *Katherine Stubbes*: which is ſo much the more wonderfull, in that ſhe was but yong and tender of yeares, not exceeding the number of xviii. when ſhe departed this life. The Lorde giue vs all grace to follow her good example, that we may come to thoſe vnspeakeable ioyes wherin ſhe now reſteth, through Iesus Christ our Lorde; to whom with the Father, and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glorie, praife, dominion, and thankegiuing, both nowe and euermore. Amen.

F I N I S. P. S. Gent.

EXTRACTS FROM  
THE 1610 EDITION OF  
PHILIP STUBBES'S  
PERFECT PATHWAY TO FELICITIE,  
WITH  
A SHORT TREATISE  
OF  
PRAIERS AND SUPPLICATIONS,  
WRITTEN IN 1592.

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[The original is a pretty little dumpty volume,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches high by  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches broad. Collation ¶ 1-8. A. to T in 8s. ¶ 1, the 1st leaf, is blank; the last leaf and page before it (T. 8 and 7 back) are blank too; all the leaves are bordered.  
Mr Hy. Huth's copy (from Heber's library), which he has kindly lent me, is in its original gilt vellum cover, with the initials R D, separated by a rose, on each of the two sides. The borders and initials in this partial reprint are not of the same patterns as those in the original.]

## CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S *PATHWAY*,

ED. 1592 (AND 1610).

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>T 1. Blank. T 2. Title.<br/>     T 3. The Epistle Dedicatore. <br/>     T 8. † The Preface.<br/>     A 2. Certaine Graces to bee saide before and after meat.<br/>     A 3. Thankesgiving after meate.<br/>     A 3, bk. Another prayer before meat.<br/>     A 4, bk. An other praier after meat.<br/>     A 5. A praier before meat.<br/>     A 6. A thankesgiving after meat.<br/>     A 7. A note to knowe the beginning and ending of the fourtearmes of the yeare. (A 8, back, blank.)<br/>     B 1. Speciall Meditations for all times and for all persons.<br/>     B 4, bk. Precepts and directions for the morning.<br/>     B 5. Meditations in the morning.<br/>     B 6, bk. Meditations to bee considered of at the rising of the Sunne.<br/>     C 1. A praier for the morning.<br/>     C 4. Precepts at thy going foorth of thy Chamber.<br/>     C 4, bk. Meditations in the washing of ones face and hands.<br/>     C 5, bk. A praier to be said at the washing of ones face and hands.<br/>     C 6. Meditations before and at dinner.<br/>     C 7. A praier before meat.<br/>     C 8. Directions how a Christian should behauie himselfe at the table.<br/>     D 1. † A Thanks-giving to God after dinner.<br/>     D 2. Meditations after dinner.<br/>     D 3, bk. Directions how to behauie thy selfe before and after Supper.<br/>     D 4, bk. A thankes giudg [so] to God before Supper.<br/>     D 6, bk. A thankesgiving to God after Supper.<br/>     D 7. Directions of Christian behauior after Supper.<br/>     D 8. † Meditations when thou comest into thy chamber.<br/>     E 2, bk. † A Prayer when sleepe cometh vpon one.</p> | <p>E 6. † A Praier when one awakes out of sleepe.<br/>     E 6, bk. † Meditations when one awaketh out of sleepe.<br/>     E 7. † A Praier to be said at the break of the day.<br/>     E 8. † Meditations at the appearing of the day.<br/>     F 1. † A Praier when one ariseth forth of his bed.<br/>     F 1, bk. † Meditations when one ariseth out of his bed.<br/>     F 2, bk. † A praier to be said at the putting on of a mans clothes.<br/>     F 3. † Christian directions for the Morning.<br/>     F 5. † [Fresh Title.] A SHORT / Treatise, of praiers / and Supplications; / COMPRISING / a briefe summe of all such / things as we stand / in need of in this / life. / By the same Author. / P. S. Gent. / (F 5, back, blank.)<br/>     F 6. † A Praier for the Morning.<br/>     F 7. † A Prayer for the Euening.<br/>     F 8, bk. † A generall confession of our sins to God the Father, necessary to be said at all times.<br/>     G 3, bk. A confession of our sinnes to Christ Iesus our sauour, with desire of forgiuenes.<br/>     G 5. A fruitfull praier to God the holie Ghost.<br/>     G 6, bk. A Praier for the Queenes<sup>1</sup> Maiestie.<br/>     G 8, bk. A praier to be said of all such as be maistrates and rulers in the common wealth.<br/>     H 2. A praier for the increase of faith.<br/>     H 3, bk. A praier against the deuell, the world and the flesh.<br/>     H 4, bk. A praier for Gods direction in all things which we take in hand.<br/>     H 5, bk. A praier for a competent and a necessarie living.<br/>     H 7, bk. A praier for grace that wee may vse our wealth to the glorie of God.</p> |
|---|--|

<sup>1</sup> Kings, ed. 1610, which also alters her to his, and [our soueraine] 'Ladie and gouernes' to 'Lord and gouerner.'

† From the 1610 edition, my copy of the 1592 one being imperfect.

[Continued at back of Title.]

A perfect Pathway

*to Felicitie,*

Containing godlie

*Meditations, and Prayers,* fit for all times, and  
necessarie to be practiced of all good  
Christians.

AT LONDON,  
Imprinted by *Humphrey Lownes*, dwelling on  
Bread Street hill, at  
the signe of the  
Star. 1610.

CONTENTS OF STUBBES'S *PATHWAY*, 1592, 1610.

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| I 1. A praier to be said of women with childe.                           | Gods holie Angels in any extremitie or neede whatsoever.                             |
| I 3. A praier for godly wisedome.  | M 3, bk. A praier against sudden death.  |
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| I 6. A praier when one taketh a iourney in hand.                         | M 7, bk. A praier for those that be rich and wealthie.                               |
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| K 1. A praier for euerie subiect of a common wealth.                     | N 3. A praier for the increase and preseruation of the fruits of the earth.          |
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| K 5, bk. A praier to be said of those that be maisters of households.    | N 8. A praier against swearing.  |
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| L 4, bk. A praier for loue and charitie.                                 | O 7, bk. A praier for grace to be mindfull to die.                                   |
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The first edition of 1592 ends on the back of sign. P 5.

1592.

uerlastig GOD bee all / honour, glorie,  
prayse do<sup>l</sup>/minion power, and  
thanks/giuing for euermore.  
Amen.

*Vni Deo & trino sit,  
omnis gloria*

*FINIS.*

[Ornament.]

The after prayers in ed. 1610 are:—(2) A Prayer for the forgiuenes of sinnes (P 6, back). (3) Another (Q 3). (4) Praye and (5) Prayer for Gods mercy towards vs (Q 5, back). (6) A Prayer, in meditating on Christs Passion (R 1, back). (7) Another (R 5). (8) A Prayer to Christ in glorie (R 6, back). (9) A Prayer before the hearing of Gods word (R 8). (10) A Prayer for Gods Grace (S 2). (11) A Prayer for confidence in God alone (S 3, back). (12) A Prayer for true enlightning (S 4, back). (13) A Prayer that the olde man may die in vs (S 6, back). (14) A Prayer to be vsed by the sickle (T 2). (15) A Prayer, in the time of Pestilence (T 5). *Finis.* (T 7, front). Back of T 7, and T 8, blank, tho' with borders.

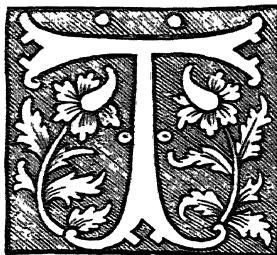
\* sign. P 5, back.

and euerlasting GOD, be all honour, glorie, praise, might power maiestie and dominion, now and for euer.  
Amen.

(1) A Praier for the Church.

O Singular louer of vs, Christ Iesu, O Bridegrome to whom thy Church is most deare, and which hast promised that thou wilt never faile her: increase her . . .

To the right worshipfull,  
*vertuous, and godlie Gentle-*  
*woman, Mistresse Katherine*  
*Milward, most faithful spouse*  
*to the no lesse worshipfull, wife and*  
*religious Gentleman, Master Willi-*  
*am Milward. Esquire, P. S. wilheth*  
*all happie successe in this life, with in-*  
*crease of worship, and in the life*  
*to come, eternal felicity in the*  
*Heauenly Hierachie by*  
*Iesus Christ.*



*Wo things peraduenture (Right Worshipfull)*  
*may be maruailed at, concerning this little*  
*book: <sup>2</sup>as namely, first, why I haue pub-*  
*lished it, confidering the great number of*  
*Books, either of the same, or verie like*  
*Argument, extant in these dayes. Secondly,*  
*wherfore I haue dedicated it rather unto<sup>3</sup>*  
*you then to anie other. For the first, I*  
*protest before God, who knoweth the secrets*  
*of all hearts, I haue not published it, either for vain glory, lucre, or*  
*<sup>4</sup>gaines, nor yet for any other priuate respect of my owne whatsoeuer;*  
*but at the instant request and earnest desire of one of my verie good*  
*friends, and alliance also, who yet being living, & the onely man that*  
*hath borne the whole charges of the impression thereof, both can, & I*  
*know will (if need should require) iufifie the same against any that*  
*shold <sup>5</sup>auerre the contrarie. And for the second, when I confidered*  
*with my selfe how much bound I haue alwaies beeene to your worship*

<sup>1</sup> sign. ¶ 3.

<sup>4</sup> sign. ¶ 4.

<sup>2</sup> sign. ¶ 3, back.

<sup>3</sup> vns orig.

<sup>5</sup> sign. ¶ 4, back.

ever since the time that I was first acquainted with you, for your good opinion you have euer conceiued of me, & sundrie other your courtesies shewed towards me, far beyond my deserts or expectation: As also when I call'd to remembrance your feruent zeale which you haue euer born to the word of God & holy religion, your exquisite knowledge therein, your careful indeuour to put the same in practise, & to frame your life therafter: Briefly, when I remembred your maruaulous humilitie & lownesse of mind, your wonderfull modestie, gentlenesse, and affability, your rare continencie and integricie of life, with infinite the like vertues and graces, wherewith God hath beautified & adorned your worship aboue manie others; I say, when I remembred these things, with many mo, I doe no leſſe (hauing so fit an occasion giuen me by reason of my friends importunacie) then to dedicate these my labors to your <sup>3</sup>worship, though not as a guerdon answerable to your deserts, yet as an infallible testifie monie, pledge, and token of my thankful goodwill and grateful heart towards you. And albeit that in respect of the formal method of the booke (for herein I haue not studied to be curios), it may seeme to be base and contemptible, and such as is farre unworthy to bee <sup>4</sup>exhibited, to so wife, so discreet, so godly, & religious a gentlewoman; yet in regard of the matter, which is heauenly and diuine, I most humbly beseech you to accept therof, and to permit the same to go forth to the view of the worlde under the gard of your protection, and to patronize both the author & the booke against the poysoned tonges of rail'ng Phormions & flouting Momuffes, to whom all good things are had in disdaine. And in so doing, both God shall bee glorified by you, the church & Saints shall praise God in you, & I my selfe (besides that I will not rest vntankfull to you to the death) will not cease alſo to pray to God for you. And thus I most humblie take my leave. From my

<sup>6</sup> Chamber, this present  
tenth of Aprill.

1592.

Your Worships in the Lord.

Philip Stubs.

<sup>1</sup> sign. ¶ 5.

<sup>4</sup> sign. ¶ 6, back.

<sup>2</sup> sign. ¶ 5, back.

<sup>5</sup> sign. ¶ 7.

<sup>3</sup> sign. ¶ 6.

<sup>6</sup> sign. ¶ 7, back.

<sup>1</sup>Precepts at thy going forth  
of thy Chamber.



HEN thou goest foorth of thy chamber, salute thy bed fellow (if thou haft anie), giuing him the time of the day, and in meeting others doe the like (for ciuitie requireth it). And when thou commest into the presence of thy Parents, not onely salute them, but also fall downe vpon thy knees before them, <sup>2</sup>and desire them to praie to God to bless thee. When thou haft so don, wash thy face & thy hands, & keep thy body cleane and neat: in the doing wherof, meditate thus with thy selfe.

Meditations in the washing  
of ones face and hands.



S y<sup>e</sup> filthines and pollution of my bodie is washed & made clean by y<sup>e</sup> element of water; so is my <sup>3</sup>bodie and soule purified and washed from the spots & blemishes of sin, by the precious blood of Iesus Christ. Think, also, this washing putteth me in remembrance of my baptism, of my spiritual birth and regeneration, whereby I am not onelie borne anew by the operation of the Holy-ghoſt, but also am fealed vp to eternall saluation, thorowe the redemption that is in Christ. These Meditations ended, pray as followeth:

<sup>4</sup>A praier to be said at the wa-  
shing of ones face & hands.



Oft gracious God, and louing Father, who haſt giuen thy onelie begotten Son Iesus Christ, to ſuffer death vpon the Croffe for my redēption; graunt, I moſt intirely beſeech thee, for his ſake, that as this my bodie is now washed

<sup>1</sup> sign. C 4.

<sup>2</sup> C 4, back.

<sup>3</sup> C 5.

<sup>4</sup> C 5, back.

and made cleane by the element of materiall water, so my body and soule maie both bee purified & purged from all vncleannesse and filthinesse of sinne, thorow the efficacie of thy sonne his most precious bloud. These things thus ordered, go forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things to his glorie, and the good of thy brethren. . . . .

Directions how a Christian  
*should behauie himselfe at*  
the Table.



Hen thou commest to the Table, shew all obeyiance and curteisie, behauing thy selfe modestlie, humbly, and soberly, as in the presence of God. Eate so much as nature requireth, not how much infatiable appetite desireth. Be spare, as well of hande as tongue. Let thy countenance be amiable and pleasant toward all men. Let all thy communication bee seafoned with salt, as the Apostle speaketh, that it maie giue grace to the hearers, remembraunce that wee must giue accounts at the daie of iudgement for euerie idle word. Vse not to laugh much, to iest, or scoffe, to floute or mocke, to deride, backbite, or <sup>1</sup>detract anie man behinde his backe, but in all things so demeanor thy selfe, that thou maist neither dishonour thy God, nor giue either offence or euill example vnto any at the table. Dinner being ended, giue God thanks as followeth.

A Thankf-giuing to God  
*after dinner.*

**M**ost holy-father, Lord of heauen & earth, I giue thee thankes in <sup>2</sup>the name of Iefus Christ for all thy benefites and blessings in mercy bestowed vpon mee euer since I was borne. And namelie, O Father, I praise thee for feeding my hungry body, as alwaies heretofore, so now presentlie at this time, with earthlie foode; beseeching thee to feede my soule likewise with the

<sup>1</sup> sign. D.

<sup>2</sup> sign. D, back.

celestiall foode of thy holie word. And I pray thee, good Lord, that as thou hast giuen vnto mee the vse of these <sup>1</sup>earthly creatures in great measure, so thou wilt in mercie vouchsafe to giue vnto me the continual supply of all my necessities & wants, needfull either for my soule, or bodie, to the end, and in the end, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord. . . . .

<sup>2</sup>A Thanks-giuing to God  
*before Supper.*



Ather of mercie, and God of all truth, looke downe, I beseech thee, from the throne of thy heauenly palace vpon vs thy humble seruants, albeit most wretched and miserable sinners: sanctifie both our bodies & soules, by the presence of thy holie Spirite, and blesse these thy creatures vnto vs: giue them strength to nourish our bodies, and our bodies their naturall powers and force, euerie member to performe his office and dutie, according as thou hast appointed, & as thou seest to bee best for thy glorie, and the sustaining and repairing of our ruinous and weake natures. And we praiе thee, good father, also, to feede our soules with the celestiall *Manna* of thy blessed worde, and bring vs once to suppe with thee in the kingdome of heauen, thorow the precious bloud of Iesus Christ.

Then fall to thy meate reuerently, as before at dinner, hauing alwaies a diligent eye, that thou abuse not the good creatures of GOD, by gluttony, drunkenesse, gourmandise, or any other kinde of riot or exceſſe. Remember that nature is ſatiſſed with a little; and what is more then will ſuffice nature is ſuperfluouſ; and one daie thou ſhalt be accomptable for it to the great Judge of all the earth. Thy body beeing ſatiſſed, forget not to relieue the necessities of the Saints, according to thy abilitie, that God maie blesſe thee, & multiplie thy ſtore. When Supper is ended, giue god thanks, either as followeth, or otherwife, as the ſpirit of God ſhall illuminate thy heart.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> sign. D 2.

<sup>2</sup> sign. D 4, back.

<sup>3</sup> Ends D 6, front.

<sup>1</sup>A Thanks-giuing to God  
*after Supper.*



H Lord our God, most gratiouſe & holy father, we render all praife & thanks-giuing to thy foueraigne maiestie, for all thy benefites and blesſinges ſo plentifullly beftowed vpon vs. And namelie<sup>2</sup> we thanke thee (holy father) for theſe thy good creatures, which thou haſt at this preſent in full meaſure giuen vnto vs. Oh Lord, make vs thankefull for them, & pardon our vnthankfulneſſe, for Iefus Christ his fake. Finally, make vs all thy true, obedient, & faithfull ſeruants, and bring vs to euerlaſting life in thy good time, for thy great mercieſ fake in thy beloued, Amen.

Directions of Christian behauing  
*our after supper.*



He reſt of the time after Supper, vntill thou goeft to bedde,<sup>3</sup> ſpend with thy familie, either in ſinging of Psalmes and ſpirituall ſongs, ſinging and making melodie to the Lord in your hearts; or else in conſerring, reaſoning, diſputing, and talking of the word of God, in reading, expounding, or interpreting of the ſame. Then, when time calleth thee to goe to bed, call thy whole houſholde together in ſome conuenient place, make publike confeſſion of your finnes to God the Father, craue<sup>4</sup> pardon and forgiueneffe for Iefus Chrifts fake, and praie for grace to bee able to refiſt ſin hereaſter, with all means, waies, & allurements leading thereunto. Which done, repaire to thy chamber, reuoluing with thy ſelfe theſe and the like things following.

<sup>1</sup> D 6, back.

<sup>2</sup> especially.

<sup>3</sup> D 7, back.

<sup>4</sup> sign. D 8.

Meditations when thou co-  
*mest into thy chamber.*



Hen thou art come into thy chamber, call to <sup>1</sup>thy remembrance what euill thou haft committed that daie past, either in thought, word, or deed, towards GOD, or towards man, and the good which thou shouldest haue done, and haft not done. If thou haft seene or heard anie good thing in any man, note it, learne it, and praiere for grace to follow it. If againe thou haft seene or heard anie euill in anie man, note it in thy selfe, and pray for grace to eschewe it. This done, kneele <sup>2</sup>downe by thy bed fide, confesse thy sins to GOD the Father, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, and praiere to him to protec<sup>t</sup> thee that night, and to defende thee vnder the shadowe of his wings, from all perilles and daungers both bodilie and ghostly. Thy clothes being put off, meditate thus with thy selfe. ‘Oh what a filthy, vncleane, & vgglesome carkasse doe I beare about with me, that for very shame <sup>3</sup>had neede to bee couered with garments!’ Think also from what an excellent state and dignity (in regard of thy first creation) thou art fallen, by reason of the filthines of sin. Then thinke, that if thy apparell were giuen thee for verie necessities sake, to couer and hide thy shame withall, what reason haft thou to be proud thereof? For should a begger be proude of the cloutes that wrap his fores? Thinke also, that as thou <sup>4</sup>canst not without thy shame stand before men, naked and bare, so canst thou not without shame and confusion of face stand before the maiestie of God, except thou be clothed & inuested with the garment of Christs righeteousnes and holinesse. Finally think, that as thou putttest off and layest aside thy materiall garment, so shalt thou once, and peraduenture before thou risest againe, put off and lay away the earthly mansion of thy <sup>5</sup>body, committing it to mother earth againe, from whence it first came. When sleep commeth vpon thee, pray as followeth.

<sup>1</sup> D 8, back.

<sup>2</sup> sign. E.

<sup>3</sup> sign. E 1, back.

<sup>4</sup> sign. E 2.

<sup>5</sup> sign. E 2, back.

A Prayer when sleepe com-  
*meth upon one.*



Oft mercifull Father, with whome there is no difference of time, nor varietie of chaunge, seeing thou haſt appointed the daie for man to trauaile in, and the <sup>1</sup>night for him to take his naturall rest, I beseech thee that as my bodie hath beene occupied and employed this daie in the labours of this life, so it maie receiue by thy protection quiet rest and sleepe this night, that I may be the abler to goe forwarde in the exercise of good works, in the rest of my life that I haue to liue, to the praise and glorie of thy blessed name: and in this my sleepe defend mee, I beseech thee, from all perilles <sup>2</sup>and daungers, and from all the force and violence of mine enemies both spirituall and corporall. And as it maie please thee to graunt to my bodie quiet rest and sleepe; so let it be thy good pleasure to make my soule watchfull and vigilant to waite vpon thee, and diligently to looke for the comming of thy deare sonne Iefus Christ vnto iudgement for my redemption. Keepe me from all fearefull dreams and visions, from all phantaſtical apparitions & diuelish illusions of the wicked enemie, from all carnall pollutions & vngodlie fyguracions of the wicked spirite. Finally graunt, that both my bodie and my soule, resting vnder thy diuine protection, may be safe from all enmitie & hostilitie whatsoeuer, and at the last maie attaine euerlasting life, thorough Iefus Christ, my onelie Sauiour & Redeemer. This done, dispose thy selfe to rest, com<sup>4</sup>mitting both thy bodie and soule into the hands of God, praying him to be thy watchman that night. Then descend thou into the secrets<sup>5</sup> closets and priuie chambers of thine heart, search every place, and ransacke euerie corner; and if thou findeſt anie filthinesſe or vncleanenesſe therein (as indeed thou ſhalt finde nothing else) wash it away with the teares of repentance, & make it cleane with the broome of contrition. Then thinke thus <sup>6</sup>with thy ſelfe; ‘ My bed dooth represent vnto me my

<sup>1</sup> sign. E 3.

<sup>4</sup> secretest? or ſecret

<sup>2</sup> sign. E 3, back.

<sup>5</sup> E 4, back.

<sup>3</sup> sign. E 4

<sup>6</sup> E 5.

graue, wherein I must once sleepe; and the clothes, the earth, where-withall I shall shortlie be couered in my sepulchre or graue: And as these fleas and gnats do bite & gnaw my skinne, so shall the wormes eate and confuse the frame of my bodie, in the dust of the earth, when the Lord doth please.' When the morning beginneth to dawn, and the daystarre to appeare,<sup>1</sup> thinke thus; 'As now the morning commeth on, and the daie starre beginneth to appeare, so shall Christ Iesus, the true morning star, shew himselfe at the time appointed of his Father, to iudge both the quicke and the dead.' And when thou hearest the crowing of the Cocke, the sounding of belles, or anie other noise whatsoeuer, think alwaies, that thou hearest the Trumpe of the Archangell sound, saying, 'Arise, you dead<sup>2</sup> and come vnto iudgement.' When thou awakest out of sleepe, praiere to this effecte as followeth.

A Praier when one awakes  
*out of sleepe.*



Ercifull father, grant that as thou haft now awaked my earthly body out of this naturall sleepe, so thou wilt also vouchsafe to raise me vp from the sleep of sin, and in the general resurrection of all<sup>3</sup> flesh, to eternall life, thorow Iesus Christ my only Sauiour & Redeemer. . . . .

<sup>4</sup>Christian directions for the Morning.

 Hen thou haft attired thyselfe decently and comely, not pompously, nor proudly, goe forth of thy<sup>5</sup> chamber, and if thou beeest a master of a househoulde, call thy familie together, confess your finnes, craue pardon for Iesus Christ his sake, pray for grace to resist finne hereafter, prayse God for all his benefites and blessings in mercie bestowed vpon you, pray for continuance of them. Thanke him for your protection that night, beseeching him to protect you that day, and to bleffe all your workes and labours. And fi<sup>6</sup>nally, desire him

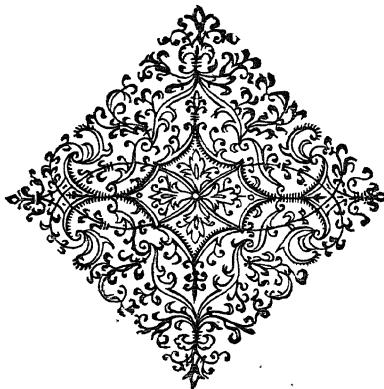
<sup>1</sup> E 5, back.      <sup>2</sup> E 6.      <sup>3</sup> E 6, back.      <sup>4</sup> on sign. F 3.

<sup>5</sup> F 3, back.

<sup>6</sup> sign. F 4.

to keepe and defend you that day, and euer, from all perils and dangers, both bodily and ghoſtly whatſoever, and to bring you to euerlaſting life at the time appointed, through the precious blood of Iefus Christ. This done, goe forth to thy labours in the feare of God, doing all things with ſingle eie and good conſcience, to the praise of him that made thee; being assured that as in mercie hee will not leauē the leaſt<sup>1</sup> good worke that wee do, vnrewarded; ſo in iuſtice hee will not leauē the leaſt euill that wee doe commit, either in thought, word, or deed, vnpunished, except we repent. To God, therefore, our Father, to Christ Iefus our Sauiour and redeemer, and to God the Holie-ghoſt our Comforter and Sanctifier, three persons and one true and euerliuing God, bee all honour, glorie, praife, dominion & thanks-giuing for euermore. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> F 4, back.



A S H O R T  
*Treatise, of praiers*  
and Supplica-  
*tions;*

C O M P R I S I N G

*a brief summe of all such*  
*things as we stand*  
*in need of in this*  
*life.*

*By the same Authour,*

P. S. Gent.

<sup>1</sup>A Praier for the Queenes  
Maiestie.



E render all prayse and thanks to thee, oh <sup>2</sup>king of all kings, and gouernour of all things, for that in the multitude of thy mercies thou hast vouchesafe to place ouer vs thy little flock, so godly & vertuous a guide, so gracious & wise a princes, as the worlde neuer had her peere.

And we humblie pray thee, holie father, with thy fauourable countenance to beholde the same thy seruant, our souereigne Ladie and gouernessee. And so sanctifie her heart with the grace of thy <sup>3</sup>holie spir[i]te, that shee maie bend all her studie and indeuour to y<sup>e</sup> setting forth of thy glorie, y<sup>e</sup> maintenance of thy holie religion, the aduaancement of true vertue and godlines, the supplanting of vice and commoditie of this her maiesties common weale vnder thee: kindle in her a feruent zeale of thy glory and a vehement desire to establish whatsoeuer is defectiue or wanteth in this thy Church & vineyard in England, for the <sup>4</sup>true & fincere discipline & gouernment of thy church & common welth. Saue and defend her from al forreigne power, & authoritie, from all traitterous conspiracies, plots and practises, either of papists, Atheists, or any other sectaries whatsoeuer. Giue her godlie, wife, & religious counsailers, such as may respect onlie thy glorie, that her maiestie ruling acording to thy wil, they counselling according to the inspiration of thy holy spirit, <sup>5</sup>and we her subiects faithfully obeying, may altogether in the end receiue the incorruptible crowne of eternall glorie in the heauenlie Hierusalem, thorow Iesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

<sup>1</sup> From ed. 1592, sign. G 6, back.    <sup>2</sup> sign. G 7.    <sup>3</sup> G 7, back.

<sup>4</sup> sign. G 8.    <sup>5</sup> G 8, back.

A Prayer for a Competent &  
*a necessary liuing.*

 Lord our GOD, most gratioues & holie father, <sup>1</sup>whose loue towards men in Christ Iefus is infinite and vnspeakeable, & whose tender care ouer him is such, that thou haft promised that whosoeuer beleeweth in thee, dependeth vpon thy prouidence, and seeketh his reliefe at thy bleffed handes, shall neuer want anie good thing, eyther necessarie for soule or bodie: Therefore, most gracious Father, I thy fielie creature, of my selfe poore, yea, pouertie and nakednesse <sup>2</sup>it selfe, most intirelie beseech thee, for Iefus Christ his sake, that thou wilt giue vnto mee a competent and a necessarie liuing, as meate, drinke, and cloth, with all other things needfull for my bodie; that pinching pouertie oppreffe mee not, nor that I be not drawen to attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes for the main-tenance of my life. To this end therefore (good father) blesse my store, and replenish my basket with thy <sup>3</sup>blessings, that I maie be able, thorow thy beneficall liberalitie, to liue out of debt and danger of all men, and to occupie my selfe in the exercise & practise of good workes, to the relieve of them that haue neede, and the setting forth of thy honor & glory, thorow Iefus Christ our Lord. Amen. . . . .

<sup>4</sup>A praier to be said of thoſe  
*that be unmaried.*

 H Lord our God, in as much as thou haft commaunded in thy bleſſed word, the word of truthe, that wee, abſtayning from all whooredome, and fornication, and vncleanness, ſhould keepe our vefſelles in holineſſe, and not in ye filthy luſts of the fleſh, as do the heathen, who know not thee: I beseech thee therfore to giue mee grace to perform this thy moft holy Commandement, and graunt that I neuer pollute nor defile my bodie with whoredome, fornication, nor any other vncleanness. And because, O Lord, chaſtitie of the bodie

<sup>1</sup> sign. H 6.

<sup>2</sup> sign. H 6, back.

<sup>3</sup> sign. H 7.

<sup>4</sup> sign. K 2, back.

<sup>5</sup> K 3.

is nothing, without the continencie of the minde, bridle therefore, I beseech thee, all the motions and affections of my heart ; that I, banishing all wicked thoughts and vncleane imaginations out of <sup>1</sup>my mind, may liue in all holy innocencie, puritie, and integrity, both of bodie & soule, vnto my liues ende, thorow the efficacy, power, & strength of the pretious bloud of Iesus Christ, Amen.

A Prayer to bee said  
*of those that be  
maried.*

Oly Father, wee are taught by thy sacred word, the breath of thy own mouth, that after <sup>2</sup>thou hadst created all things, the last of all other thou createdst man, & woman of a rib of his fide, giuing her vnto him in holy wedlocke, adding vnto them thy bleffing, saying : ‘ Increase and multiplie, and replenish the earth : ’ I giue thee most humble & harty thanks, for that it hath pleased thee to call me to the honorable state of mariage. And I most heartily beseech thee that we may liue together in thy true faith, feare, and loue, all the daies of <sup>3</sup>our liues. Giue vs grace, the one to loue the other, & both of vs to loue thee, and our brethren for thy sake. Keepe vs (good lord) farre from all wicked ielosie, hatred, malice, and contention one with the other. And as our bodies are incorporate together, and become, as it were, but one bodie ; so vouchsafe, holy father, that as thy owne Turtle doves, we may liue together in chasfittie and continencie, both of bodies and mindes, <sup>4</sup>without defrauding one the other. And if it please thee to bleffe vs with children, giue vs grace to bring them vp in such holy exercises, discipline, and learning, as thou requirest of vs in this life. Grant that wee may labour and trauaile, either of vs in our vocation, that by thy bleffing, we may alwaies haue sufficient to maintain our estates withall in thy holie feare ; that wee be not chargeable to others, but liuing forth of debt <sup>5</sup>and

<sup>1</sup> sign. K 3, back.

<sup>4</sup> sign. K 5.

<sup>2</sup> sign. K 4.

<sup>3</sup> sign. K 4, back.

<sup>5</sup> sign. K 5, back.

danger of all men, maie be rich & plentifull in all good works, to the praiſe & glorie of thy bleſſed name, thorow Iefus Christ our Lord, to whom be praiſe and glorie for euermore, Amen.

A Prayer to be ſaid of  
*thoſe that be maſters*  
 of houſholds.



Hou haſt comandeſt (oh gratiouſe Lord God) by thy bleſſed Apoſtle, *that maſters* <sup>1</sup> ſhould intreate their ſeruants gently and courteouſly, putting away all bitterneſſe and threatning, doing vnto them all equitie and iuſtice, knowing *that thou art our common maſter in heauen*: graunt me grace, therfore (good Lord), ſo to order my ſeruants, as I neuer attempt nor enterprife anie vnrighteous thing againſt them, but ſo to execute my authoritie ouer them, as I maie alwayes remember that thou art the Lord and <sup>2</sup> maſter of vs all, and reſpecteſt no mans person. Make me, O Lord, to be the ſame vnto them, that a good Paſtor is to his flocke, to teach them by wordes thy holiſe lawes, and by example of life, true righteouſneſſe and holineſſe in conuerſation, that they and I togither, in thy good time, may all inherite euerlaſting life, by Christ our Lord, Amen.

<sup>3</sup> A Prayer to be ſaid of  
*ſeruants.*

 Lord our GOD, ſeeing thou haſt ordayneſt ſundry degrees and ſtaſtes of men in this life, and amonſt them all haſt appointed <sup>4</sup> mee to bee a Seruant, giue mee grace, I beſeech thee, to ferue in my vocation faithfully, and to obey willinglie in all things not repugnant to thy bleſſed will, not with eye ſeruice as <sup>5</sup> ſtudying to please men, but with all ſinceritie and ſinglenesse of heart, as ſeeking to glorifie thee: being thorowlie perſwaded that in feruing them, I ferue thee, and of thee ſhall receiue my reward. Giue mee grace to demeane

<sup>1</sup> sign. K 6.

<sup>2</sup> K 6, back.

<sup>3</sup> sign. K 7.

<sup>4</sup> Appointeſt, orig.

<sup>5</sup> sign. K 7, back.

my selfe faithfully, iustlie, and trulie towards all men, in all things, and not to inrich my selfe by picking, stealing, imbezeling, purloyning, or conueyng anie thing from anie man by any finister practise <sup>1</sup>whatsoeuer; but so to behauue my selfe towards all men, as there may be no fault found in me: that thy name may be glorified, and my saluation in Christ Iesu sealed vp vnto mee. Grant this, O Lord, for thy mercies sake, Amen. . . . .

### <sup>2</sup>A Prayer in the time of Pestilence.

**A**T is no marueil, O most righteous Father, that the elements of this worlde are fierce against vs, sometime with earthquakes, sometime with tempests & lightnings, sometimes with ouerflowing <sup>3</sup>of Seas & Riuers, sometime with pestilent concourses of the heauenlie lights, and sometime with corruption of the infected ayre: for we do commonly abuse thy gifts. We acknowledge, that euen in this case also the creatures serue and obeie their Creator, whose commandements wee neglect so oftentimes. Also wee acknowledge thy fatherlie nurturing of vs, whereby thou callest vs backe from <sup>4</sup>the trust of this world with gentle correction, and drawest vs to the desire of the euerlasting life. We humblie beseech thee to remember thy mercy euen in thy wrath, and fauorablie to withdrawe the afflictions which thou haft laid vpon vs in thy displeasure. The infection of y<sup>e</sup> pestilence shall do vs no great harm, if we withdrawe our selues from the infection of sinne. But both those things are of thy gift, O <sup>5</sup>Father of mercie, namelie, as well to haue our mindes free from the poyson of sinne, as to haue our bodies safe from y<sup>e</sup> infection of y<sup>e</sup> plague. Such as haue fastened the Anchor of their hope in this life, are wont in their perils to flie for remedie to such shiffts as these: namely, some to certain Saints, as to S. Rooke, or S. Anthonie; and some to the pernicious Art of witchcraft. But we, who are fully perswaded that no <sup>6</sup>man can escape thy hand

<sup>1</sup> sign. K 8.

<sup>4</sup> sign. T 6.

<sup>2</sup> On sign. T 5.

<sup>5</sup> sign. T 6, back.

<sup>3</sup> sign. T 5, back.

<sup>6</sup> sign. T 7.

beleeue there is no such safetie as to resort to thy selfe, and to flie from thy iustice to thy mercie, as to the surest and safest sanctuarie that can be, forasmuch as thou neuer forlakeſt them that put theyr trust in thy goodneſſe ; vnder whose protection, euen they that dye are ſafe. To thee therefore bee praife for euermore, Amen.

F I N I S.



<sup>1</sup>A praier to be said of all such  
*as be maiestrates and rulers in  
 the common wealth.*



Orafmuch as it hath pleased thee, oh eternall God, ruler of all kinges and <sup>2</sup>kingdoms, to constitute and appoint me (though altogether vneworthie) to be a ruler and gouernour of thy people vnder my soueraigne, I beseech thee, giue me grace, so to execute my office, and minister iustice in the common wealth, that I maie please thee in all things, iniurie no man, oppresse no man, damnifie no man, neither in bodie, nor in goods, but by thy gracious working, may iudge iustly<sup>3</sup>, neither fauoring <sup>4</sup>the rich nor mightie for desire of gifts, nor yet despising the poore for want of rewardes, that I, seeking thy glorie, the aduaancement of thy holie word, and Gospell, and the common benefite of all men, may be found acceptable vnto thee in thy beloued, and may heare that sweete haruest song<sup>5</sup>, ‘well, good seruant, thou hast beene faithfull in smal thinges of this life, (which are but vanities and trifles to the things in the life to come) enter into the ioy of the Lord’. Oh Lord, let it be so, for Iesus Christ his sake. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> From ed. 1592, sign. G 8, back. Given for Justice Shallow's sake.

<sup>2</sup> sign. H.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *2 Henry IV*, Act V. sc. i. :—

*Davy*. I beseech you, sir, to countenance William Visor of Wincot against Clement Perkes of the hill.

*Shal*. There are many complaints, Davy, against that Visor; that Visor is an arrant knave on my knowledge.

*Davy*. I grant your worship, that he is a knave, sir: but yet, God forbid sir, but a knave should have some countenance at his friend's request. An honest man, sir, is able to speake for himself, when a knave is not. I have served your worship truly, sir, these eight years; and if I cannot once or twice in a quarter bear out a knave against an honest man, I have but a very little credit with your worship. The knave is mine honest friend, sir; therefore, I beseech your worship, let him be countenanced.

*Shal*. Go to; I say, he shall have no wrong. Look about, Davy.

[*Exit Davy.*]

<sup>4</sup> H 1, back.

<sup>5</sup> sung, ed. 1592; song, ed. 1610.

## N O T E S.

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p. vi, l. 10: *whose gawld backes are tutched*. “But what o’ that? Your Maiestie, and wee that haue free soules, it touches vs not: let the gall’d iade winch: our withers are vnrunng.” *Hamlet*, III. ii. 251-3; 1st Folio, *Trag.* p. 268, col. 2.

p. viii, l. 7 from foot; p. xiii, *veluers*; p. 32, *velvet*.—Cotgrave distinguishes between *velvet* and *velure*: “*Velours*: m. *Veluet* . . . *Tripe de Velours*, *Valure*, *Mocke Veluet*, *Fustian* an *Apes*. *Tripe*: f. . . *Valure*, *Irish Tuftaffata*, *Fustian* an *Apes*;” and as Harrison says that wool was used for *vellures*, the stuff must have been a kind of ‘velvet-pile cloth’ like that which ladies wore a few seasons ago, and which was all wool. ‘*Velveteen*’ and ‘cotton velvet’ have, I am told, no wool in them. Common velvets have a cotton back and silk face. The French have also *velours* in silk, cotton and wool (Littré) :—

“In time past, the vse of this commoditie [wool] consisted (for the most part) in cloth and woolsteds: but now by meanes of strangers succoured here from domesticall persecution, the same hath beene imployed vnto sundrie other vses, as mockados, baies, *vellures*, grograines, &c.; whereby the makers haue reaped no small commoditie” (not in ed. 1577), 1587. W. Harrison, *Description of England*, bk. 3, chap. 1, p. 221, l. 31-7; my ed. Pt. II. 1878, p. 6.

“at Westminster . . . the bragging *velure*-canioned [with wool-velvet knee-rolls] hobby-horses prance up and down as if some o’ the tilters had ridden ‘em.” 1607. Webster & Dekker’s *Northward Ho*, Act II. sc. 1, p. 257, col. 1, of *Webster’s Works*, ed. Dyce, 1857. (On *Canions*, see p. 246 below.)

On the etymology of *velvet*, *velure*, Mr Henry Nicol says:—“The second *v* of *velvet* is an alteration of *w* (*velwet*, *Promptorium*), and this of *u* (*feluet* *Launfal*—misprinted in Stratmann *felvet*—*veluet*, Chaucer). That the *u* of Mid. E. *veluet* formed a separate syllable is shown by the metre of

And co|uered it | with ve|lu-et|tes blew|e  
(*Squire’s Tale*, Ellesmere MS. 6-Text, p. 496, l. 644)

and by the Cambridge MS. spelling *velowetys*. Mid. E. *veluet* comes from Old Fr. *veluet* (Roquefort—who misprints *velvet*), also spelt *velluet* (Hippeau), for which no references are given; but which occurs latinised as *velluetum*. *Veluet* corresponds to a hypothetical Latin *villütūm*, being a diminutive of Fr. *velu*, hypothetic Lat. *villütūm* (Ital. *velluto*, Span. *velludo*), which shows the usual Fr.

loss of Lat. single *t* between vowels, and (like the other words here considered) has for its primitive Lat. *villus*. Another diminutive of *velu* is Old Fr. *velueau* (Roquefort, with quotation), later *veluan* and *veluyan*, latinised *velludellum*, and corresponding to a hypothetical Lat. *villūtūlum*.

"E. *velure* (Shakspeare *velure*, Cotgrave—probably by misprint—*valure*) is probably Early Mod. Fr. *velure* (Cotgrave), meaning 'shag'; so far there is no authority for either word before the 16th century. The Old Fr. may be either *velure* (four syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villātūram*, with the common Fr. suffix, or *veloure* (-ore, -ure, three syllables), hypothetical Lat. *villōram*, with a rare suffix, existing in the Provincial Span. *vellora* ('knot or lump taken off woollen cloth'). If E. *velure* existed before the 14th century, it points to an Old Fr. *veléure*, as if from *veloure* it would have been *vellour* in Early Mod. E., change of suffix by analogy being unlikely. But if borrowed later, when Old Fr. *veloure* had become *velure*, either F. form (with *eu* = Late Mod. F. *eu*, or *eu* = Late Mod. F. *u*) would suit. It is very unlikely that E. *velure* comes from Mod. Fr. *velours*, as the *s* of this, though now always silent, would be pronounced in many cases in the 16th century. *Velours* is a Mod. form for Old Fr. *velous*, which is Lat. *villōsum* (Ital. *veloso*, Span. *veloso*); Froissart's *velus* is possibly influenced by *velu*, but probably the vowel, as Scheler says, was altered for the sake of the rhyme with *Lus*. The Mod. Burgundian *veleur*, *velor*, quoted by Littré, is probably *velours* in phonetic spelling, hardly Early Mod. Fr. *velure*; an exactly parallel example of inserted *r* in the termination *ous* is noted by Scheler in the Mod. Dutch *jaloersch* ('jealous'), which presupposes a Fr. *jalours* for *jaloux* (Lat. *selōsum*)."

p. xii : *the inferiour sorte onely*. See p. 237, &c., below.

p. i. *Anatomie of Abuses*. Compare Thomas Nashe's "The Anatomie of Absurditie : Contayning a breefe confutation of the slender imputed prayses to feminine perfection, with a short description of the severall practices of youth, and sundry follies of our licentious times. No lesse pleasant to be read, then profitable to be remembered, especially by those who live more licentiously, or are addicted to a more nyce stoycall austteritie." . . . 1589. 4to, black letter, 23 leaves. Br. Museum. *Hazlitt's Handbook*. See the evils of Elizabeth's and James's time described in the play of *No-Body and Some-Body*, 1606, printed in Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 348-351 (and reprinted in facsimile by Mr. Alexander Smith of the Hunterian Club, Glasgow). They are, engrossing corn, racking rents, debasing the coinage, absentee landlords, city wives' whoredom, harlot-keeping, watch-beating, seduction of girls at 13 years old, pick-pocketing, purse-cutting, &c.

p. i. *Abuses*.—See in S. Rowlands's *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614, sign. E 3 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 37), a list of

" *Certaine common abuses*

" **A** Common Alehouse in this age of sinne,  
Is now become a common Drunkards Inne :  
A common seller, and a common buyer,  
Are turned common swearer, common lyer

A common Gamester, shifts hath basely made  
 A common Cheater, at the Dicing trade :  
 A<sup>1</sup> common Thiefe, in Newgate common Layle,  
 Of Tyborne common hye-way cannot fayle :  
 A common Vag'rant, should by law be stript,  
 And by a common Beadle soundly whipt :  
 A common Scould, her furious heate must coole :  
 Wash'd by her diuing in a Cucking stoole :  
 A common Bawd, and filthy Pander slaye,  
 Must common Cart, and Brid-well whipping haue ;  
 A common Rogue is tennant for the Stockes,  
 A common Companyon<sup>2</sup> for the Pockes."

Also see the set of folk whom Rowlands threatens to stab in his *Looke to it: for Ile Stabbe ye*, 1604.

p. 22, l. 11 : *who so sitteth at home.* Cp. Shakspere, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. i. 2-8, Folio, p. 20, col. 1 :

"Home-keeping-youth, haue euer homely wits.  
 Wer 't not affection chaines thy tender dayes  
 To the sweet glaunces of thy honour'd Loue,  
 I rather would entreat thy company  
 To see the wonders of the world abroad,  
 Then (laining dully sluggardiz'd at home)  
 Weare out thy youth with shapelesse idlenesse."

p. 23. *A pleasant & famous Iland.* Cp. Shakspere in *Rich. II*, "This royll Throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle," &c., Folio, *Hist.* p. 28, col. 2, &c. &c.; and on 'the strong kinde of people', the extracts in the Forewords to *Harrison*, Parts I and II, and *Harrison*, I. p. 221, &c.; my *Andrew Boorde*, p. 117-119 (and see its Index).

p. 24, l. 11—10 from foot. Our Saviour \* \* \* with his *Taratantara*. Extract from Luther's *Danger of delaying Repentance* quoted in the *Philobiblion*, vol. i. p. 251. New York. 1862. "The kettle-drum and trumpet of our good God sounds thus: *Poumerle poump! poumerle poump! pliz! pluz! schmi! schmir!*<sup>3</sup> This was the drumming of the Lord, or as Saint Paul says, the voice of the archangel and the trumpet of God, for when God shall thunder at the last day, it will be suddenly, and like beating the kettle-drum, *poumerle poump!* This will be the war-cry and the *taratantara* of our good God. Then the whole heaven will resound with this noise: *Kir! Kir! poumerle poump!*" &c.—S. (W. G. Stone.)

p. 27, l. 2 : *two kindes of sinne.* "For sothe, synne is in two maneres: outhier it is venial, or dedly synne. Sothly, when man lovith any creature more than Jhesu Crist oure creatour, thanne it is dedly synne; and venial synne is, if a

<sup>1</sup> Orig. Of.

<sup>2</sup> Read it with 4 syllables, Com-pa-ny-on.

<sup>3</sup> *schmi, schmir!* in the *Philobiblion*. Perhaps it should be *schmi schmu!* like *poumerle poump!*—S.

234 Notes on pp. 27—31. *Pride and Dress.*

man love Jhesu Crist lesse than him oughte. For sothe the dede of this venial synne is ful perilous, for it amenisith the love that men schulde have to God, more and more." ? 1398-1400.—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Works, ed. Morris, iii. 290.

p. 27. *Pride . . . the verie efficient cause of all euils.* "thanne is Pride the general roote of alle harmes. For of this roote spryngen certein braunches : as Ire, Enuye, Accidie or Slewthe, Auarice (or Coueteise, to commune vnderstandinge), Glotonye, and Lecherye."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, l. 388, Ellesmere MS., p. 615.

p. 28, l. 13. *Pride is tripartite.* Chaucer, in his *Parson's Tale*—evidently following some monk's treatise—first divides Pride into 16 Twigs:—1. Disobedience, 2. Boasting, 3. Hypocrisy, 4. Despite, 5. Arrogance, 6. Impudence, 7. Swelling of Heart (rejoicing in harm done), 8. Insolence, 9. Elation, 10. Impatience, 11. Contumacy, 12. Presumption, 13. Irreverence, 14. Pertinacity, 15. Vain-glory, 16. Jangling (or Chattering). Then he tells of a private kind of Pride (like his Host's Wife's and the Wife of Bath's), wanting to go to offering first, &c. And then he gives the more important division of Pride into two kinds: I. within man's heart; II. without; II. being the sign of I, 'as the gaye leefsel (*portico, verandah*) atte Taverne is sign of the wyn that is in the Celer.' This II, or Outside Pride, is shown in 1. dear Clothing, 2. Horses & Grooms, 3. Household, keeping too many retainers, 4. Table, not asking the poor, having too fine dishes, cups, &c., and too choice minstrelsy. (From my Contents of the *Parson's Tale*, Ellesmere MS.)

p. 28. *Pride, &c.*—Compare "Luxury, Pride and Vanity, the Bane of the British Nation," 8vo, p. 61, London, N.D. (about 1750):—

"A scathing satire throwing curious light with all the vividness of a Hogarth on the vices of a century ago. Among the subjects treated of are the Increase of the Wine Trade; a new piece of Frugality among men of quality in keeping their mistresses in their own dwelling-houses; Beggars & Scotchmen, their respective consumption of white bread, 'with diverse other entertaining subjects, serious and comical'"—*Secondhand-book Catalogue*.

p. 29. *Dame Nature.* "And eek we been alle of o fader, and of o mooder; and alle we been of o nature, roten and corrupt, both riche and poure."—CHAUCER, *Parson's Tale*, Group I, 461, Ellesmere MS., p. 621.

p. 31. *Other nations dress.* Compare in Andrew Boorde's *Introduction* the High German's 'I wyll not chaunge my olde father's fashyon,' p. 159; the Dane's 'Symple rayment shal serue me ful wel ; My old fashion I do vse to kepe,' p. 163; the Bohemian's 'Of our appael we were never nyce ; We be content if our cotes be of fryce,' p. 166; the Hungarian's 'The fashion of my apparel, I do never chaunge', p. 171; the Sicilian's 'we loue no newe fashions', p. 176; the Neapolitan's 'Al new fashyons to Englond I do bequeue ; I am content with my meane array', p. 177; the Italian's 'in my apparel I am not mutable', p. 178.

p. 31, last line. English Men's absurd dress is contrasted with the Italians' sober dress, in Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611, p. 259, quoted in *Harrison*, Pt. II. p. 64.

Notes on pp. 31—33. *Exports and Imports.* 235

p. 31. *Pride & Luxury in England.*

“Who can endure to see  
The fury of men’s gullets and their groins?  
What fires, what cooks, what kitchens, might be spared?  
What stews, ponds, parks, coops, garners, magazines?  
What velvets, tissues, scarfs, embroideries,  
And laces they might lack? . . . what need hath nature  
Of silver dishes or gold chamber-pots?  
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous family  
To see her eat?”

1625.—Ben Jonson, *The Staple of News*, III. ii. Works, ii. 314, col. 1.

p. 32: *new fangles* :—“*Cilechi*, iests, toyes, new fangles.” 1598 Florio.  
Worlde of Wordes.

p. 33. *English valubles exchanged for foreign trifles*: see *Harrison*, I.? In *The Three Ladies of London*, by R. W., 1584, Hazlitt’s *Dodsley*, vi. 276, Lucre speaks thus of English exports and imports there :—

“Thou must carry over wheat, pease, barley, oats, and vetches, and all kind of grain

Which is well sold beyond sea, and bring such merchants great gain.  
Then thou must carry beside, leather, tallow, beef, bacon, bell-metal and everything :  
And for these good commodities, trifles into England thou must bring,  
As bugles to make bables, coloured bones, glass beads to make bracelets withal,  
For every day gentlewomen of England do ask for such trifles from stall to stall :  
And you must bring more, as amber, jet, coral, crystal, and every such bable  
That is slight, pretty, and pleasant : they care not to have it profitable.  
And if they demand wherefore your wares and merchandise agree,  
You must say ‘jet will take up a straw : amber will make one fat :  
Coral will look pale when you be sick, and crystal staunch blood,’  
So with lying, flattering and glosing, you must utter your ware,  
And you shall win me to your will, if you can deceitfully swear.”

\* \* \* \* \*

*Lucre.* Then, Signor Mercatore, I am forthwith to send ye  
From hence to search for some new toys in Barbary and in Turkey ;  
Such trifles as you think will please wantons best,  
For you know in this country ’tis their chiefest request.

*Mercatore.* Indeed, de gentlewoman here by so much vain toys,  
Dat we strangers laugh-a to tink wherein day have their joys.”

1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt’s *Dodsley*, vi. 306.

‘*Triquedondaines* : f. All kind of superfluous trifles vsed, or vsually bought, by women ; hence, any trash, nifles, or paltre stuffe.’ 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 33. Compare a modern writer :—“The hard times are slowly and surely working out their own cure. It is a painful and tedious process, but one sure in

236 Notes on p. 33. ‘*Far-fetcht and dear-bought.*’

the end to restore health to the business interests of the country—not the feverish speculative activity that followed the war, and continued until the crash of 1873, but a condition of moderate and reliable prosperity. People are adapting their habits to their reduced incomes, are denying themselves useless luxuries, and are discovering that they can live just as comfortably with less outside display. The importations of foreign goods have fallen largely, and for the first time in sixteen years the balance of trade is in favour of the United States, a calamity to the importers, no doubt, but a benefit to the country at large. *Feaver velvets, laces, diamonds, Worth's dresses, French wines, and gimcracks* are brought across the Atlantic, but no political economist will see anything but a hopeful sign in that fact.”—*Daily News*, Oct. 5, 1876, p. 6, col. 1, United-States’ Correspondent.

p. 33, l. 16; p. 65, l. 16: *farrefetched and deare boughte is good for Ladyes* :—“*Mendoza.* What shape! Why, any quick-done fiction . . . some such anything. Some *far-fet trick good for ladies*, some stale-toy or other, no matter so ‘t be of our devising.”—Marston & Webster’s *Malcontent*, V. ii., Webster’s Works, ed. Dyce, 1857, p. 358, col. 2. Dyce notes *far-fet*, i. e. far-fetched. An allusion to the proverb, “*Far-fet is good for ladies.*” So in Jonson’s *Cynthia’s Revels*, Act IV. sc. i, “Marry, and this may be *good for us ladies*; for it seems ‘tis *far-fet* by their stay.” See my *Tell-Troth*, p. 6, l. 7, & *Stafford*, N. Sh. Soc. p. 106; also Lyly’s *Euphues*, p. 33, ‘*far fet, and dere bought, is good for ladies.*’ Again :—

“*Mineuer.* God neuer gaue me the grace to be a Lady, yet I haue all implements belonging to the vocation of a Lady.

*Sir Vaughan.* I trust, mistris Mineuer, you han all a honest oman shud haue.

*Mineuer.* Yes perdie, as my Coach, and my fan, and a man or two that serue my turne, and other things which Ide bee loath euery one should see, because they shal not be common. I am in manner of a Lady in one point.

*Sir Vaughan.* I pray, mistris Mineuers, let vs all see that point for our better understanding.

*Mineuer.* For I ha some thinges that were *ficht* (I am sure) as *farre* as some of the Low Countries; and I payde sweetly for them too; and they tolde me they were *good for Ladies.*” 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 204. See too Latimer’s use of the phrase, p. 254 below.

p. 33, p. 52. *Pride in England. Peasants' dress & extravagance.*

The pride of “And the pride of England is, as it were, set up upon the highest mountain of the world, seen and scorned even of the very infidels of the earth: such as know not God make marvel of our monstrous attire, which exceedeth not only in cost and colour, but in weight and fashion. O pull it down: it is not fit for such as are taking the way to the kingdome of heaven; it agreeith not with the guest which lodgeth in us the Spirit of God; it is no fit ornament to deck the house of our silly souls, for it stinketh and polluteth all corners of the house. O remove it, and send every country his fashion again: be not beholden to any nation for such trumpery, neither to the garment-maker, whose study therein, though it please the vain-glorious for a time, it will bring repentance, too late, to the work and the workman. It is from the court come

into the country, a dangerous evil, and hath infected the poor ploughman, that a year's wages sufficeth not one suit of attire. If I should tell all, The *carte* and the carter would step in with his courtly gards, and will defy eth in pride him that is not of the fashion ; men and women, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, are too far gone in this sickness : the Lord give a timely medicine lest we perish therein.” 1596.—J. Norden, *Progress of Piety* (Parker Soc.), pp. 172-3. Compare also the Surveyor John Norden (is he the same as the writer of the religious tracts?) :—“where in those days [Henry VI’s] Farmers and their wiues were content with meane dyet and base attire, and held their children to some austere gouernment, without haunting Alehouses, Tauerns, Dice, Cards, & vaine delites of charge, the case is altered : the *Husbandman* will be equal to the *Yoman*, the *Yoman* to the *Gentleman*, the *Gentleman* to the *Squire*, the *Squire* [to] his Superiour, and so the rest, every one so farre exceeding the corruptions [? consumptions] held in former times, that I will speake without reprehension, there is at this day thirty times as much vainely spent in a family of like multitude and quality, as was in former ages whereof I speake.” 1607.—John Norden, *The Surveyors Dialogue*, p. 14.

p. 36, l. 12: *his wifz her persuasions*. See note on p. 36, l. 3, of *Tell Troth* New Sh. Soc.—S.

p. 36, l. 10 from foot: *some are so brasen faced &c so impudent, &c.* Cf. *Two Gen. of Ver.*, II. vii. ll. 53—56 (Lucetta and the codpiece to Julia’s round hose), and *Much Ado*, III. iii. l. 146 (Hercules & the same article).—S.

p. 37: *in leather*. Compare *Edward III*, II. ii. 120, Leopold Shakspere, p. 1044, col. i: “Since leathern Adam till this youngest hour.”

p. 39, l. 7: *it maketh a man to bee accepted and esteemed of*.

“Keep good clothes on thy backe, and nearely weare them ;  
What want soeuer comes, doe not pawne them ;  
For, once being gotten in the Deuils iawes,  
He will surely keepe them in with his pawes.  
In thy Apparell be something clenly,  
Though in thy purse thou hast neu’r a penny :  
Men may in some measure it esteeme thee,  
And a farther grace happily giue thee.  
Doe not seeme bace, though penilesse thou art ;  
But looke about, of whom to get a part.”

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 15.

p. 42, l. 8 from foot: *what preuyayleth it to be borne of worshipfull progenie, &c.* Compare Chaucer’s *Gentleness* in Scogan’s Poem in Thynne’s Chaucer, lf. 380, bk. col. i; Urry’s, p. 547, col. i; Morris’s, vol. vi, p. 296.

“This firste stoke was ful of rightwisnesse,  
Trewe of his worde, soboure, pitous and free,  
Cleene of his gooste, and lovid besynesse,  
Ageynste the vice of slowthe in honeste ;

And, but his heire loue vertu, as did he,  
He nis not gentille, thouhe him richē seme,  
Al were he mytre, corone, or diademē."

'The idea of course is not new. It is found frequently enough in the Greek & Latin literature. It occurs, we believe, for the first time in the fragments of Epicharmus:—

ἀγαθὸς δ' ἀνηρ  
Κάν' Ἀθίοψ καὶ δοῦλος, εὐγενῆς ἔφυτος

and afterwards it is found in Euripides, Horace, Juvenal,—“Stemmata quid faciunt?” and lastly in Seneca. Doubtless Jean de Meung took it from Seneca.'—W. Besant, in the *British Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1871, p. 388. See Shakspere's *Meas. for Meas.*, Tennyson's *Lady Clara Vere de Vere*, &c.

p. 43, l. 14: *tagge and ragge*. Compare John Partridge in *The Worthie Historie of . . . Plasidas*, 1566, “To walles they go, both tagge and ragge, Their citie to defende,” and the other quotations in Mr. H. B. Wheatley's *Dict. of Reduplicated Words*, Philolog. Soc. 1865, p. 85-6.

p. 44. *Pride & Apparel*.—See Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* (*Works*, ed. Morris, iii. 296-8) on Pride, as shown “in superfluite of clotheyng” in his day, the embroidering, indenting, waving, furring, chisel-punching, dagging, of gowns, their trailing in the mire; the short coats and tight particoloured hose or breeches showing the shameful members of man, and making em look as if flayn, &c. &c. See also *Piers Plowman*, Roberde of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, &c.

p. 49, l. 5: *abhorring the christian povertie, &c.*

“Be rich, I say ; nay boy, be rich and wise !  
Gold is an actious [so] mettle for the eyes .  
Why? rich men haue much monie and gaie geare,  
And goodly houses, and most daintie cheare ;  
Faire wiues, fine pictures, playes and morris-dances,  
And many cheates, that come by many chances ;  
Fine Ciuet-boxes, sweet perfumes, and waters,  
And twentie other such kind of matters.  
While the poore man, that pines for want of friends,  
May sit and sigh, and picke his fingers ends,  
And every morning wash his face with teares,  
And wipe his blubbered cheeke with sheualed heares.  
It is a heauie sence, where coyne is wanting ;  
At such a time of care, friends are scanting.”

1613.—*The Vncaising of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 22.

p. 52, l. 6: *liqueide matter which they call Starch*. Howell relates that Mrs. Turner, the poisoner of Sir Thomas Overbury, “the first inventress of yellow Starch was executed in a Cobweb Lawn Ruff of that colour at Tyburn ; and with her I believe that yellow Starch, which so much disfigured our Nation, and rendered them so ridiculous and fantastic, will receive its Funeral.”—*Epistola Ho-Eliana*, p. 19, ed. 1737.—S.

p. 53, last line : if they stand uppon their pantoffles. See notes in *Tell Troth* on p. 55, last line.—S.

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## MEN'S ABSURD DRESS, &amp;c.

See Harrison's amusing Chapter 7, in his Book II, our Part I, p. 167; *Father Hubbards Tales* at the end of Dyce's *Middleton*, vol. v, &c.

p. 49, 60. *Spanish, French, &c Dutch fashion.* Men's changeable fashions and Women's extravagant dress also movd Schoolmaster Averell to wrath in 1588. In his “*A meruailous combat of contrarieties. Malignantlie striuing in the members of mans bodie allegoricallie representing unto vs the enued state of our florishing Common wealth: wherin dialogue-wise by the way, are touched the extreme vices of this present time, &c. &c.* by W. A.” he makes “The Bellie” say (sig. B. 1 & 2):—

“ Why, had euer Prometheus more shapes, then the backe sutes? or ye Hydra more new heads then the back new Garments? not so variable for their matter, as changable for their fashion : to daie French, to morrowe English, the next day Spanish, to daie Italianate, to morrow for fashion a deuill incarnat, *O tempora, o mores!* To daie you shine in sutes of silke, to morrow you iet it out in cloth of Golde, one daie in blacke for shew of grauitie, an other daie in white in token of brauerie, this day that culour, the next day another, nowe short wasted, anon long bellied, by and by after great Buttoned, and straight after plaine laced, or els your Buttons as strange for smalnes, as they were monstrous before for greatness, this yeere bumbd like a Barrell, the next shottend like a Herring, nowe your hose hang loose like a bowe case, the next daie as straite as a pudding skinne, one while buskind for lack of stocks, another while booted for want of shooes, and thus from you that are the grand Maister, doo the inferiour members fetch their fashions, & these be the mutabilities of men.”

[The continuation of the passage, on Women, is on p. 253, below.]

See too Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III. Sect. 2, Memb. 3, subs.

3. “Artificial Allurements,” p. 295 of edition 1676 :—

“ Women are bad, & men worse ; no difference at all betwixt their & our times. *Good manners* (as Seneca complains) are extinct with wantonness : in tricking up themselves men go beyond women, they wear harlots colours, and do not walk, but jet and dance, hic mulier, hac vir, more like Players, Butterflies, Baboons, Apes, Anticks, than men. So ridiculous moreover are we in our attires, and for cost so excessive, that as Hierom said of old, ‘Vno filo villarum insunt pretia, uno lino decies sestertiūm inseritur’ ; ‘tis an ordinary thing to put a thousand Oaks, & an hundred Oxen into a suit of apparel, to wear a whole mannor on his back. What with shoo-ties, hangers, points, caps and feathers, scarfs, bands, cuffs, &c., in a short space their whole patrimonies are consumed.”

Compare also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 343, and Shakspere, in *Henry VIII*, I. i. 80-85, ‘many Have broke their backs with laying manors on 'em For this great journey,’ &c. Also in *Histrio-mastix*, by Peele and Marston, 1590-1600, pr.

1610, we find the Serving man saying to his master (*School of Shakspere*, ii. 47) :—

“We breake your backs? No! 'tis your rich lac'd sutes,  
And straight lac'd mutton: those break all your backs.”

See too in ‘A Supplycacyon to . . . Kynge Henry the Eyle,’ 1544 (E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 52): “Is there not such excesse and costelynes of apparel / bycause of dyuerete and chaunge of fasshyons, that scarce a worshipfull mans landes, which in tymes paste was wonte to fynde and maynteyne twenty or thirty tall yowmen / a good plentyfull howsholde for the releyfe and conforte of many poor and neadye / and the same nowe is not suffycyent and able to maynteyne the heyre of the same landes / his wiffe / her gentle woman or mayde / two yowmen / and one lackey? The pryncyll cause herof is their costly apparell / and specially their manyfolde and dynuerse chaunges of fasshyons whiche the man, and specially the woman, muste weare vpon bothe theadde and bodye. Somtyme cappe / somtyme hoode / nowe the Frenshe fasshyon, nowe the Spanshe fasshyon; than the Italiany fasshyon / and then the Myllen fasshyon; so that there is noo ende of consumyng of substaunce . . . and all to please the prowde folyshe man and womans fantasye. Hereof spryngethe great myserye and neede.” See too the Note for p. 53, l. 4-6, p. 245, below.

p. 49, l. 9: *one sute for the forenoone, &c.* See the note from Bp. Pilkington (for p. 58), p. 248, below.

p. 50: *hats, standing collars, ruffs, shoestrings, &c.*

“Good Card-makers (if there be any goodnes in you)  
Apparrell vs with more respected Care,  
Put vs in Hats, our Caps are worne thread-bare,  
Let vs haue standing Collers, in the fashion:  
(All are become a stiffe-necke generation)  
Rose Hat-hands, with the shagged-ragged-Ruffe:  
Great Cabbage-shoestrings (pray you bigge enough)  
French Doublet, and the Spanish Hose to breech it:  
Short Cloakes, like old Mandilions (wee beseech it)  
Exchange our Swords, and take away our Bils,  
Let vs haue Rapiers, (knaues loue fight that kils<sup>1</sup>)  
Put vs in Bootes, and make vs leather legs,  
This, Harts most humbly, and his fellowes, begs.”

1612.—Samuel Rowlands, *The Knaves of Harts* (1674, Hunterian Club, p. 12-13).

The dress obtaind is describd in Rowlands’s *More Knaues yet?* (1611?) sign. A 4 (ed. 1674 and p. 5) :—

“. . . now the honest Printer hath bin kinde,  
Bootes, and Stockins, to our Legs doth finde,  
Garters, Polonia Heels, and Rose Shoe-strings,  
Which somewhat vs two Knaues in fashion brings . . .

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<sup>1</sup> See the extract from Howes, in *Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 31\*.

Well, other friends I hope we shall beseech  
For the great large abominable breech  
Like Brewers Hopsackes : yet, since new they be,  
Each knaue will haue them, and why should not wee ?  
Some Laundresse we also will entreate  
For Bands and Ruffes . . . .  
Scarffes we doe want to hange our weapons by . . .  
. . . . . hats of newest blocke " . . .

p. 50. *Hat & feathers, &c.*

" His hat, himselfe, small crowne and huge great brim,  
Faire outward shew, and little wit within.  
And all the band with feathers he doth fill,  
Which is a signe of a fantastick still,  
As sure as (some doe tell me) evermore  
A goate<sup>1</sup> doth stand before a brothell dore.  
His clothes perfum'd, his fustie mouth is ayred,  
His chynne new swept, his very cheekes are glared."

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III.* Works, 1856, iii. 223-4 : see p. 216 too.

p. 51: *feathers, wings, breeches, cloak, rapier, hangers, boots, spurs.* The dress of a young dandy in 1604 is thus described by T. M. in his *Father Hubbards Tales*, reprinted (in modern spelling) at the end of vol. v. of Dyce's ed. of Middleton's Works, as probably Middleton's. "At last, to close up the lamentable tragedy of us ploughmen, enters our young landlord, so metamorphosed into the shape of a French puppet, that at the first we started, and thought one of the baboons had marched-in in man's apparel. His head was dressed up in white feathers like a shuttlecock, which agreed so well with his brain, being nothing but cork, that two of the biggest of the guard might very easily have tossed him with battledores, and made good sport with him in his majesty's great hall. His doublet was of a strange cut ; and shew the furye of his humour, the collar of it rose up so high and sharp as if it would have cut his throat by daylight. His wings,<sup>2</sup> according to the fashion now, were as little and diminutive as a puritan's ruff, which shewed he ne'er meant to fly out of England, nor do any exploit beyond sea, but live and die about London, though he begged in Finsbury. His breeches, a wonder to see, were full as deep<sup>3</sup> as the middle of winter, or the roadway between London and Winchester, and so longe and wide withal, that I think within a twelvemonth he might very well put all his lands in

<sup>1</sup> The emblem of lechery, as the sparrow also was. See the picture of Lechery in the Cambr. Univ. Library's MS. Gg. 4. 27, Chaucer's Parson's Tale, autotyped for the Chaucer Society.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 524, Dyce's *Middleton*, v : T. M.'s *Blacke Booke*, 1604 : "apparell'd in villanous packthread, in a wicked suit of coarse hop-bags, the wings and skirts faced with the ruins of dishclouts." 'Wings, lateral prominencies extending from each shoulder.' Whalley's note on B. Jonson's *Works*, ii. 103, ed. Giff.

<sup>3</sup> 'They strangle and cloke more velvet in a deep-gathered hose, than would serve to line through my lord What-call-ye-him's coach.' 1604.—T. M., *Blacke Booke*. Dyce's *Middleton*, v. 524.

them ; and then you may imagine they were big enough, when they would outreach a thousand acres : moreover, they differed so far from our [old] fashioned hose<sup>1</sup> in the country, and from his father's old gascoynes,<sup>2</sup> that his back-part seemed to us like a monster ; the roll of the breeches standing so low, that we conjectured his house of office, sir-reverence,<sup>3</sup> stood in his hams. All this while his French monkey bore his cloak of three pounds a yard, lined clean through with purple velvet,<sup>4</sup> which did so dazzle our coarse eyes, that we thought we should have been purblind ever after, what with the prodigal aspect of that and his glorious rapier and hangers all bost [= embosst] with pillars of gold, fairer in show than the pillars in Paul's or the tombs at Westminster ; beside, it drunk up the price of all my plough-land in very pearl, which stuck as thick upon these hangers as the white measles upon a hog's flesh. When I had well viewed that gay gaudy cloak and those unthrifty wasteful hangers, I muttered thus to myself : 'That is no cloak for the pain, sure ; nor those no hangers for Derrick' ; when of a sudden, casting mine eyes lower, I beheld a curious pair of boots of king Philip's [= Spanish] leather, in such artificial wrinkles, sets and plaits, as if they had been starched lately and came new from the laundress's, such was my ignorance and simple acquaintance with the fashion, and I dare swear my fellows and neighbours here are all as ignorant as myself. But that which struck us most into admiration : upon those fantastical boots stood such huge and wide tops, which so swallowed up his thighs, that had he sworn as other gallants did, this common oath, 'would I might sink as I stand !' all his body might very well have sunk down and been damned in his boots. Lastly he walked the chamber with such a pestilent gingle<sup>5</sup> that his spurs oversqueaked the lawyer, and made him reach his voice three notes above his fee ; but after we had spied the rowels of his spurs, how we blest ourselves ! they did so much and so far exceed the compass of our fashion, that they looked more like the forerunners of wheelbarrows. Thus was our young landlord accoutred in such a strange and prodigal shape [= dress] that it amounted to above two years' rent in apparel."—T. M. *The Ant and the Nightingale, or Father Hubbards Tales*, 1604.

"Asper . . . But that a rook, by wearing a pyed feather,  
The cable hatband, or the three-piled ruff,  
A yard of shoe-tye, or the Switzer's knot

<sup>1</sup> breeches.    <sup>2</sup> galligaskins.    <sup>3</sup> See note, Dyce's *Middleton*, ii. 227.

<sup>4</sup> "There is no fool to the satin fool, the velvet fool, the perfumed fool ; and therefore the witty tailors of this age put them, under colour of kindness, into a pair of cloth bags, where a voider will not serve the turn." 1602.—*Return from Parnassus*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 184.

<sup>5</sup> 'Caused by the large loose rowels which are presently mentioned ; they were commonly of silver.' Compare—

"Fastidious Brisk. . . my gray hobby . . . a fine fiery little slave, he runs like a—oh, excellent, excellent—with the very sound of the spur.

*Carlo.* How ! the sound of the spur ?

*Fast.* O, it's your only humour now extant, sir : a good gingle, a good gingle." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, II. i., *Works*, i. 80, col. 2 ; and in II. ii. p. 93, col. 2 :

"Fungoso. I had spurs of mine own before, but they were not ginglers."

On his French garters, should affect a humour !  
O, it is more than most ridiculous."

Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted 1599). Induction, *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 67, col. 1. See the Cap's complaint about the Feathers stuck in him in "*A Pleasant Dialogue or Disputation betweene the Cap./ and the Head./*" 1564, quoted in my Thynne's *Animadversions* (E. E. T. Soc.), p. cxxxii.

p. 51, l. 3: *hats without bands; feathers in hats, scarfs, &c.*

"*EPIGRAMS.* Epig. 27.

Aske *Humors*, why a Feather he doth weare ?  
It is his humor (by the Lord) heele sweare.  
Or what he doth with such a Horse-taile locke ?  
Or why vpon a Whoore he spendes his stocke ?  
He hath a Humor doth determine so.  
Why in the Stop-throate fashion doth he go,  
With Scarfe about his necke? *Hat without band?*  
It is his humor, sweete sir, vnderstand . . .  
Object, why Bootes and Spurres are still in season ?  
His Humor answeres : Humor is the reason.  
If you perceiue his wittes in wetting shrunke,  
It commeth of a Humor, to be drunke.  
When you behould his lookes pale, thin, and poore,  
Th' occ[a]sion is, his Humor, and a Whore :  
And every thing that he doth vndertake,  
It is a vaine, for sencelesse Humors sake."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, sign. C (ed. 1874, p. 33).

p. 51, &c.: *dress, &c. starcht ruffs & rabatos.*—"There was then [in Adam's days] neither the Spanish slop, nor the skipper's galligaskin, the Switzer's blistered codpiece<sup>1</sup>, nor the Danish sleeve sagging down like a Welsh wallet, the Italian's close strosser, nor the French standing collar: your treble-quadruple dædalian ruffs, nor your stiffnecked rabatos, that have more arches for Pride to row under than can stand under five London bridges, durst not then set themselves out in print, for the patent for starch could by no means be signed. Fashions then was counted a disease, and horses died of it<sup>2</sup>; but now, thanks to folly, it is held the only rare physic, and the purest golden asses live upon it." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, ch. i., ed. 1862, p. 8.

<sup>1</sup> See *Coryat's Crudities* on this. Rowlands makes it Danish:—

" His faces chiefest ornament, is nose,  
Full furnished with many a Clarret staine,  
As large as any Codpiece of a Dane,  
Embossed curious : "

1600.—S. Rowlands, *Letting of Humours Blood*, sign. D 3 (1874, p. 53).

<sup>2</sup> *Lobado en el cuerpo*, bunches in the flesh, the fashion in a horse, *Tuber struma*. 1591. R. Perciuale. Spanish Dict. '*Lobbado*, m. bunches in the flesh' a disease in a horse, called the fashions.' 1623. Jn. Minsheu's enlarged *Perciuale*.

p. 51. *Ruff & Band, &c.* (See p. 259 below, note on p. 70-1.)

"Behold, at length in London streetes he shoues.  
 His *ruffe* did eat more time in neatest setting,  
 Then Woodstocks worke in painfull perfecting ;  
 It hath more doubles farre than Ajax shield,  
 When he gainst Troy did furious battle weild.  
 Nay, he doth weare an embleme bout his neck ;  
 For under that fayre *ruffe* so sprucely set,  
 Appeares a *fall*, a *falling-band* forsooth !  
 O dapper, rare, compleate, sweet nittie youth !  
 Jesu Maria ! How his clothes appeare  
 Crost and recrost with lace ! sure, for some feare  
 Least that some spirit with a tippet mace  
 Should with a gasty show affright his face."

1598.—Jn. Marston, *Satyre III.*, Works, 1856, iii. 223.

p. 52. "*Lambskin.* My father was a starch-maker, and my mother a laundress ; so, being partners, they did occupy<sup>1</sup> long together before they were married ; then was I born." 1632.—Wm. Rowley, *A Woman never vexed*, in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, xii. 137.

p. 52, second side-note : *Euery peasant hath his stately bands.* See Fairholt's capital quotations in *Hist. of Costume in England*, p. 216, from Lodge's *Wits Misericordia*, 1596, and *Euphues Golden Legacie*, 1592. The first is, "The plowman, that in times past was contented in russet, must now a daies have his doublet of the fashion, with wide cuts, his garters of fine silk of Granada, to meet his Sis on Sunday. The farmer, that was contented in times past with his russet frock and mockado sleeves, now sells a cow against Easter, to buy him silken geere for his credit." See too in *Harrison*, II, 36\*, what Howes says : "men of meane ranke weare Garters and shooe Roses, of more then five pound price ; and some weare scarffes from ten pounds a piece, vnto thirtie pounds or more. The like may be truly said concerning wrought Wastcoates." The dresses of a smart Tailor (p. 19), a Baker (p. 29), a Dancing-master, and a Vintner (p. 30), a Grasier (p. 31), an Informer (p. 32), a Husbandman (p. 33), a Cumberland copyholder's family (p. 35), are described in *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness* wrongly ascribed to Francis Thynne, old Shakesp. Soc. 1841. The author has 15 men on his Jury, and rejects 3 : Greene, in his prose *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, which was modelled on the earlier poem, has 24 men in his Jury, and rejects 27 : this Quip should be read for its sketches of the characters. See my *Trial-Forewords to my Six-Text of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, p. 101-2.

<sup>1</sup> 'Enjoy, in the sense of a man having knowledge of a woman. Doll Tear-sheet says of Pistol, in the *Second Part of Henry IV*, "These villains will make the word 'captain' as odious as the word *occupy*, which was an excellent good word before it was ill-sorted." See Nares, edit. 1859 in *v.*; and Percy Folio MS. *Loose and Humorous Songs*, p. 29.'

p. 53, l. 4-6: *result of extravagance in dress, &c.:*—

“yet take . . . the cost with the pleasure, and tell me then if once in seauen yeares, when your state is weakened and your Land wasted, your Woods untimbered, your Pastures vnsstored, and your Houses decayed : then tell me whether you find the prouerbe true, of the Courtier young and old.”<sup>1</sup> 1618.—N. Breton, *The Court and Country* (1868), p. 178. See too the interesting ‘Health to the Gentlemanly profession of Seruicingmen,’ by I. M., 1598, in the same vol. Hazlitt’s *Inedited Tracts*, 1868, p. 95; also, *Quips upon Questions*, 1600, sign. G 2.

“Carlo.—First, to be an accomplished gentleman, that is, a gentleman of the time, you must give over housekeeping in the country, and live altogether in the city amongst gallants ; where, at your first appearance, ‘twere good you turned four or five hundred acres of your best land into two or three trunks of apparel.’ 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, I. i., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 73, col. 1. In II. i, p. 87, col. 2, Fungoso puts the cost of his suit at about £40 of our money : “Let me see, the doublet: say fifty shillings the doublet ; and between three or [= and] four pound the hose ; then boots, hat, and band: some ten or eleven pound will do it all, and suit me, for the heavens.” 1596-8.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii., *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 21, col. 1.

p. 53: *shirts.* When Fastidious Brisk is describing the articles of his dress injured in his duel, in Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour* (acted A.D. 1599 ; 4to. 1600, fol. 1616), IV. iv, Carlo says, “I wonder he speaks not of his wrought shirt” [he does, 14 lines lower] ; and Gifford notes : “The linen, both of men and women, was either so worked as to resemble the finest lace, or was ornamented, by the needle, with representations of fruits, flowers, passages of history,” &c. The Puritans, it appears, turned the mode to account, and substituted texts of Scripture for the usual embellishments. There is a pleasant allusion to this practice in the *City Match*:

“Sir, she’s a Puritan at her needle too :  
My smock sleeves have such holy embroideries,  
And are so learned, that I fear in time  
All my apparel will be quoted by  
Some pure instructor.”

*Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 120, Act II, sc. ii.

In Ben Jonson’s *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599) Puntarvolo describes his dress in the account of his duel with Luculento: “He again lights me here,—

<sup>1</sup> “And if thou be a Courtier, know thy place :  
But do not serue for onely shew of grace,  
But let thy profit answer thy expence,  
Least want do proue a wofull patience,  
And thou do proue the prouerbe often tolde,  
‘A carelesse Courtier yong, a Begger olde.’”

1613.—*The Vnmasking of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne: With the Answeres to the same*, p. 7.

I had on a gold cable hatband, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat I had,—cuts my hatband,—and yet it was massy goldsmith's work—cuts my brims, which, by good fortune, being thick embroidered with gold twist and spangles, disappointed the force of the blow: nevertheless it grazed on my shoulder, takes me away six purls of an Italian cut-work band I wore, cost me three pound in the Exchange but three days before . . . He, making a reverse blow, falls upon my embossed girdle—I had thrown off the hangers<sup>1</sup> . . . strikes off a skirt of a thick-laced satin doublet I had, lined with four taffatas, cuts off two panes embroidered with pearl, rends through the drawings-out of tissue, enters the linings, and skips the flesh . . . not having leisure to put off my silver spurs, one of the rowels catched hold of the ruffle<sup>2</sup> of my boot, and being Spanish leather, and subject to tear, overthrows me, rends me two pair of silk stockings that I put on,—being somewhat a raw morning,—a peach colour and another, and strikes me some half inch deep into the side of the calf; he . . . takes horse, and away; I, having bound up my wound with a piece of my wrought shirt . . . rid after him." Act IV. sc. iv. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, i. 119, col. 2.

p. 54: *men tender now*.—Cp. *Harrison*, Part I, p. 337-8, "when our houses were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houses are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie . . . altogether of straw," &c.

p. 55. *Doublets with great bellies*. "Fungoso. look you, that's the suit, sir: I would have mine such a suit without difference, such stuff, such a wing, such a sleeve, such a shirt, *belly* and all; therefore, pray you observe it." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, III. i., *Works*, i. 101, col. 1.

p. 56. *With Canions annexed*.—See the Velure-canioned hobbyhorses, in *Northward Ho*, p. 231 above. "*Canons de Chausse*, Cannions. *Chausses à queue de merlus*. Round breeches with strait canions; hauing in the seat a peece like a fishes tayle; and worne by old men, schollers, and such like niggardlie or needie persons." 1611.—Cotgrave. "*Canions* were rolls of stuff which terminated the breeches or hose at the knee (fig. 135," [where 2 heavyish rolls or sausages all round the knee are cut]), Fairholt: he refers to Henslowe's diary, "under April, 1598, he [H.] disburses £6 8s. for a bugell doblett and a payer of paned hose of bugell panes drawne out with cloth of silver and *canyons* to the same," &c.

p. 56: *gally-hosen*; also Gally-gascoynes. See that word in Fairholt, p. 454.

p. 56: *hosen of a Marke price*.—This was an extravagant price in William Rufus's day, when 3s. was the figure. See the anecdote about the king's hose in Robert of Gloster's *Chronicle*, quoted by Fairholt under *hose*, p. 512.

p. 56: *trunk hose*.—"Sometimes I have seene Tarleton play the clowne, and vse no other breeches than such *sloppes* or *slivings* as now many gentlemen weare:

<sup>1</sup> "The fringed loops appended to the girdle, in which the dagger or small sword usually hung."

<sup>2</sup> The turn-over fringe or scollop of fine leather, often edgd with gold lace. "Ruffle your brow like a new boot." *Ib.* I. i. p. 73.

they are almost capable of a bushel of wheate; and if they be of sackecloth, they would serve to carrie mawlt to the mill. This absurd, clownish, and unseemly attire, only by custome now is not disliked, but rather approved." 1601.—Thos. Wright. *The Passions of the Minde in generall.* (Dedicated to Lord Southampton; and has Verses by Ben Jonson.) See also the interesting extracts and cut in Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 217. He was before me, I see, in quoting the following:—

"When Tarlton clown'd it in a pleasant vaine,  
And with conceites, did good opinions gaine  
Vpon the Stage, his merry humors shop,  
Clownes knew the Clowne, by his great clownish *slop*.  
But now th'are gull'd, for present fashion sayes,  
Dicke Tarltons part, Gentlemens breeches playes:  
In euery streete where any Gallant goes,  
The swagg'ring *Sloppe*, is Tarltons clownish hose."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, C 2, back (ed. 1874, p. 36). See too the bit from *More Knaves Yet*, p. 240, above, and Ben Jonson's "I'll go near to fill that huge tumbrel-slop of yours with somewhat, an I have good luck: your Garagantua breech cannot carry it away so." 1598—1601.—*Every Man in his Humour*, II. ii, *Works*, i. 18, col. 1.

"And for false cards and dice, let my great slops,  
And his big bellied dublet both be sercht,  
And see which harbors most hypocrisie."

1606.—*No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, i. 353.

"The rest of France takes the modell of the court, as a rule unto it selfe to follow. Let Courtiers first begin to leave off and loath these filthy and apish breeches, that so openly shew our secret parts: the bumbasting of long pease-cod-bellied doublets, which makes us seeme so far from what we are, and which are so combersome to arme: These long, effeminate, and dangling locks: That fond custome to kisse what we present to others, and *Beso las manos* in saluting of our friends: (a ceremonie heretofore only due unto Princes:)" 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essays*, 1634, p. 146.

"In our Old Plays, the humor Love and Passion,  
Like Doublet, Hose and Cloak, are out of fashion."

1667.—Prologue to James Shirley's *Love-Tricks*, first calld *The Schoole of Complement*, 1631. (Shirley died in Oct. 1666.)

p. 57: *nether-stocks*, the stockings, as distinguist from the *hose*, when the latter became *breeches*. See the *Debate between Pride and Lowliness*—wrongly attributed to Francis Thynne, from the forged 'F. Th.' on its title-page—'The neatherstockes of pure Granada silke,' and other authorities quoted by Fairholt, *Costume in England*, 1860, p. 211.

p. 57: *shoes*.—See Fairholt, *Costume in England*, p. 385-7. "Pinsnet, apparently the same as *Pinson*, a thin-soled shoe. 'Calceamen and calcearium is

a shoo, *pinson*, socke.'—*Withals' Dictionarie*, ed. 1608, p. 211." Nares, by Halliwell and Wright. *Pinçon*, *pinçonnet* are not in any French Dictionary or Glossary that Mr. Henry Nicol or I can find; and my friend Prof. Paul Meyer doesn't know the words. See p. 266 below.

p. 58: *boots with wide tops*.—"if thy quicksilver can run so far on thy errand as to fetch thee boots out of S. Martin's, let it be thy prudence to have the tops of them wide as the mouth of a wallet, and those with fringed boot-hose over them to hang down to thy ancles." 1609.—T. Dekker. *Guls Hornbook*, ch. iii. (1862), p. 16.

Instead of high-soled cork shoes, the earlier dandies had piked ones: See the passage at the end of *Gregory's Chronicle*, after his death, p. 238. Camden Soc. 1876. "A.D. 1468-9. Alle so that yere the Pope sende a bulle for the Cordyners, and cursyd thou that made any longe *pykys* passyng ij yenchys of lengthe, and that no Cordyner shuld not sylle no schone a-pone the Sonday, ne put no schoo a-pon no man-ys fote, ne goo to noo fayrys a-pon the Sonday, uppon Payne of cursynge. And the kynge grauntyd in a conseil and in the Parlement tha' hyt shulde be put in execessyon, and thys was proclaymyd at Poulys Crosse. And sum men sayd that they wolde were longe *pykys* whethyr Pope wylle or nylle, for they sayde the Popys curse wolde not kylle a flye. God amend thys! And within schorte tyme aftyr, sum of the Cordyners gate prevy selys and proteccyonys to make long *pykys*, and causyd the same men of hyr crafte that labordyd to the Pope for the destruccyon of longe *pykys* to be tobelyd and in grete donger."

"1582. In this Queenes dayes [Anne of Bohemia, Rich. II's Queen], began the detestable vse of piked shooes, tyed to their knees with chaines of siluer and gilt. Also noble women vsed high attire on their heads, piked like hornes, with long trained gownes, and rode on side saddles, after the example of the Queene, who first brought that fashion into this land, for before, women were vsed to ride astride like men." 1605.—Jn. Stowe. *Annales*, p. 471.

p. 58. *Coats, &c.*

"But these tender pernels must have one gown for the day, another for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one furred through, another but faced; one for the work day, another for the holy day; one of this colour, and another of that; one of cloth, another of silk or damask; change of apparel, one afore dinner, another after, one of Spanish fashion, another Turkey; and to be brief, never content with enough, but always devising new fashions and strange; yea, a ruffian will have more in a ruff and his hose than he should spend in a year. I read of a painter that would paint every country man in his accustomed apparel, the Dutch, the Spaniard, the Italian, the Frenchman; but when he came to the English man, he painted him naked, English and gave him clothe,<sup>1</sup> and bad him make it himself, for he changed his apparel fashion so often, that he knew not how to make it; such be our fickle

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<sup>1</sup> See the cut opposite, from Andrew Boorde.

and unstable heads, ever devising and desiring new toys." 1560.—Bishop Pilkington, *Expt. upon Aggrous Works* (Parker Soc., 1842), p. 56.



¶ I am an English man, and naked I stand here,  
Musyng in my mynde what rayment I shal were,  
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyl were that ;  
Now I wyl were I cannot tel what.

1542.—ANDREW BOORDE. *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, chap. i. p. 116 of my edition, E. E. Text Soc., 1870.

p. 59. *Cold charitiie to the poore.*

"Wealthye Cittizens.

Y Ou Cittizens that are of *Dives* Wealth,  
His costly cloathing, and his dainty fare,  
Regarding nothing but selfe-ease and health,  
How euer Lazarus lyes poore and bare :  
Your Dogges are not so kinde to liche their sores,  
But rather serue to bite them from your dores.  
You that do make your Tables Poulters stalles,  
Great prouocation to the sinfull flesh,  
And though the famish'd, hunger-starued, calles

250 Notes on pp. 59—61. *Men's foreign fashions.*

'For Jesus sake, with Crummes our wantes refresh,'  
Your Dishes haue the food for which they cry :  
You play with that, for which they pine and die.  
    Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it : for, Ile Stabbe ye*, B 2, back ; p. 12, ed. 1872. Compare the corn-hoarer Sordido, in Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 78 :

"O, but (say some) the poor are like to starve.  
Why, let 'em starve ; what's that to me ? Are bees  
Bound to keep life in drones and idle moths ? No."

p. 59-61. *Men's Coats, Cloaks, Gowns, Caps, Chains.*

The madness "To behold the vain and foolish light fashions of apparel used of Englishmen among us, it is too much wonderful. I think no realm in the world, no, not among the Turks and Saracens, doth so much in the vanity of their apparel, as the Englishmen do at this present. Their coat must be made after the Italian fashion, their cloak after the use of the Spaniards, their gown after the manner of the Turks : their cap must be of the French fashion ; and at the last their dagger must be Scottish with a Venetian tassel of silk. I speak nothing of their doublets and hoses, which for the most part are so minced, cut, and jagged, that shortly after they become both torn and ragged. I leave off also to speak of the vanity of certain light-brains, which, because nothing should want to the setting of their fondness, will rather wear a Martin chain<sup>1</sup> the price of eight-pence, than they would be unchained. O what a monster and a beast of many heads is the Englishman now become ! To whom may he be compared worthily, but to Esop's crow ? For as the crow decked herself with feathers of all kind of birds to make herself beautiful, even so doth the vain Englishman, for the fond apparelling of himself, borrow of every nation to set forth himself gallant in the face of the world. He is an Englishman : he is also an Italian, a Spaniard, a Turk, a Frenchman, a Scot, a Venetian, and, at the last, what not ? He is not much unlike a monster called chimæra, which hath three heads, one like a lion, another like a goat, the third like a dragon." ? 1550.—Becon. *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, &c. Parker Soc., 1844, p. 438. (This extract is continued at p. 255, below.)

p. 60. *Spanish, French, & Dutch fashion.*—Other articles of dress besides Cloakes were imported :—

"Behold, a most accomplish'd Caualeere,  
That the world's Ape of Fashions doth appeare,  
Walking the streets, his humors to disclose,  
In the French Doublet, and the Germane Hose :

<sup>1</sup> *Martin chain* : of counterfeit or base metal. So also St. Martin's rings. "They are like rings and chaines bought at Saint Martin's, that were faire for a little time, but shortly after will prove alchimy or rather pure copper." Minshull, *Essays*, p. 23.

The Muffes Cloake, Spanish Hat, Toledo blade,  
 Italian ruffe, a Shooe right Flemish made :  
 Like Lord of Misrule, where he comes he'e'reuel,  
 And lie for wagers with the lying'st diuell."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, ed. 1874,  
 Hunterian Club, p. 32.

"*Col. Tipto.* . . . I would put on  
 The Savoy chain about my neck, the ruff  
 And cuffs of Flanders, then the Naples hat,  
 With the Rome hatband and the Florentine agat,  
 The Milan sword, the cloke of Genoa, set  
 With Brabant buttons ; all my given pieces  
 Except my gloves, the natives of Madrid."

1629.—Ben Jonson, *The New Inn*, II. ii., *Works*, ii. 354, col. 1.

" . . . but leather and cloth both cannot suffice us at this time, be it never so fine and costious, except we add thereto all kinds of silks and velvets. Against vain But what do of these things? gold, silver, pearl, precious stones, apparel ouches and what not, is now-a-days worn even of inferior persons, when the poor members of Christ have neither wherewith they may clothe themselves, nor yet comfort their hungry and thirsty bodies. O lamentable case !

Mark "And what shall I say of the manifold and strange fashions of the well garments that are used now-a-days? I think Satan studieth not so much to invent new fashions to bring Christian men into his snare, as the tailors now-a-days are compelled to excogitate, invent, and imagine diversities of fashions for apparel, that they may satisfy the foolish desire of certain light brains and wild oats, which are altogether given to new fangleness. O most vain vanity! Some Nova times we follow the fashion of the Frenchmen. Another time we have a placent trick of the Spaniards. Shortly after, that beginneth to wax naught : we must therefore now have the Italian fashion. Within few days after, we are weary of all the fashions that are used in Christendom ; we will therefore now, and God will, practise the manner of going among the Turks and Saracens : would God that with the Turks' apparel we were not also right Turks and infidels in our life, conversation and manners!" . . . ? 1540-50.—Thomas Becon, *The Nosegay*, in *Early Works* (Parker Soc.), p. 204.

p. 60. *Cloaks*.—See Fairholt's *Costume*, p. 419.

p. 61. *Boot-hose*.—Did these hose go inside the boot, or were they overalls, outside it, and so corresponding, more or less, to the Wife of Bath's 'foot-mantel' as shown in the Ellesmere MS? See the woodcut overleaf. Cotgrave (1611) has 'Triguehouse : f. A boot-hose ; or a thicke hose worne in stead of a boot.'

p. 62. *Rapiers* : *silver hilts & velvet sheaths*.

"*Brainworm*. I assure you the blade may become the side or thigh of the best prince in Europe.



*E. Knowell.* Ay, with a *velvet scabbard*, I think.

*Stephen.* Nay, an't be mine, it shall have a *velvet scabbard*, coz, that's flat :  
I'd not wear it as it is, an you would give me an angel.

*Brai.* At your worship's pleasure, sir : nay, 'tis a most pure Toledo.

*Stephen.* I had rather it were a Spaniard. But tell me what shall I give you  
for it ? An it had a *silver hilt*."

p. 62. On how the young men of and about this time spent their days, see Sir John Davies's *In Fuscum*, Epig. XXXIX., Marlowe's Works (stereo.), p. 269, quoted in *Harrison*, I. lxxx. ; also Marston's rebuke and ridicule of them in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 305-6. Compare too Rowlands :

"Epig. 7.

Speake, Gentlemen, what shall we do to day ?  
Drinke some braue health vpon the Dutch carouse ?  
Or shall we go to the *Globe*, and see a Play ?  
Or visit *Shorditch*, for a bawdie house ?  
Lets call for Cardes or Dice, and haue a Game,  
To sit thus idle, is both sinne and shame.

This speakes *Sir Reuell*, furnisht out with Fashion,  
From dish-crownd Hat, vnto th' Shooes square toe ;  
That haunts a Whore-house but for recreation,  
Playes but at Dice, to connycatch, or so ;

Notes on pp. 62, 64. Men's Days. Women. 253

Drinkes drunke in kindnes, for good fellowship ;  
Or to the Play goes, but some Purse to nip."

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine*, Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 13. Again,

"A Fantasticall Knaue.

Sirra, come hither, I must send you straight  
To diuers places, about things of waight :  
First to my Barber, at his Bason signe,  
Bid him be heere to morrow about nine :  
Next to my Taylor, and will him be heere  
About eleuen, and his Bill Ile cleere :  
My Shoomaker by twelue, haste bid him make  
About the Russet Bootes that I bespake.  
Stay, harke, I had forgot, at any hand,  
First to my Laundresse for a yellow Band ;  
And point the Feather-maker not to faille  
To plume my head with his best Estridge tayle . . .  
Step to the Cutler for my fighting blade,  
And know if that my riding sword be made ;  
Bid him trim vp my walking Rapier neat,  
My dancing Rapiers pummell is too great" . . . .

1613.—S. Rowlands, *A Paire of Spy-Knaues*, sign. B 3, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 8).

"But now of the contrarie let vs consider our exercises, and how we vse to reckon our faultes, and examine the whole day againe at night ere we go to rest, and slepe. Now are we occupied? Verily we kepe ioly cheare one with another in banqueting, surfeiting, and dronkenesse; also we vse all the night long in ranging from town to town, and from house to house, with mummeries and maskes, dice-playing, carding, and dauncing, hauing nothing lesse in our memories than the day of death." 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing*, etc., ed. 1840, p. 15. See p. 265 below, on Parents' neglect.

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WOMEN'S DRESS, FALSE HAIR, BARE BREASTS,  
KISSING, &c., p. 64.

Schoolmaster Averell, in his *merualous Combat of Contrarieites*, 1588, quoted above on p. 239, says :—

"As for women, you make them through your pride in lookes like Lais, in fashions like Flora, in maners like Thais, more wauering then the wind, and more mutable then the Moone; in Gate & iesture most daintie, in the Church most angelicall, in the streetes modest & amiable, abroade among men in finenes superficiall, but at home by themselves most sluttish and bestiall. Yet I meane not all, but the worst, and such as entertaine your pride, who from the top

to the toe, are so disguised, that though they be in sexe Women, yet in attire they appeare to be men, and are like Androgini, who counterfayting the shape of either kind, are in deede neither, so while they are in condition women, and woulde seeme in apparrell men, they are neither men nor women, but plaine Monsters.

"Their heads set out with strange hayre, (to supply nature that waie defeated, or rather by their periwigges infected) do appeare like the head of Gorgon, sauing that they want the crawling Snakes of Medusa, to hang sprawling in their haire along their faces, & yet they retaine the propertie of this Daughter of Phorcus, for they turn a number of their beholders into stones, who while they affectionatlie gaze on their painted pride, doe lose the reason of men and become like stones, without anie feeling of a vertuous mind, the onelie Image of a man.

"But as they are Venerian Dames, even so in their flatteries to beguile fooles, they imitate the nature of the Cyprian women, who coming into Syria, and seruing in y<sup>e</sup> Court would coure downe and become footstooles for the Ladies, thereby to ascend into their Coaches, for which cause they were called Climacidae, of Climaca, which y<sup>e</sup> Assiriens name a Ladder; but heerin onlie they differ, in that our Phrynae and Cytherean Damsels, become not Ladders for Women, but footstooles, yea, and pillowes, for Men. And therefore it is not without cause that Tyresias saide, (being chosen an Arbitre betweene Jupiter and Juno,) that there were *In viero, tres amoris unciae, in femina, nouem*, in a man three ounces of lust, in a woman nine; for what meaneth els their outward tricking and daintie trimming of their heads, the laying out of their hayres, the painting and washing of their faces, the opening of their breasts, & discouering them to their wastes, their bents of Whale bone to beare out their bummes, their great sleevees and bumbasted shoulders, squared in breadth to make their wastes small, their cullored hose, their variable shooes? and all these are but outward shewes. As for the rest, least their rehearsall might rather hurt, then profit the honest eares, I will couer them with silence: but all these are your prouocations, these are the fruities of your pride, the signes of your waste, and the abridgmet of my fare, for while you spend so frelie upon your Backe, the least share falles to the Bellie, nay, I am faine oftentimes to fast, to beare out the prodigalitie of your pride, and then wanting nourishment to feede the members, I am complained on for your fault." Sign. B 1 & 2. See also *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 170-2, and Latimer's address to his 'sisters, the women,' in his last Sermon before Edward VI, in 1550 (*Sermons*, Parker Soc., p. 252-4): 'Yea, it is now come to the lower sort, to mean mens wives; they will rule and apparel themselves gorgeously, and some of them far above their degrees, whether their husbands will or no . . . Paul saith, that "a woman ought to have a power on her head" . . . But this "power" that some of them have, is disguised gear and strange fashions. They must wear French hoods, and I cannot tell you, I, what to call it . . . But now here is a vengeance devil: we must have our "power" from Turkey, of velvet; and gay it must be; *far fetched, dear bought*; and when it cometh, it is a false sign . . It is a false sign when it covereth not their heads as it should do. For if they would keep it under the "power" as they ought to do, there should not any such tussocks

nor tufts be seen as there be; nor such laying out of the hair, nor braiding to have it open . . Of these tussocks that are laid out now-a-days, there is no mention made in scriptures, because . . they were not yet come to be so far out of order as to lay out such tussocks and tufts." And see his (*Latimer's Remains*, ed. 1845, p. 108.

"*Tactus* . . five hours ago I set a dozen maids to attire a boy like a nice gentlewoman; but there is such doing with their looking-glasses, pinning, unpinning, unsettling, formings and conformings; painting blue veins and cheeks; such stir with sticks and combs, cascaneats, dressings, purls, falls, squares, busks, bodies, scarfs, necklaces, carcanets, rebatoes, borders, tires, fans, palisadoes, puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muff, pusles, fusles, partlets, frislets, bandlets, fillets, crosslets, pendulets, amulets, annulets, bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she's scarce dressed to the girdle; and now there is such calling for fardingales, kirtles, busk-points, shooeties, &c., that seven pedlars' shops,—nay, all Stourbridge fair—will scarce furnish her. A ship is sooner rigged by far, than a gentlewoman made ready." ? 1602 (printed 1607), *Lingua*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 426. See the extract from Dekker's *Satromastix*, in the Notes for p. 150, below.

"*Sir Francis Ilford* . . if thou wilt have their true characters, I'll give it thee. Women are the purgatory of men's purses, the paradise of their bodies, and the hell of their minds: marry none of them. Women<sup>1</sup> are in churches, saints; abroad, angels; at home, devils. Here are married men enough know this; marry none of them." 1607.—George Wilkins, *Miseries of Enforced Marriage*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 475.

The apparel "I pass over the light and wanton apparel of women now-a-days, of women partly because it is so monstrous, and partly because I haue not been, nor yet am much acquainted with them, whereby I might be the more able to describe their proud peacocks' tails, if not at the full, which were an infinite labour, yet at the least somewhat to set it forth as a painter doth, before he do lay on colours. But of this am I certain, that they observe not in their apparel the rule of the holy scriptures. For Saint Peter saith, that 'the apparel of honest and virtuous women should not be outward with broided hair, and hanging on of gold, either in putting-on of gorgeous apparel'; . . . It is enough for chaste and pure maids to wear clean and simple apparel, as a Maids testimony of the uncorruption and cleanness both of their body & mind, without the flaring out and colouring of their hair, without the painting of their faces, without the putting-on of wanton and light array, whereby they be enticed rather to pride and whoredom than to humility, shamefacedness, and cleanness of life." ? 1550.—Becon, *Jewel of Joy*, in *The Catechism*, etc. (Parker Soc. 1844), p. 439.

Sir Thos. More reproves face-painting in his *Utopia*, p. 317, ed. Roberts, 1878. See the authorities referrd-to there, and in the *Supplemental Notes*, p. 402: 'The Loathesomenesse of Long Haire; with an Appendix against painting spots, naked backs and breasts,' by Thomas Hall, B.D. London, 1654, 12mo., &c. [Painting] "is the badge of an harlot; rotten posts are painted, and

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Steevens's note on *Othello*, Act II, sc. i. But compare Middleton's *Blurt, Master Constable*, 1602. *Works*, by Dyce, i. 280.'

gilded nutmegs are usually the worst . . . though I dare not say they are all harlots that paint, yet I may safely say, they have the harlot's badge, and their chastity is questionable."—T. Hall.

*"Proud Gentlewomen."*

Y<sub>O</sub>u gentle-puppets of the proudest size,  
That are, like Horses, troubled with the Fashions,  
Not caring how you do your selues disguise,  
In sinfull, shameles, Hels abominations,  
You whom the Deuill (Prides father) doth perswade  
To *paint your face*, & mende the worke God made.

You with the Hood, the Falling-band, and Ruffe,  
The Monky wast, the breeching like a Beare ;  
The Perriwig, the Maske, the Fanne, the Muffe,  
The Bodkin, and the Bussard in your heare ;  
You Veluet-cambricke-silken-feather'd toy,  
That with your pride do all the world annoy,  
Ile Stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Look to it; for, Ile Stabbe ye*, sign. D 2, back (Hunt. Club, 1872, p. 28).

*"The yong woman commeth, married to an old man."*

The young Another passeth on, passing portly, a sweete woman, she smelleth woman. hither : and a rolling eye she hath, it turneth with a trice on both sides : a faire haire, if it be her owne : a rare face, *if it be not painted* ; a white skinne, if it be not plastered : a full breast, if it be not bolstered : a straite backe, if it be not helped ; a slender waste, if it be not pinched ; a likely leg, if it be not lined ; a pretty foote, if it be not in the Shoomakers stockes ; a faire, rare, sweete, meete body, if it be not dishonest." 1613.—Anthony Nixon, *A Straunge Foot-Post*, E 1, back.

p. 64, 67, 78, &c. *Women's coquetry &c dress.* — See *The Pedlers Prophecie*, 1595, attributed by the late R. Simpson to Robert Crowley, (who printed *Piers Plowman* and wrote the *Epigrams*, &c., and died on June 18, 1588,) on the strength of Greene's allusions, in his *Farewell to Folly*, 1591, to the Sexton of St. Giles Cripplegate [Crowley's Church], and "Theological poets which . . . get some other Batillus to set his name to their verses" [which the writer of *The Pedlers Prophecie* does not].

"Proud lookes, stretcht out neckes, and wanton eies,  
Their frolike cheare, their fine walkes, and tripping,  
With all their pleasures which they now do devise,  
Their feasting, disguising, their kissing and clipping.  
Rich shewes, strange funerals, precious abilliments,  
Golden collars, spangs, bracelets, bonnets and hoods,  
Painted and laid-out haire, filides, and nether ornaments,  
Their chains and sumptuous apparrell, that cost great goods,

Notes on p. 64. *Women's Dress and Paint.* 257

Earing jewels, jemmes, to set out their faces,  
Chauge of garments, cassocks, vales, launes fine,  
Needles, glasses, partlets, fillets, and bungraces,  
With culours curious, to make the face shine."

"In the interesting but extremely rare volume by John Dickenson, entitled "GREENE IN CONCEIPT: new raised from his graue to write the Tragique Historie of Faire Valeria of London," 1598, he tells of the extravagance in costume, which is one token of her downward career:—

"She ware alwaies such ouersumptuous attyre, that many in desert and dignitie farre exceeding hir, were in this as farre behind hir. No common fashion could please hir fancie, but it must be strange and stately, drawing many eyes to gaze on hir, which aym'd wholly at singularitie, glorying to bee peerelesse in hir pompe. Neuer was any to hir power more lauish in variety of wastefull vanities: neuer any so peruerse in pride, and with such difficulty to be pleased: For were the least stitch in hir Attyre not as shee would haue it, though the garment most fayre and costly, the Tailor most rare and cunning, yet would shee furiously fling it from hir, with purpose neuer to weare it; so that the sillye workeman set at his *non plus*, lost both his custome and the credit of his workmanshipe" (p. 24). Evidently, Petruchio knew the expensive habits of ladies in regard to their dressmakers, and by his captious objections to the hat and the "sleeves curiously cut," reads Katharina a lesson.' J. W. Ebsworth, p. 1017, *Bagford Ballads*.

p. 64. *Face-painting*.—"Another point that plainly struck Shakspere, and disgusted him [coming from the country], in London society, was, the fashion of women—the good, like the bad—painting their faces, and wearing sham hair,—which latter [tho' tis now happily gone out of fashion] has long offended many of us Victorian men too. He alludes to the face-painting, not only in this, his first play [*Love's Labours Lost*], IV. iii. 259, 'painting and usurping hair,' but in his *Sonnets* also, 67, l. 5: 68, l. 2-8, and again and again in his later plays.<sup>1</sup>"—*My Leopold Sh. Introd.* p. xxiii. See the Montaigne note, p. 261 below

"Maquerelle . . . Do you know Doctor Plaster-face? By this curde, hee is the most exquisite in forging of veines, sprightning of eyes, dying of haire, sleeking of skinnes, blushing of cheeke, surphleing of breastes, blanching and bleachinge of teeth, that ever made an old lady gracious by torch-light,—by this curd, law!" 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, II. iv. *Wks*, 1856, ii. 233.

See also Drayton's *Muses' Elysium* (A. D. 1630), Nymphal VII., *Works*, 1793, p. 626, col. i, on the 'night-masks, plaster'd well within, to supp'e wrinkles,' the paper

" In which was painting, both for white and red;  
And next, a piece of silk, wherein there lies  
For the decay'd, false breasts, false teeth, false eyes."

<sup>1</sup> Two Gent. II. i. 55-58: *Meas. for Meas.* III. ii. 80; IV. ii. 38; *Ham'et*, III. i. 148; V. i. 201; *Ant. & Cleop.* I. ii. 18; *Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 101, &c.

p. 67. *women's hair and painted faces.*

"These flaming heads with staring  
haire,  
These wyers turnde like hornes of  
ram :  
These painted faces which they  
weare :

Can any tell from whence they  
cam ?  
Dan Sathan, Lord of fayned  
lyes,  
All these new fangeles did  
devise."

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quipps*, Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, 1866, p. 252.

p. 68 : *false hair* :—See Shakspere, *Love's Labours lost*, IV. iii. 259; *Merchant of Venice*, III. ii. 92-6; *Henry V*, III. vii. 60; *Sonnets* 68, l. 2-8.

"I cannot tell the greate foole hee is wise,  
Nor tell fowle ladies, they are wondrous faire ;  
I ne're applaude aboue heauns-spangled skies,  
*The curl'd-worne tresses of dead-borrowd haire.*

Like Northern blaste, I breathe my critick aire :  
I am noe Mimyck ape ; I loathe and hate  
Each light-braind giddy-head, to Imytate."

? 1611.—W. Goddard. A Satyricall Dialogue, sign. B, back.

p. 69, l. 3 : *cappe*.—See Petruchio's ridicule of the one brought for Katherine<sup>1</sup>; and her 'gentlewomen wear such caps as these,' in the *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 63-70, and 81-5. And Kitely says in *Every Man in his Humour*, Ben Jonson's Works, i. 28, col. 1 (see the note there) :

"Our great heads  
Within this city, never were in safety  
Since our wives wore these little *caps* : I'll change 'em.  
I'll change em straight in mine : mine shall no more  
Wear three-piled acorns, to make my horns ake."

p. 69. *Cawles* :—

"These glittering cawles of golden  
plate,  
Wherewith their heads are richlie  
dect,  
Make them to seeme an angels mate

In judgement of the simple sect :  
To peacockes I compare them  
right,  
That glorieth in their feathers  
bright." (See p. 259, 271.)

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quipps*, 1866, iv. 252.

p. 70. *Ruffes, Starch, Supportasses* : see the woodcuts above.

"This starch, and these rebating props,  
As though ruffes<sup>2</sup> were some rotten  
house,  
All this new pelfe now sold in  
shops,

In value true not worth a louse ;  
They are his dogs [the Devil's],  
he, hunter sharp ;  
By them a thousand he doth  
warpe."

1595-6.—Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quipps*, iv. 253.

<sup>1</sup> "Why, this was moulded on a porringer ;  
A velvet dish : fie, fie ! 'tis lewd and filthy :  
Why 'tis a cockle or a walnut-shell,  
A knack, a toy, a trick, a baby's cap."—64-7.

<sup>2</sup> See the long and interesting note in Hazlitt, *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 252-3.

Gosson's 'rebating props' were Stubbess's 'supportasses,' I suppose. The Ruffs were got into shape by *poking-sticks* :—

"What lack ye? What lack ye?	Come, cheap <sup>1</sup> for love, or buy for money.
What is it you will buy?	Any coney, coney-skins,
Any points, pins, or laces,	For laces, points, or pins?
Any laces, points or pins?	Fair maids, come choose or buy.
Fine gloves, fine glasses,	I have pretty <i>poking-sticks</i> ,
Any busks or masks?	And many other tricks;
Or any other pretty things?	Come, choose for love, or buy for money."

1598.—A. Munday and H. Chettle, *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntingdon*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, viii. 161.

See the interesting extract from the Second Part of Stubbess's *Anatomie* about Poking-Sticks, Ruffs, &c., in my notes to *Captain Cox* or *Laneham's Letter*, 1575, p. 72-3 (Ballad Soc.). I've already noted from Stowe, in *Harrison*, II, 34\*, that about the 16 Eliz., Novr. 1573-4, 'began the making of steele poking-stickes ; and vntill that time all Lawndresses used setting stickes, made of wood or bone.'

p. 70, l. 1: *wanton Sempronians*.—There seems to be an allusion here to Sempronia, a Roman matron who took part in Cataline's conspiracy. Stubbess was perhaps thinking of Sallust's description of her, in some such words as these: '*libidine sic accensa Sempronia ut viros sapient peteret quam peteretur*'—*Catalina*, xxv.—S.

p. 70-1: *ruff*.—These seem to have been succeeded by falling bands, unless the following passage is a 'double entente.' (See p. 244 above.)

"*Maquarelle*. And by my troth, beauties, why do you not put you into the fashion? This is a stale cut; you must come in fashion. Looke yee, you must be all felt—fealt and feather—a fealt upon your bare hair. Looke ye, these tiring thinges are justly out of request now: and do ye heare? you must weare *falling bands*; you must come into the falling fashion. There is such a deal a pinning these ruffles, when a fine cleane *fall* is worth all; and agen, if you should chance to take a nap in the afternoone, your *falling band* requires no poting sticke to recover his forme. Believe me, no fashion to the falling, say I." 1604.—Jn. Marston, *The Malcontent*, V. iii. Works, 1856, ii. 284-5.

p. 71-2. Stubbess's story of the gentlewoman of Antwerp is alluded to in *Green's Tu Quoque*, by John Cooke.

" \* \* \* for pride, the woman that had her ruff poak'd by the devil, is but a puritan to her."—Dodsley's *Old Plays*, ed. Reed, 1780, vol. vii. p. 19.—S.

p. 71. *Women's fashions*.—" 1611. Wm. Goddard. A/ Satiry/call Dialo/gve or a shar/plye-invective conference, be/tweene Allexander the great, and/ that truelye woman-hater Diogy/nas. Imprinted in the Lowcountryes for all/ such

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<sup>1</sup> Bargain, deal: A. Sax. *ceapian*.

*gentl-women as are not alto[ugh]er Idle nor yet well OCVPYED. (I have this, & Goddard's other two known tracts in type, for private issue at a guinea each.)*

[sign. E, back]     “*The gossiping vvives complaint  
against hir riche churlishe husband . . . .*

“*Two thinges I loue ; two vsuall thinges  
they are ;  
The firste, newe-fashiond cloathes I loue  
to weare,  
Newe tires, newe ruffes ; I, and newe  
gesture too :  
In all newe fashions, I doe loue to goe.  
The second thing I loue, is this, I twene,  
To ride aboue to haue those newe cloathes  
seen :  
At eu'rye gossipping I am at, still,  
And euer wilbe, maie I haue my will,  
For, at ons owne howse, praze, who is't  
cann see  
Howe fyne in newe-found fash'ond tires  
wee bee ?  
Vnles our husbandes : faithe ! but very  
fewe !  
And whoo'd goe gaie, to please a husbands  
veiwe ?  
Alas, we wivies doe take but smale delight  
Yf none (besides our husbands) sees that  
sight.*

*It ioyes our heartes, to heere an other man  
Praise this or that attire, that we weare  
on.  
Wee iucond are, and think our selues  
much graste  
Yf we heare some one saie ‘faire wenche,  
faithe, in waste  
This straight-girt gowne becomes you  
passing well ;  
From other Taylors, yours doth beare the  
bell.’  
Oh, her that well cann acte-out such  
sweete partes,  
Throwes-up the lure which wynns our  
verye hartes.  
When we are stubborns't, then let men  
with skill  
Rubb'es well with th' oyle of praise ; and  
bend we will,  
That smoothe-fyne supple oyle of praise  
doth softn vs soe,  
As what ist then, we will not yield vnto ?  
Meetings and brauerye were my delight.”*

p. 72: starch.—City Night Cap. *Old Plays*, vol. II, p. 309:—

“*My chambermaid  
Putting a little saffron in her starch,  
I most unmercifully broke her head.”—Southey, Com. Pl. Bk. i. 514.*

p. 73: wings: starch, laundresses, &c.

“*Chloe . . And will the ladies be anything familiar with me, think you ?  
Cytheris. O Juno ! why, you shall see them flock about you with their puff-  
wings,<sup>1</sup> and ask you where you bought your lawn, and what you paid for it ?  
who starches you ? and entreat you to help 'em to some pure laundresses<sup>2</sup> out of  
the city.” 1601.—Ben Jonson, *Poetaster*, IV. i. *Works*, i. 236, col. 2.*

<sup>1</sup> “That part of their dress which sprung from the shoulders, and had the appearance of a wing, inflated or blown up.” See p. 241 above

<sup>2</sup> “This is a hit at the Puritans, many of whom followed the business of tire-women, clear-starchers, feather-makers, &c. It is not a little singular that while they declaimed most vehemently against the idol, Fashion, they should be among the most zealous in administering to its caprice. Jonson notices this with good effect in his *Bartholomew Fair*; and Randolph ridicules it no less successfully in the commencement of his *Muses' Looking-Glass*. . . .”

p. 73-5. *Women's Doublets, Gowns, &c.* The Farthingales worn by Elizabethan women are not denounc'd here, though they were by Latimer:

"I think Mary had not much fine linen; she was not trimmed up as our women be now-a-days. I think indeed Mary had never a vardingal; for she used no such superfluities as our fine damsels do now-a-days; for in the old time women were content with honest and single garments. Now they have found out these round-about; they were not invented then; the devil was not so cunning to make such gear, he found it out afterwards. Therefore Mary had it not . . . it is nothing but a token of fair pride to wear such vardingals; and I therefore think that every godly woman should set them aside. St. Paul speaketh of such instruments of pride as was used in his time: *Non tortis crinibus*, 'Not with laying out the hair artificially'; *Non plicatura capillorum*, 'Not with laying out the tussocks.' I doubt not but if vardingals had been used in that time, St. Paul would have spoken against them too, like as he spake against other things which women used at that time, to shew their wantonness and foolishness." 1552.—Latimer, Sermon at Grimsthorpe. *Remains*, 1845, p. 108.

"All high and more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay-on some artificiall hew; and as they make trunk-sleeves of wyre, and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bumbasted verdugals, and, to the open-view of all men, paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties; so doth learning." 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaigne's Essays* (writ. 1580)—p. 301, ed. 1634.

Stubbes doesn't seem to notice the Fans, Busks, Stays, Hoops, and Aprons, which Gosson condemns, though Stowe says (*Harrison*, Pt. II, p. 34\*) that "Womens Maskes, Buskes, Mufs, Fanns, Perewigs, and Bodkins," having been invented "in Italy by Curtezans," came thro' France into England about the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 24 Aug. 1572. So, as they were in use in Elizabeth's time, I print Gosson's stanzas about them:—

"This cloth of price, all cut in raggies,  
These monstrous bones that compasse armes;  
These buttons, pinches, fringes, jagges,  
With them he [the Devil] weaveth wofull harmes.  
He fisher is, they are his baytes,  
Wherewith to hell he draweth huge heaps."

Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*, in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. p. 254.

*Fans.* Gosson, p. 255.

"Were fannes and flappes of feathers fond,  
To fit away the flisking flies,  
As taile of mare that hangs on ground,  
When heat of summer doth arrise,  
The wit of women we might praise,  
For finding out so great an ease;

But seeing they are stil in hand,  
In house, in field, in church, in street,

In summer, winter, water, land,  
 In cold, in heate, in drie, in weet,  
 I judge they are for wives such tooles,  
 As bables are in playes for fooles.

*Busks.*

The baudie buske that keepes downe flat  
 The bed wherein the babe should breed,  
 What doth it els but point at that  
 Which faine would have somewhat to feede ;  
 Where bellie want might shadow vale,  
 The buske sets bellie all to sale . . .

[And] seeing such as whome they arme,  
 Of all the rest do soonest yeeld,  
 And that by shot they take most harme,  
 When lustie gamesters come in field,  
 I guess buskes are but signes to tell  
 Where launderers for the campe do dwell.”

1595-6.—St. Gosson, *Pleasant Quipps*, 1866, p. 255 6.

*Secret coats or stays.*—Gosson, p. 256.

“These privie coates, by art made strong  
 With bones,<sup>1</sup> with past, with such like ware,  
 Whereby their backe and sides grow long,  
 And now they harness gallants are ;  
 Were they for use against the foe,  
 Our dames for Amazones might goe.

But seeing they doe only stay  
 The course that nature doth intend,  
 And mothers often by them slay  
 Their daughters young, and worke their end,<sup>2</sup>  
 What are they els but armours stout,  
 Wherein like gyants, Jove they flout ?”

<sup>1</sup> “*Winifride* . . . Oh, I could cracke my Whalebones, break my Buske, to thinke what laughter may arise from this.” 1600 (ed. 1616), *Jacke Drum*, Act IV. Simpson’s *School of Shakspere*, ii. 182.

<sup>2</sup> John Bulwer in 1650 inveighs against the abuse of tight-lacing. Doctors and all sensible folk have done so ever since ; but English women—whose God, Fashion is, and who regularly sacrifice to it their bodies and health, and often their souls—still immolate their daughters and themselves on their Demon’s shrine.

“Another foolish affection there is in young Virgins, though grown big enough to be wiser, but they are led blind-fold by custome to a fashion pernitious beyond imagination ; who thinking a *Slender-waste* a great beauty, strive all that they possibly can by streight-lacing themselves, to attain unto a wand-like smalnesse of Waste, never thinking themselves fine enough untill they can span their Waste. By which deadly artifice they reduce their Breasts into such streights that they soon purchase a stinking breath ; and while they ignorantly affect an angust or narrow Breast, and to that end by strong compulsion shut up their Wastes in a Whale-bone

Notes on p. 75. *Women's Stays and Hoops.* 263

*hoops*, p. 257 (cp. crinolines, happily gone out of fashion, for ever, let us hope).

“These hoopes, that hippes and haunch do hide,  
And heave aloft the gay hoyst traine,  
As they are now in use for pride,  
So did they first beginne of paine :  
When whores in stewes had gotten poxe,  
This French device kept coats from smocks.

I not gainsay but bastards sprout  
Might arses greater at first begin ;  
And that when paunch of whore grew out,  
These hoopes did helpe to hide their sinne ;  
And therefore tub-tailes all may rue,  
That they came from so vile a crue.

---

*prison or little-ease ; they open a door to Consumptions, and a withering rottennesse.*  
*Hence such are justly derided by Terence in Eunicho.*

*Haud similis virgo, est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student : Demissis  
humoris esse, vincto pectore, ut graciles fieri.  
— si qua est habitor paulo, pugilem esse ciunt, aequaliter cibum,  
Tamen si bona est natura, raddunt curvatura junces.*

So that it seems this foolish fashion was in request in the time that *Terence* lived.

“Paræus where he propounds Instruments for the mending such deformities, observes that the Bodies of young Maids or Girls (by reason they are more moist and tender then the bodies of Boyes) are made crooked in processe of time : Especially, by the wrenching aside, and crookednesse of the backbone; the most frequent cause whereof is the unhandsome and undecent scituatioun of their bodies, when they are young and tender, either in carrying, sitting or standing (and especially, when they are taught to go too soon) saluting, serving, writing, or in doing any such like thing. In the mean while he omits not the occasion of crookednes, that happens seldome to the Country people, but is much incident to the inhabitants of great Towns and Cities, which is by reason of the straitnesse and narrownesse of the garments that are worn by them ; which is occasioned by the folly of Mothers, who while they covet to have their young Daughters Bodies so small in the middle as may be possible, pluck and draw their bones awry, and make them crooked.”—*Anthropometamorphosis : Man Transformed, or the Artificial Changeling*, etc., by J.[ohn]. B.[ulwer], 1650

Bulver also denounces the Absurd, tho' now happily abandona custom of swathing children in tight bands :—

“We in *England* are noted to have a most perverse custome of Swathing Children, and streightening their Breasts. Which narrownesse of Breast occasioned by hard and strict swadling them, is the cause of many inconveniences and dangerous consequences. For, all the bones of new-born Infants, especially the Ribs of the Breast, are very tender & flexible, that you may draw them to what figure you please ; which when they are too strictly swathed with Bands, reduce the Breast to so narrow a scantling, as is apt to endanger not only the health, but the life of children. For hence it is, that the greatest part of us are so subject to a Consumption and Distillations, which shorten our dayes, and bring us to an untimely Grave.” 1650.—*Anthropometamorphosis : Man Transform'd* ; or, the *Artificial Changeling*, etc. J.[ohn] B.[ulwer], p. 186.

If barreld bums<sup>1</sup> were full of ale,  
 They well might serve Tom Tapsters turne ;  
 But yeelding nought but filth and stale,  
 No losse it were, if they did burne . . . ”

*Aprons.*

“ These aprones white of finest thrid,  
 So choicelie tide, so dearlie bought,  
 So finely fringed, so nicelie spred,  
 So quaintlie cut, so richlie wrought ;  
 Were they in worke to save their cotes,  
 They need not cost so many grotes.

When shooters aime at buttes and prickes,  
 They set up whites, and shew the pinne ;  
 It may be, aprones are like tricks,  
 To teach where rovers, game may winne.  
 Brave archers soone will find the marke,  
 But bunglers hit it in the darke.”

1595-6. Stephen Gosson, *Pleasant Quippes*. Hazlitt's *E. E. Popular Poetry*, iv. 257-8.

p. 74. *Gown layed with lace, &c.*

“ Girtred. . . O sister Mildred, though my father bee a low-capt tradesman, yet I must be a ladi, and I praise God my mother must call me ‘ Madam ’. Does he come? Off with this gowne for shames sake! off with this gowne! let not my knight take me in the cittie-cut, in my hand! . . I tell you I cannot indure it; I must bee a lady! Doe you weare your quoiffe with a London licket, your stamen petticoate with two guardes, the buffin gowne with the tuff-taffitie cape and the *velvet lace*? I must be a lady, and I will be a lady! I like some humors of the City dames well . . to eate cherries onely at an angell a pound, good; to die rich scarlet, black, prety; to line a grogarom gowne cleane through with velvet, tollerable; their pure linen, their smocks of 3 li. a smock, are to be borne withall. But your minsing niceries, taffata pipkins, durance petticoates, and silver bodkins—Gods my life, as I shall be a lady, I cannot indure it.”

1605.—Jn. Marston, *Eastward Hoe*, I. i., Works, 1856, iii. 9.

p. 75, l. 13. *Cost of dress.*—See Rowlands's “ *To Maddam Maske and Francis Fan*,” as to how woods are cut down, and tenants racket, to provide money for women's dress, &c., in his *Knaue of Spades*, 1611 (Hunt. Club, 1874, p. 37). See too the extract from Bp. Pilkington in the Note for p. 81, below.

<sup>1</sup> An earlier satirist, Charles Bansley, in *The Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550 (Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 229), says—

“ Downe, for shame, wyth these bottell arste bummes,  
 And theyr trappyng trinkets so wayne!  
 A bounsinge packadel for the devyll to ryde on,  
 To spurre theym to sorowe and payne.”—p. 238.

Notes on pp. 75-7. *Parents' neglect of Children, &c.* 265

p. 75. *Parents to blame.* "Who seeth not how fondly fathers and mothers bring vp their children in cockering and pampering them? from their infancie they bee giuen to none other thing but to pride, delicious fare, and vain idle pleasures and pastimes.

"What prodigious apparel, what vndecent behauour, what boasting, bragging, quarelling, and ietting vp and down, what quaffing, feasting, rioting, playng, dauncing and diceing, with other like fellowship that is among them, it is a wonder to see: and the parents can hereat rejoice and laugh with them, and giue libertie to theire children to doe what they liste, neuer endeauouring to tame and salue their wilde appetites. What marueylle is it if they bee found thus naughtie and vicious, when they come to their full yeares and mans state, which haue of children been trayned and entered with such vice? . . .

"Consider, I pray thee (good reader) what jolly yonkers and lusty [=lustfull] brutes, these wil be when they come to be citizens, and intermedlers of the common-welth, which by their fathers have beeene thus wantonly cockered up, neuer correcting them, or chastening them for any faults and offences whatsoeuer? What other thing but this, is the cause that there be now so many adulterers, vnchast, and lewde persons, and idle rogues?—that we haue such plentie of dicers, carders, mummers, and dauncers? and that such wickednesse, and filthy liuers are spred about in euery quarter,—but onely naughty education and bringing vp. . .

"Also the slacknesse and vnreadinesse of the magistrates to doe and execute their office, is a great cause of this: if they that vse tauernes, playng and walking vp and downe the streetes in time of a sermon; if disobedient children to their parents, if dicers, mummers, ydellers, dronkerds, swearers, rogues, and dauncers, and such as haue spent and made away their living in belly cheare and vnthriftinesse, were straightly punished, surely there shud be lesse occasion giuen to offend, and also good men should not haue so great cause to complain of the maners of men of this age. Therefore, the magistrate must remember his office." Ab. 1577.—Jn. Northbrooke, *Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays and Interludes, &c.* (Shakespeare Soc. 1843), p. 11-12. See too the Note for p. 186, below.

p. 76-7. *Nether stockings, corked shooes, &c.*

"Theseworsted stockes of bravest die, And silken garters fring'd with gold; These corked shooestobear them hie, Makes them to trip it on the molde: They mince it with a pace so strange, Like untam'd heifers, when they range.	To carrie all this pelfe and trash, Because their bodies are unfit, Our wantons now in coaches dash, From house to house, from street to street."
	1595-6.—St. Gosson, <i>Pleasant Quippes for Vpstart Newfangled Gentlewomen</i> , Hazlitt, 1866, p. 258.

"Crispinell. Nay, good, let me still sit; we lowe statures love still to sit, least when we stand, we may be supposed to sit.

Tisselfew. Dost not ware high corke shooes—chopines? [Cp. *Hamlet*, II. ii. 447.]

Crisp. Monstrous on's. I am, as many other are, peec'd above, and peec'd beneath."—1605. Jn. Marston, *The Dutch Courtesan*, III. i. Works, 1856, ii. 147.

p. 77, l. 2, *pinsnets*,? pumps, thin shoes. See p. 247-8 above. I don't know *pinsnet* except in Stubbis. *Pinson* is common in early writers: see Way's edition of the *Promptorium*, p. 400, col. 2, and his note 3, which ought to be 4: 'the pynson-showes, les eschapins—Duwes.' In the Articles ordained on Decr. 31, 1494, by Henry VII, in that 'As for the receaving of a Queene, and the Coronation of her,' "when masse is donne, [in Westminster Abbey, the barefooted Queen is] to come downe againe to the highe altar, and there to bee howselled, and then to goe into a closett, and the Abbott to putt St. Edwards *Pinsons* on her feete."—*Household Ordinances* (1791), p. 124. Mr. Herrtage has sent me the following: "A Pynson hec pedibromita.e. dicitur a pes, -dis, & brico, & mitos gutta."—*Catholicon*. Addit. MS. 15,562, Brit. Mus.

"*Pedibomita / te. anglice (a pynson).—f. p. [feminine, 1st. decl.] Ortus Vocabulorum.* W. de Worde. 1532.

"*Calcearium.* A shoe, pinson, socke."—Withals. "A pinsone, osa."—Manipulus Vocab. "Pynson, sho, *caffignon*."—Palsgrave, p. 254, col. 2; but "*Cassignon*: m. a pump, or thin-soled shoe."—Cotgrave. "*Soccatus*. That weareth startups or pinsons."—Elyot. "*Detrahere soccos alicui*: to pull off one's pinsons or his startups."—Cooper. "*Calcearium.* A shoe, pinson, or socke." *Calceo*. To put on shoes, socks, or pinsons.—ib.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot. *Pomanders*.

"*1st. Boy.* Your only way to make a good *pomander*, is this:—Take an ounce of the purest garden mould, cleansed and steeped seven days in change of motherless rosewater; then take the best ladanum, benzoine, both storaxes, ambergris, civet, and musk: incorporate them together, and work them into what form you please. This, if your breath be not too valiant, will make you smell as sweet as my lady's dog." 1602 (pr. 1607), *Lingua*. Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 419.—See the note there, referring to another recipe in Markham's *English Housewife*, p. 151, ed. 1631; also printed, from ed. 1675, p. 109, in Marston's *Works*, 1856, ii. 302. "Why, any sensible snout may wind Master Amoretto and his pomander." 1602.—*Lingua*, Dodsley, ix. 181.

p. 77, l. 10 from foot: *fragrant Pomanders*. "Perfumed paste, generally rolled into a ball, but sometimes moulded into other forms: it was carried in the pocket, or hung about the neck, and was considered a preservative against infection. A silver case filled with perfumes was sometimes called a pomander."—Dyce's *Webster*, ed. 1871, note on the *Malcontent*, V. i. p. 354.—S.

p. 78, l. 2: *droye*.—"Droil. A drudge, or servant. *North*.—See Malone's *Shakespeare*, xviii. 42; Tusser's *Husbandry*, p. 256."—*Halliwell's Dict.*—S.

p. 78, l. 3: *pussle*.—Compare "Pucelle or *puzzel*, dolphin or dogfish," 1 Hen. VI, I. iv. 107, Globe ed. "Puzel or *Pussel*, Dolphin or Dog-fish."—Fol. 1623. Ladislaus, king of Naples, fell in love with his physician's daughter, "a *puzzell* verie beautifull."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, iii. 545/ 1/52.—S. "Then, three pretty *puzzels* az bright az a breast of bacon, of a thirtie yeere old a pees." 1575.—*Laneham's Letter*, my ed. p. 23.

p. 78: *naked breasts*.—See *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 170. Cp. Ben Jonson's side-notes in his *The Devil is an Ass*, Works, ed. Cunningham, ii. 237, on the lines,

. . . . “since Love hath the honour to approach  
These sister-swelling breasts and touch this soft  
And rosy hand.”

“Here he grows more familiar in his courtship.” “Wittipol plays with her paps, kisses her hands,” &c.; and in *Cynthia's Revels*, iii. 2, p. 168 (ed. Gifford), “Plays with his mistress's paps, salutes her pumps.”—P. A. D.

“*Bellula*. Let pinching citty-dames orecloud their eyes :  
Our breasts lie forth, like conduits of delight,  
Able to tice the nicest appetite.  
Mistresse Pinckanie, shall I have this Fanne ?

*Pink*. Madam, not this weake, do what I can.”

? 1590-1600, pr. 1610.—Peele & Marston, *Histrion-Mastix*, Act III. R. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, ii. 50.

“Then silly old Fops, that kiss but like popes,  
And call us Night Walkers and Fairies,  
Go fumble old *Joan*, and let us alone,  
And never come near our canary's :  
We'll wear our breasts bare,<sup>1</sup> and curl up our hair,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ebsworth's note is, ‘The immodest exposure of the bosom had been assailed, not alone by the Puritans, but by many safrists, who could scarcely be deemed righteous over-much. But none of these had exceeded the stern rebuke uttered by Dante in the *Purgatorio*, Canto xxiii. :—

“O dolce frate, che vuoi tu, ch' io dica ?  
Tempo futuro m' è già nel cospetto,  
Cui non sara quest' ora molto antica,” etc.

“Thus rendered by H. F. Cary:—

“What wouldest thou have me say ? A time to come  
Stands full within my view, to which this hour  
Shall not be counted of an ancient date,  
When from the pulpit shall be loudly warn'd  
The unblushing dames of Florence, lest they bare  
Unkerchief'd bosoms to the common gaze.\*  
What savage women hath the world e'er seen,  
What Saracens, for whom there needed scourge  
Of spiritual or other discipline,  
To force them walk with covering on their limbs.  
But did they see, the shameless ones, what Heaven  
Wafts on swift wing toward them while I speak,  
Their mouths were op'd for howling : they shall taste  
Of sorrow (unless foresight cheat me here).”

\* After the Restoration, in 1678, had appeared a pamphlet “*Just and reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders*.”

\* On the Venetian courtesans' like undress, see Coryat's *Crudities*, 1611.

And shew our *Commodes* to the people ;  
 But, as I'm a w——, if that you talk more,  
 We'll raise them as high as Bow-steeple."

"The Vindication of Top Knots and Commodes," To  
 the tune of *London Top Knot's*.—Bagford Collection, i. 124 (908, 967). Ballad Society, 1876.

Puppies and books were occasionally housed in the same soft receptacle as Stubbes's nosegays. Topsell's *Four-footed Beasts* (1607) says of the little Melitean or Sicilian dogs, "They are not above a foot, or half a foot long, and alway the lesser, the more delicate and precious... There be some wanton women which admit them to their beds, and bring up their young ones *in their own bosomes*, for they are so tender, that they seldom bring above one at a time, but they lose their life."—ed. 1658, J. Rowland, M.D., p. 128. And Mr. R. Roberts cites from Richard Brathwait's *The English Gentleman*, 1630, 4to, p. 28 :

"But alas ; to what height of licentious libertie are these corrupte times growne ? When that *Sex*, where Modesty should claime a native prerogative, gives way to fomentes of exposed loosenesse; by not only attending to the wanton discourse of immodest Lovers, but carrying about them (even *in their naked Bosomes*, where chaste desires should only lodge) the amorous toyes of *Venus* and *Adonis*: which Poem, with others of like nature, they heare with such attention, peruse with such devotion, and retaine with such delectation, as no subject can equally relish their unseasoned palate, like those lighter discourses."

'So early as 1595, in *Pleasant Quippes for upstart new-fangled Gentlewomen*, Stephen Gosson had assailed a similar exposure, in Puritanical pride writing thus (Collier's Pref. to Gosson's *School of Abuse*, ed. 1841, p. xiii) :—

"These Holland smockes, so white as snowe,  
 and gorgets brave with drawne-worke wrought,  
 A tempting ware they are, you know,  
 wherewith (as nets) vaine youths are caught," etc.  
 "These periwigges, ruffes armed with pinnes,  
 these spangles, chaines and laces all,  
*These naked paps, the Devil's ginnes,*  
 to work vaine gazers painefull thrall :  
 [He Fowler is, they are his nets,  
 Wherewith of fooles great store he gets.]"

'These satirists and cynics who are perpetually decrying immodesty of feminine apparel, are invariably themselves of impure dispositions. They have a prurient longing to offensively rebuke offence.

"Fie on thee ! I can tell what thou would'st do . . . .  
 Most mischievous foul sin, in chiding sin :  
 For thou thyself hast been a libertine,  
 As sensual as the brutish sting itself :  
 And all the embosse'd sores and headed evils,  
 That thou with license of free foot hast caught,  
 Would'st thou disgorge into the general world."

*As You Like It*, Act ii. sc. 7.'

p. 78, l. 7 : *kissing*.—“I hold that the greatest cause of dissolutenesse in some women in England is this custome of kissing publiquely, for that by this meanes they lose their shamefastnesse, and at the very touch of the kisse there entreth into them a poison which doth infect them.” [In Spain they don’t do it] “because we are so wanton, that we need nothing to helpe our appetite, to make a thousand ill matches which would fall out if we should haue this occasion.” 1623.—J. Minshew, *Pleasant and Delightfull Dialogues*, p. 51-2. On p. 39 he notes the sodomising of pages by their masters (see Harrison, Pt. I. p. 130), on which Marston has a long passage in his *Scourge of Villanie*, 1599, *Works*, 1856, iii. 256-7. That kissing (smick-smack) was apt to lead to something further, see *Lusty Juuentus*, 1550, Hazlitt’s *Dodslie*, ii. 85 :—

“ What a hurly-burly is here ! Smick smack, and all this gear ! You will to tick-tack, <sup>1</sup> I fear, If you had time :	Well, wanton, well : Iwisi can tell That such smock-smell Will set your nose out of tune.”
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See Beatrice’s protest against the custom of indiscriminate kissing, in Marston’s *Dutch Courtezan* (1605), Act III. sc. i; *Works*, 1856, ii. 144. She’s one of Sir Herbert’s daughters, and says, “boddy a beautie ! tis one of the most unpleasing, injurious customes to ladyes ; any fellow that has but one nose on his face, and standing collar, and skirtes also lined with taffety sarcent, must salute us on the lipps as familiarly. Soft skins save us ! There was a stub-bearded John-a-stile, with a ploydens face, saluted me last day, and stroke his bristles through my lippes : I ha spent ten shillings in pomatum since, to skinne them againe,” &c. &c. A. D. 1792, “there are many practices openly made use of betwixt the sexes which with us [the French] are considered as marks of the greatest familiarity. On the stage the actor applies his lips to those of the actress, when he salutes her ; the same is practised by the people in general; the kiss of love, and the kiss of friend-ship are impressed alike on the lips.” H. Meister (Swiss by birth). *Letters on England*, englisch 1799, p. 287-8.

p. 78. *Sweet smells of musks, &c.*

“ Their odorous smelles of Muske so sweete,  
   Their waters made of seemely sent,  
   Are lures of Luste, and farre unmeet,  
   Except where needs they must be spent.”

1579.—W. A., *A speciall Remedie against . . . lawlesse Love.* Collier’s Bibl. Cat. ii. 237.

“ *Mercatore*.—[I do] lack some pretty fine toy, or some fantastic new knack ; For da gentlewomans in England buy much tings for fantasy . . .  
*Gerontus* . . As musk, amber, sweet-powders, fine odours, pleasant perfumes, and many such toys, Wherein I perceive consisteth that country[’s] gentlewomen’s joys.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Meas. for Meas.*, I. ii. 196.

270 Notes on pp. 78, 79. *Women's Toys, Scents, &c.*

Besides, I have diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires, smaradines, opals, onacles, jacinths, agates, turquoise, and almost of all kind of precious stones,

And many mo fit things to suck away money from such green-headed wantons."

1584.—R. W., *The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 330.

Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain Theatre, is more reasonable than Stubbes :—

" *What smels sweete?*

Muske, Ciuet, Amber, and a thousand thinges  
Long to rehearse, from which sweete odours springes :  
Flowers are sweete, and sweetest in my minde,  
For they are sweete by nature and by kinde.  
Faire Women that in bosoms nosegays weare,  
Kisse bvt their lippes, and say what sent they beare,  
Their breath perfume, their flowers sweetly smell,  
Both ioyned to her lippes, do exceeding well."

1600.—*Quips upon Questions . . .* By Clunyco de Curtanio Snuffe. F 4, back.  
I do not trust the evidence that has induced Mr. Ouvry, in his reprint, 1875,  
to assign the tract to John Singer: "Mr. Collier informs me that the name  
J. Singer was written in his own autograph [?] on the title-page of the volume."

p. 78-9. *Feathers, wide-gowns, face-painting.*

" *Epigram.*

**W**HAT feather'd fowle is this that doth approach  
As if it were an Estredge in a Coach?  
Three yards of feather round about her hat,  
And in her hand a bable like to that :  
As full of Birdes attire, as Owle, or Goose ;  
And like vnto her gowne, her selfe seemes loose<sup>1</sup>,  
Cri 'ye mercie, Ladie, lewdnes are you there ?  
Light feather'd stiffe befits you best to weare." (Sign. B 2, p. 11.)

1608.—S. Rowlands, *Humors Looking-Glasse* (Hunterian Club, 1872)

" **A**Gentleman, a verie friend of mine,  
Hath a young wife, and she is monstrous fine :  
Shee's of the new fantastique humor right,  
In her attire an angell of the light.  
Is she an Angell ? I : it may be well,  
Not of the light, she is a light Angell.  
Forsooth his dome must suffer alteration,  
To entertaine her mightie huge Bom-fashion.  
A hood's to base, a hat, which she doth make

<sup>1</sup> " *Taylor.* Inprimis, a loose-bodied gown :

*Grumio.* Master, if euer I said loose-bodied gowne, sow me in the skirts  
of it, and beate me to death with a bottome of browne thred : I said a gowne."  
—? 1596-7.—Shakspere, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 135-8. Folio, p. 224,  
col. 2.

Notes on pp. 79, 80. *Women's Feathers, &c.* 271

With brauest feathers in the Estridge tayle,  
She scornes to treade our former proud wiues traces,  
That put their glory in their o[w]n fair faces ;  
In her conceit it is not faire enough,  
She must reforme it with her painters stufse ;  
And she is neuer merry at the heart,  
Till she be got into her leatherne Cart.  
Some halfe a mile the Coach-man guides the raynes,  
Then home againe ; birladie, she takes paines.  
My friend, seeing what humours haunt a wife,  
If he were loose, would lead a single life."

*The Humors that haunt a Wife* (*ib.* B 3, back, p. 14).

p. 79. *Looking-glasses : mirrors in hats, &c.*

"*Amorphus . . .* Where is your page? call for your casting-bottle, and place your mirror in your hat,<sup>1</sup> as I told you : so!" 1600.—Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, II. i.

p. 79 : *bracelets, rings, &c.*

"and now, my honie Loue,  
Will we returne vnto thy Fathers house  
And reuell it as brauely as the best,  
With silken coats and caps, and golden *Rings*,  
With Ruffes and Cuffes, and Fardingales and things ;  
With Scarfes and Fannes, & double change of brau'ry,  
With Amber *Bracelets*, Beades, and all this knau'ry."

? 1596-7.—Shakspere, *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 52-8. Folio, p. 223, col. 2.

p. 80. *Masks, face-painting, &c.*

"Peace, Cynick ; see, what yonder doth approach !  
A cart ? a tumbrell ? No a badgēd coach.  
What's in't ? Some man ? No, nor yet woman kinde,  
But a celestiall angell, faire, refinde.  
The divell as soone ! Her *maske* so hinders me,  
I cannot see her beauties deitie,  
Now that is off, she is so vizarded,  
So steepet in Lemons juyce, so surphuled,  
I cannot see her face. Under one hoode  
Two faces : but I never understood  
Or saw one face under two hoods till now :  
'Tis the right semblance of old Janus brow.  
Her *maske*, her *vizard*, her loose-hanging gowne  
(For her loose-lying body), her bright spangled crowne,

<sup>1</sup> Both sexes wore them publicly ; the men, as brooches or ornaments in their hats, and the women at their girdles (see *Massinger*, vol. iv. p. 8), or on their breasts ; nay, sometimes in the centre of their fans, which were then made of feathers, inserted into silver or ivory tubes. Lovelace has a poem on his mistress's fan, 'with a looking-glass in it.' Gifford, in *Works*, i. 160, col. 2.

Her long slit sleeves, stiffe buske, puffe verdingall,  
Is all that makes her thus angelicall.

Alas ! her soule struts round about her neck ;

Her seate of sense is her rebato set ;

Her intellectuall is a fained nicenesse,

Nothing but clothes and simpring precisenesse.

Out on these puppets, painted images,

Haberdashers shops, torch-light maskerries,

Perfuming pans, Dutch ancients, glowe-worms bright

That soyle our soules, and dampe our reasons light !

Away ! away ! hence ! coach-man, goe inshrine

Thy new-glas'd puppet in port Esqueline ! ”

599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*. *Works*, 1856, iii. 283.

p. 80. *Visors made of velvet*: Of Masks, Gosson says, *Pleasant Quipps*, E. E. Pop. Poetry, iv. 254 :—

“ . . . on each wight, now are they seene,	What else do maskes but maskers show?
The tallow-pale, the browning-bay,	And maskers can both dance and play :
The swarthie-black, the grassie-greene,	Ourmasking dames can sport, you knowe,
The pudding red, the dapple graie,	Sometime by night, some time by day :
So might we judge them toyse	‘ Can you hit it ’ <sup>1</sup> is oft their
aright	daunce,
To keepe sweet beautie still in	Deuse-ace <sup>2</sup> fals stil to be their
plight.	chance.”

“ *Higgen*. We stand here for an epilogue  
Ladies, your bounties first ! the rest will follow ;  
For women’s favours are a leading alms :  
If you be pleas’d, look cheerly, throw your eyes  
Out at your *masks*.

*Prigg.* And let your beauties sparkle ! ”

1622.—Fletcher. *The Beggars Bush*, Works, i. 231.

p. 81 : *makers of new fashions*.—Compare Massinger, in his *Picture*, 1629-30. Act II, sc. ii, p. 220, col. 1, Moxon’s ed.—

“ *Eubulus*. . . . . There are some of you,  
Whom I forbear to name, whose coining heads  
Are the mints of all new fashions, that have done  
More hurt to the kingdom by superfluous bravery,  
Which the foolish gentry imitate, than a war  
Or a long famine. All the treasure, by  
This foul excess, is got into the merchant,  
Embroiderer, silkman, jeweller, tailor’s hand,  
And the third part of the land too, the nobility  
Engrossing titles only.”

<sup>1</sup> Compare Rosaline: ‘Thou canst not hit it, my good man,’ *L. L. Lost*, IV. ii.; Ritson’s *Robin Hood*, ii. 213; *Wily Beguil’d* (1602-3), in Hazlitt, p. 254-5, and p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> A male’s genitals.

Notes on p. 81. *Women's Pride and Dress.* 273

p. 81. *Heathen women an example to Christian ones.*

"And all dainty dames may here learn of these gentlewomen to set more by working at God's house than by trimming of themselves. Would God they would spend that on the poor members of Christ and citizens of this spiritual Jerusalem, that they wastefully bestow on themselves, and would pity their poverty something like as they pamper themselves! St. Peter biddeth them leave their 'gold and frizzled hair, and their costly apparel' and so modestly behave themselves that 'their husbands, seeing their honest behaviour, may be won' to the Lord by them; for so Sara and other holy women did attire themselves, &c.

"But it is to be feared, that many desire rather to be like dallying Dinah than sober Sara. And if the husband will not maintain it, though he sell a piece of land, break up house, borrow on interest, raise rents, or make like hard shifts, little obedience will be shewed. Placilla the empress, the worthy wife of Theodosius the emperor would visit the sick folks in their houses herself, and help them; would taste of their broths, how they were made, bring them dishes to lay their meat in, and wash their cups; and if any would forbid her, she said she offered her labour for the empire, to God that gave it. And she would oft say to her husband, 'Remember what ye were, and who ye be now, and so shall ye always be thankful unto God.' It were comfortable to hear of such great women in these days, where the most part are so fine that they cannot abide to look at a poor body, and so costly in apparel that that will not suffice them in jewels, which their elders would have kept good hospitality withal. When Moses moved the people to bring such stuff as was meet for the making of God's tabernacle and other jewels in it, the women were as ready as the men, and they 'brought their bracelets, ear-rings, rings, and chains, all of gold;' and the women 'did spin with their own hands' both silk and goats hair: they wrought and brought so much willingly, that Moses made proclamation they should bring no more.

"Compare this people's devotion with ours that be called Christians, and ye shall find that all that may be scratched is too little to buy jewels for my mistress, though she be but of mean degree; and if anything can be pulled from God's house, or any that serveth in it, that is well gotten, and all is too little for them. God grant such costly dames to consider what metal they be made of! for if they were so fine of themselves as they would seem to be, none of these glorious things needed to be hanged upon them to make them gay withal. Filthy things need washing, painting, colouring, and trimming, and not those that be cleanly and comely of themselves: such decking and colouring maketh wise men to think, that all is not well underneath: content yourselves with that colour, comeliness, and shape, that God hath given you by nature, and disfigure not yourselves with your own devices; ye cannot amend God's doings, nor beautify that which he hath in that order appointed." . . . 1575.—Bishop Pilkington on Nehemiah (pr. 1585), *Works* (Parker Soc. 1842), pp. 385-387.

p. 82, l. 10 from foot. *In High Germany the Women use in effect one kind of apparel, &c.*—Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. iii, p. 325, ed. 1550) says that when he was a boy (circa 1497) his countrymen dressed plainly now they follow foreign

fashions, but the German women have returned to the ancient frugality in apparel which distinguished the men. "Hæ depositis multiplicibus & plicatissimis peplis, quibus grandia olim faciebant capita, unico tantum hodie uelantur, modestiusque incedunt. Satis honestus hodie est quarundam mulierum uestitus, nisi quod superne nimium excauatur."—S.

p. 87. *Women's dress: its motive:*—

"For, why is all this rigging and fine tackle, mistress,  
If your neat handsome vessels, of good sail,  
Put not forth ever and anon with your nets  
Abroad into the world? It is your fishing.  
There, you shall choose your friends, your servants, lady,  
Your squires of honour. I'll convey your letters,  
Fetch answers, do you all the offices  
That can belong to your blood and beauty."

1616.—Ben Jonson. *The Devil is an Ass*, Act II. sc. i. p. 352, col. 2.

p. 87.—*How the day's spent by Women:*—

"Daily till ten a clocke a bed she lyes,  
And then againe her Lady-ship<sup>1</sup> doth rise,  
Her Maid must make a fire, and attend  
To make her ready; then for wine sheele send,  
(A morning pinte) she sayes her stomach's weake,  
And counterfeits as if shee could not speake,  
Vntill eleuen, or a little past,  
About which time, euer she breakes her fast;  
Then (very sullen) she wil pout and loure,  
And sit downe by the fire some halfe an houre.  
At twelue a clocke her dinner time she keepes,  
Then gets into her chaire, and there she sleeps  
Perhaps til foure, or somewhat thereabout;  
And when that lazie humour is worne out,  
She cals her dog, and takes him in her lap,  
Or fals a beating of her maid (perhap)  
Or hath a Gossip come to tell a Tale,  
Or else at me sheele curse, and sweare, and rale,  
Or walke a turne or two about the Hall,  
And so to supper and to bed: heeres all  
This paines she takes; and yet I do abuse her!  
But no wise man, I thinke, so kind would vse her.<sup>2</sup> . . ."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A whole crew of kind Gossips, all met to be merry*, sign. D 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 29). See the rest of this amusing piece, on the faults the Six Wives find with their Husbands, and the latters' answers finding fault with their Wives.

<sup>1</sup> Ironical. She has no title.

<sup>2</sup> See S. Rowlands's sketch of a *Jealous husband*, in his *Diogenes Lanthorne*, 1607, sign. B 3 (ed. 1873, p. 13).

p. 87. And see in Rowlands's *Lovke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye*, 1604, the *Idle-huswife*, sign. E, back, p. 34, of the Hunterian Club reprint, 1872:—

“**F**yne, neate, and curious mistris Butter flie,  
The Idle-toy to please an Idiots eye,  
You that wish all Good-huswiues hang'd for why ;  
Your dayes work's done each morning when you rise,  
Put on your Gowne, your Ruffe, your Masske, your Chaine,  
Then dine & sup, & go to bed againe.  
You that will call your Husband ‘Gull & Clowne,’  
If he refuse to let you haue your Will :  
You that will poute and lowere, and fret and frowne,  
Vnlesse his purse be launish open still,  
You that will hane it, get it how he can,  
Or he shall weare a Vulcans brow, poore man,  
Ile Stabbe thee.”

Compare too an older complaint in *The Schole-House of Women*, 1541 (ed. 1572), in Hazlitt's *E. E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 111-112:—

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>¶ Wed them once, and then adue,<br/>Farwel, all trust and huswifery ;<br/>Keep their chambers, and them<br/>self mew,<br/>For staining of their fisnamy<br/>[complexion],<br/>And in their bed all day doo lye ;<br/>Must, once or twise euery week,<br/>Fain them self for to be sick.</p> | <p>¶ Then must she haue maidens two or<br/>three,<br/>That may then gossips togither<br/>bring ;<br/>Set them to labour to blere the eye ;<br/>Them self wil neither wash ne wring,<br/>Bake ne brue, ne any thing ;<br/>Sit by the fire, let the maidens trot,<br/>Brew of the best in a halfpenny pot.</p> |
| <p>¶ Send for this, and send for that ;<br/>Little or nothing may them please ;<br/>Come in, good gossip, and keep<br/>me chat,<br/>I trust it shall do me great ease ;<br/>Complain of many a sundry disease ;<br/>A gossip's cup between vs twain,<br/>Til we be gotten vp again.</p>        | <p>¶ Play who wil, the man must labour,<br/>And bring to house all that he may ;<br/>The wife again dooth nought but<br/>glauour,<br/>And holde him vp with yea and nay ;<br/>But of her cup he shall not assay,<br/>Other she saith, it is to thin,<br/>Or els, iwis, there is nothing in.” &amp;c.</p>     |

p. 87, l. 10 from foot. *Othersome spende the greatest parte of the daie, in sittynge at the doore.*—“They [Englishwomen] sit before their doors, decked out in fine clothes, in order to see and be seen by the passers-by.” Emanuel van Meteren's *History of the Netherlands*, in Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners*, p. 72; *Harrison*, Pt. I, p. lxiii.—S.

“*Builer*. I am now going to their place of resi lence, situate in the choicest place of the city, and at the sign of the Wolf, just against Goldsmiths' Row [see *Harrison*, Part II, Forewords, § 1], where you shall meet me ; but ask not for

me, only walk to and fro ; and, to avoid suspicion, you may spend some conference with *the shopkeepers' wives* : they have seats built a purpose for such familiar entertainment." 1607.—G. Wilkins, *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*, Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, ix. 537-8.

That tradesmen us'd their wives as lures, seems certain. Compare, in Marston's *Dutch Courtezan* (1605), Act III. sc. i. (*Works*, 1856, ii. 155). Mistresse Mulligrub speaking to Lionell, the man of Mister Burnish, a Goldsmith, about his master and mistress :—

"An honest man hee is, and a crafty. Hee comes forward in the world well, I warrant him ; and his wife is a proper woman ; that she is ! Well, she has ben as proper a woman as any in Cheape. She paints now, and yet she keeps her husbands old customers to him still. In troth, a fine-fac'd wife, in a wainscot-carv'd seat, is a worthy ornament to a tradesmans shop, and an attractive, I warrant : her husband shall find it in the custome of his ware, Ile assure him." And at p. 157, Master Mulligrub says,

"All thinges with me shall seeme honest that can be profitable.  
He must nere winch, that would or thrive or save,  
To be cald nigard, *cuckold*, cut-throat, knave ! "

And in his *Satyre I*, 1598, *Works*, iii. 215, Marston says :—

"Who would not chuck to see such pleasing sport,  
To see such troupes of gallants still resort  
Unto Cornutos shop? What other cause  
But chaste Brownetta, Sporo thether drawes ? "

Machiavelli's *Instructions to his Son* how to make money and get on in life,—which, if not meant as a Satire, is an utterly base and mean-in-spirit, tho' worldly-wise book—says on this subject :—

"If that thy wife be faire, and thou but poore,  
Let her stand like a picture at thy doore,  
Where, though she do but pick her fingers ends,  
Faire eies, fond looks, will gaine a world of friends.  
Taske her not to worke, if she be prettie ;  
Bid her forbeare ; her toytle makes thee pittie ;  
Shee may with ease, haue meanes for greater gaines,  
With rich rewards, and pleasure for her paines.  
Play at bo-peep, see me and see me not ;  
It comes off well, that is so closely got ;  
And euermore say, 'aye ! well fare the vent  
That paies the charges of the house, and rent !'  
Come, come, tis no matter, be rul'd by this,  
The finest Dames doth some times do amisse,  
Yet walke demure, like puritants indeede,  
And earely rise to a Sermon for a neede,  
And make great shew of deuoutest praiier,  
When she only goes to meeete her louer.

Turning backe, poore foole desires the text ;  
Shee tel's him any thing that comefn next ;  
And turning o're the leafe to reade the verse,  
Scarsc for laughing, one word can rehearse,  
But prettily turnes it off with some iest :  
He beares with all ; he knowes it is his best.

If that thy wife be olde, thy Daughters yong,  
And faire of face, and of a fluent tongue,  
If by her sutors, siluer may be had,  
Beare with small faults ; the good will help the bad.  
Be not too seuere, time may mend their faults ;  
He is a foole, before a cripple haults ;  
Or he that findes a fault where gaine comes in,  
Tis pittie but his cheeke should e're look thin :  
What though thou knowst that vice doe gaine it all ;  
Will vertue helpe, when thou beginst to fall ?  
This is no world for vertuous men to thriue ;  
Tis worke enough to keepe thy selfe aliue.  
Let Wife and Daughters loue to make thee wealthie ;  
Thou knowst that gold will seeke to make thee healthie.

If thy maid-servants be kinde-hearted wenches,  
And closely make kinde bargins on the benches,  
Let them haue libertie, loue and pleasure ;  
All these are helps to bring in thy treasure ;  
Let them laugh and be merrie ; it yelds content ;  
Thei'lle humor all, till all their coyne is spent.  
If by their pleasures, may thy profit grow,  
Winke at a wanton who hath not beeene so."

1613.—*The Vncasing of Machiavils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 13-14.

"The Answer to Machiavels Vncasing" says, *ib.* sign. F 2, back :—

"An honest minde in evry trade doth well,  
The winde blowes ill, that blowes the soule to hell.  
Doe not before the Diuell a Candle hold,  
Seeke no corrupt meanes for siluer or gold.

If that thy wife be faire, be thou not foule,  
To let her play the Ape, and thou the Owle.  
Winke at no faults ; it is but misery,  
By bestiall meanes to releue necessity.  
If thou bee a Husband, gouerne so thy wife,  
That her peeuiish meanes worke not thy strife ;  
Giue her not too much lawe, to run before ;  
Too much boldnesse doth bring thy ouerthrow ;  
Yet abridge her not too much by any meane ;  
But let her still be thy companion.

And to thy daughter proue a better sire,  
 Then [=than], like a hacknie, let her out to hire.  
 What a greeuous case were this for thee,  
 To extoll thy selfe to prosperity  
 By such insatiat meanes ! a heauy sense  
 Deseruing nought but hell for recompence."

Then the Answer goes on to advise that austerity and distance between Father and Child which is in such markt contrast with our modern notions and practice, but is recommended in *King Solomon's Book of Wisdom*, in my *Adam Davie* (E. E. T. Soc., 1878), and other early books on the treatment of children (see my *Babees Book*, &c., E. E. Text Soc.) :—

" Like a kinde father, loue thy children deare,  
 Yet to outward view let not loue appeare,  
 Least too boldly they, presuming on thy loue,  
 By audacious meanes doe audacious proue.  
 Seeme not a companion in any case  
 To thy children : leарne them know who's in place,  
 That due obedience to thee be done ;  
 The end must nedes be good, that's well begonne.  
 Thus may thy children be at thy commaund,  
 With willing heart, still helpefull at thy hand.  
 Familiarity, contempt doth breed ;  
 By no meanes doe thou stoope vnto thy seede :  
 Whilst the twig is yong, bend it as thou list ;  
 Once being growne, thei'll stubbornely resist,  
 Caring not for parents nor their talking,  
 Commending their owne wits ; age is doting.  
 Looke well to youth and how their time is spent,  
 Least thou by leisure afterwards repent . . .  
 Vse no corrections in an angry vaine,  
 Which will but vexe thee much, increase thy paine . . .  
 The greefe is thine, when children goe astray ;  
 Give them not too much liberty to play,  
 Least that they doe to a custome bring it,  
 And euer after forbear to leaue it."

\* \* \* \* \*  
 [sign. G 2] " Machiauels rules, let Machiauels reade ;  
 Loue thou thy God ; his spirit be thy speede."

p. 87-8. The following applies to a woman who keeps a shop herself :—

" Tell mistris minkes, shee that keepes the shop,  
 Shee is a Ship that beares a gallant top ;  
 Shee is a Lady for her louely face,  
 And her countenance hath a Princes grace,  
 And that her beautie hath inthrald thee soe,

Notes on pp. 87, 88. *Shopwomen, Gardens.* 279

Except shee yeelds remorse, shee workes thy woe ;  
Then cast thine eye vpon her beautious cheeke,  
Protesting that thou neuer saw'st the like :  
Her smooth forehead and her comly dressing ;  
Her louely Breasts, cause loues increasing ;  
Her Iuorie teeth, her lip and chin ;  
Her snow white hand, the like was neuer seene ;  
Her leg and foote, with her gate so comlie,  
Her apparel's worne so neate and seemely :  
Thus o're-worne with care thou mai'st seeme to be,  
Till thou hast made her proude herselfe to see ;  
Then she nods the head with smiling fauor,  
That thou shouldest bestow such loue vpon her.  
Then bite the lip, winke and hang the head,  
And giue a sigh, as though thy heart were dead ;  
And shew strange passions of affections sence,  
That she may pittie loue sirreuerence,  
Wishing her selfe worthie of thy fauor,  
Which is a meanes to gaine some thing by her.  
Thus let the issue of this cunning be,  
That from her purse, some profit come to thee,  
A peece of Sattin, Fustian, or some Stiffe,  
A Falling-Band, or a three Double-ruffe ;  
A Hat, a Shirt, a Cloack-cloath or a Ring,  
Kniues, Purses, Gloues, or some such prettie thing,  
Some-what hath some sauour, 'tis this gaine  
That still iunction giveth his sweetest vaine."

1615.—*The Vncasing of Machinels Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 11-12.

p. 88, l. 8 : *thei have Gardens, &c.*—Compare the description of Angelo's garden in *Measure for Measure*, IV. i. 28—33. In it was a garden-house, V. i. 212. Corisca says, "I have a couch and a banqueting-house in my orchard, Where many a man of honour has not scorn'd To spend an afternoon."—Massinger's *Bondman*, ed. Gifford, 1840, Act I. sc. iii. p. 93, col. 1.—S.

"This yeare is like to prouefall to such as followe the *Garden Alleyes*, for, as some haue gone before, so the rest are like to followe, and marre their drinking with an hempen twist vnlesse they leauie Harlote-hunting, with more good will then Millers haue minde to morning prayer if the winde serue them in any corner on Sundaies." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeare*, C 3, back.

In *Skialethaea*, 1598, mention is made of an old citizen,

" who, comming from the  
Curtaine [in Shoreditch] sneaketh in  
To some odde garden noted house of sinne ; "

and West, in a rare poem, *The Court of Conscience*, 1607, tells a libertine,

" Towards the Curtaine then you must be gon,

The garden alleyes paled on either side ;  
Ift be too narrow walking, there you slide."

(See p. 308 below.) Halliwell's *Illustrations*, p. 38.

Also in 1606, *No-Body and Some-Body*, Simpson's *School of Shakspere*, i. 352 :—

" *Somebody* doth maintaine a common strumpet  
Ith Garden-allies, and undid himselfe."

### FORNICATION AND ADULTERY.

p. 89, 90. *Harlots & Brothels*.—See S. Rowlands's *Doctor Merrie-Man*, 1609, sign. C 3 (p. 21, Hunt. Club, 1877), and the fun she makes of the men she takes in :—

" I am a profest Courtezan,  
That liue by peoples sinne :  
With halfe a dozen Puncks I keepe,  
I haue great comming in.  
Such store of Traders haunt my house,  
To finde a lusty Wench,  
That twentie Gallants in a weeke,  
Doe entertaine the *French* ;  
Your Courtier, and your Citizen,  
Your very rustique Clowne,  
Will spend an Angell on the Poxe,  
Euen ready mony downe.  
I striue to liue most Lady-like,  
And scorne those foolish Queanes,  
That doe not rattle in their Silkes  
And yet haue able meanees  
I haue my Coach, as if I were  
A Countesse, I protest,  
I haue my daintie Musicke playes  
When I would take my rest.  
I haue my Seruing-men that waite  
Vpon mee in blew Coates ;

I haue my Oares that [do] attend  
My pleasure, with their boates :  
I haue my Champions that will fight,  
My Louers that do fawne :  
I haue my Hat, my Hood<sup>1</sup>, my Maske,  
My Fanne, my Cobweb Lawne ;  
To giue my Gloue vnto a Gull,  
Is mighty fauour found,  
When for the wearing of the same,  
It costs him twentie pound.  
My Garter, as a gracious thing,  
Another takes away :  
And for the same, a silken Goune  
The Prodigall doth pay. . . .  
Another lowly-minded youth,  
Forsooth my Shooe-string craves,  
And that he putteth through his eare,  
Calling the rest, bace slaves.  
Thus fit I Fooles in humours still,  
That come to me for game,  
I punish them for Venerie,  
Leauing their Purses lame."

And see Macilente's chaff of Fastidious Brisk in prison, brought there by buying presents for smart ladies :

" What, do you sigh? this it is to kiss the hand of a countess, to have her coach sent for you, to hang poniards in ladies' garters, to wear bracelets of their hair, and for every one of these great favours, to give some slight jewel of five

<sup>1</sup> " Alice. The poor common whores can have no traffic for the priuy rich ones ; your caps and hoods of velvet call away our customers, and lick the fat from us." 1616.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ii. 192, col. 1.

*hundred crowns or so : why, 'tis nothing ! Now, monsieur, you see the plague that treads on the heels o' your foppery : well, go your ways in, remove yourself to the two-penny ward quickly to save charges."* 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii. ; *Works*, i. p. 138, col. 2.

p. 97, l. 13 : *huggle*, to embrace closely.

"Lye still, lye still, thou little Musgrave,  
And *huggle* me from the cold."

*Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard*, ll. 61-2. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*.—S.

p. 97. *Cottages in every lane end*. Against this evil was past, in 1589, the Act 31 Eliz. c. 7. "An acte againste erectinge and mayntayninge of Cottages. For the avoydinge of the great Inconveniences whiche are founde by experiance to grove by the erectinge and buylinge of great nombers and multitude of Cottages, which are daylie more and more increased in manye partes of this Realme : Be it enacted . . . That . . . noe person shall, within this Realme of England, make buylde or erect . . . any manner of Cottage for habitacion or dwelling, nor convert or ordeyne anye Buyldinge or Howsinge . . . as a Cottage for habitacion or dwelinge, unlesse the same person doe assigne and laye to the same Cottage or Buyldinge fower acres of Grownde at the least . . . beinge his or her owne Freehold and Inheritaunce lienge nere to the said Cottage, to be contynuallie occupied & manured therewith, so longe as the same Cottage shalbe inhabited." The Penalty for breaking the Act was £10, and 40s. a Month for keeping such a Cottage.

p. 98. *Whoredom to be punisht*.

"In this Treatise (louing countrimen) you shall see what . . . inconuenience may come by following flattering strumpets. I know not, I, what should be the cause why so innumerable harlots and Cartizans abide about London, but because that good lawes are not looked vnto : is there not one appointed for the apprehending of such hell-moths, that eat a man out of bodie & soule? And yet there be more notorious strumpets & their mates about the Citie and the suburbs, than euer were before the Marshall was appointed : idle mates, I meane, that vnder the habit of a Gentleman or seruing man, think themselues free from the whip, although they can giue no honest account of their life." 1602.—S. Rowlands, *Greene's Ghost haunting Coniecatchers*, sign. A 2, back (Hunterian Club, 1872, p. 4-5).

Compare in C. Bansley's *Pryde and Abuse of Women*, ab. 1550, Hazlitt's *E. Pop. Poetry*, iv. 233 :

"Take no example by shyre townes,  
Nor of the Cytie of London :  
For therein dwell proude wycked  
ones,  
The poyon of all this region. | For a stewde strumpet can not so soone  
Gette up a lyght lewde fashyon,  
But everye wanton Jelot wyll lyke it  
well,  
And catch it up anon."

And Latimer's 6th Sermon, in 1549, before Edward VI. : "O Lord, what whoredom is used now-a-days . . . how God is dishonoured by whoredom in this city of London ; yea, the Bank [Southwark], when it stood, was never so common ! . . . It is wonderful that the city of London doth suffer such whoredom

unpunished . . . There is some place in London [the precinct of St. Martin-le-Grand], as they say, ‘Immunity, impunity :’ what should I call it ! A privileged place for whoredom. The lord mayor hath nothing to do there ; the sheriffs, they cannot meddle with it ; and the quest, they do not inquire of it : and there men do bring their whores, yea, other men’s wives, and there is no reformation of it.” *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196. See the further extract in the note for p. 174, on p. 317 below.

But that the complaint was in the country too, see the “manifolde Enormities” in Lancashire and Cheshire, about 1590 :

“XXV. Sundrie notoriouse vises abowndinge, by meanes of y<sup>e</sup> former confusion in y<sup>e</sup> Ecclesiasticall state.

1. Unlawfull and vnreasonable vsurie, in no Cuntrie more Common.

2. *ffornication and Adulterie in all sortes shamefully prostituted.* [ ? practist.]

3. Drunkennes maintayned by the multitude of Alehouses, and vnresoneable strength of Ale soulde with owte sise of Statute : a vise altogether vnpunished, and not any way punishable that we knowe. (See the old Exeter regulations against it in Mr. A. Hamilton’s *Quarter-Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne*.)

4. Seditiowse and mutinowse talkinge vpon the Alebench, and openly in their street assemblies, tendinge to the depravinge of Religion and the ministerie now established, and to the advancement of Poperie and Popishe practises.

5. Continall sweringe and Blaspheminge the name of god in the mouthe of owlde and young, Riche and poore ; no way punished or punishable.”

*Remains, Hist. & Lit.* Chetham Soc. 1875, p. 12.

p. 99 : *punishment for Whoredom*. Compare Latimer, last Sermon before Edward VI., in 1550 :—“I would therefore wish that there were a law provided in this behalf for adulterers, and that adultery should be punished with death ; and that might be a remedy for all this matter. There would not be then so much adultery, whoredom, and lechery in England as there is . . I would wish that adultery should be punished with death . . If this law were made, there would not be so much adultery nor lechery used in the realm as there is. Well, I trust once yet, as old as I am, to see the day that lechery shall be punished : it was never more need, for there was never more lechery used in England than is at this day, and maintained. It is made but a laughing matter, and a trifle ; but it is a sad matter, and an earnest matter, for lechery is a great sin.” *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 244 : and see the note there from Sir T. More and Dr. Legh. Harrison would have made adulterers slaves : I. 326.

p. 100, l. 9. *There was a man whose name was W. Ratsurb.*—“On the third of Februarie [1583-4] being sundaie, William Bruistar habardasher (a man of more than threescore yeares old) being lodged ouer the south-west porch of saint Brides church in Fleetstreet, with a woman named Marie Breame (whome the same Bruistar had bailed out of Bridewell) were both found smothered to death, in maner following. On the same sundaie in the morning, a marriage being solemnized in that church, a strong sauour was felt, which was thought to haue beene the burning of old shooes or such like, in some gentlemans chamber there about, thereby to supprese the infection of the plague. But in the afternoone before euening praier, the parishioners espied a smoke to issue out of Bruistars chamber, and therupon

made hast to the dore, which they found fast locked, and were forced to breake it open, but could not enter, till they had ripped vp the lead and roofe of the chamber to let out the smothering stench : which being doone, they found Bruistar dead, sitting on a settle by his beds side (in his apparel and close trussed) his right thigh & right arme vp to the elbow burnt or scorched with the fire of a small pan of coales that stood before him, but now b.ing cleane quenched with the dampe or lacke of aire. The woman also laie dead ouer the pan, so that hir armes were likewise burnt, with the nether part of hir bodie before to hir brest, and behind to the shoulders, and nothing else in the chamber burnt, but the bottome of the settle whereon Bruistar sat."—*Holinshed*, ed. 1587, p. 1353, coll. 1 & 2, ll. 60—15. There were various surmises about this affair, but it was never explained. Pamphlets were written on it.—S. Holinshed's account is, as usual, from Stow's *Annals*, ed. 1605, p. 1173. Stow adds: "Marie Breame had bene accused by her husband to be a nice [foolish, bad] woman of her bodie, but her husband being a bad man, and hauing spent faire and large possessions and all whatsoeuer, hauing but two pence left in his purse, hung himselfe on a tree, against a stone wall at Marten abbey in Surrey about Whitsontide, in Anno 1592."

p. 101.—See the fourth Gossip's complaint of her stingy gambling Husband, in S. Rowlands's *Crew of kinde Gossips*, 1609, sign. B 3 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 13):

"Looke, heere's the best apparrell that I haue,  
The very wedding Gowne my Father gaue.  
He [my Husband] neuer gaue me yet a paire of Gloues,  
I am beholding more to others loues  
Then vnto him,—in honest manner tho, [irony]  
And (Gossips) I beseech you take it so.—  
There are kinde Gentlemen, some two or three,  
And they indeed my louing Kinsmen be,  
Which will not see me want, I know it, I :  
Two of them at my house in Terme time lye,  
And comfort me with iests and odde deuice,  
When as my Husbands out a nights at Dice.  
For if I were without a merry friend,  
I could not liue a twelue-month to an end ;  
One of them gaue me this same Ruffe of Lawne,—  
It cost three pound, but last week in the Pawne,—  
Do y' thinke my husband would haue bin so free ?  
Alas he neuer made so much of mee."

(See the rest, about the Hat she sees in church, and the Husband's answer, p. 28.)

p. 101. *Wives live by whoredom.*

"Knockem. . . I'll provide you a coach to take the air in.

*Mrs. Littlewit.* But do you think you can get one?

*Knockem.* O, they are common as wheelbarrows where there are great dunghills. Every petitfogger's wife has 'em ; for first he buys a coach that he

may marry, and then he marries that he may be made cuckold in't; for if their wives ride not to their cuckolding, they do them no credit." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, IV. iii. *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 192, col. 2.

### GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

p. 102 : *gloton*.—“What good can the great gloton do w<sup>t</sup> his bely standing a strote, like a taber, & his noll toty with drink, but balk vp his brewes in y<sup>e</sup> middes of his matters, or lye down and slepe like a swine. And who douteth but y<sup>e</sup> the body delicately fed, maketh, as y<sup>e</sup> rumour saith, an vnchast bed.” d. 1535, Sir T. More, *Works* (1557), p. 100.—R. Roberts.

“London, look on, this matter nips thee near:  
Leave off thy riot, pride, and sumptuous cheer;  
*Spend less at board, and spare not at the door,*  
*But aid the infant, and relieve the poor;*  
Else, seeking mercy, being merciless,  
Thou be adjudg'd to endless heaviness.”

Lodge & Greene's *Looking-Glass for London & England*, pr. 1594; p. 120, col. ii., ed. Dyce.

p. 102. *Gluttony*: see the ‘Gluttone’ in Rowlands’s *Ile Stabbe yee*, 1604 (1872, p. 36); S. Rowlands, ‘To a Gormandizing Glutton’, in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 35; his *Letting of Humours Blood* (1600), ed. 1874, p. 85. See too W. Averell, in 1588, on Gluttony and Drunkenness:

“What should I speake of your two greatest Gods *πολυφασία* and *πολυποσία*, gluttonous feeding and excessiue drinking, by which you make a number, not men but beastes, that haue their soules but in stedde of salt, to keepe their bodies from noysome stincke, who, though they appeare men, are indeede but Ventres, that place their pleasure in long feeding, and their delight in strong drinking.

“I [the Back] am not so changable in fashions, as you [the Belly] are choyse in dishes: what boyling, what baking, what roasting, what stewing, what curious and daintie conseruing, what Syropes, what sauces, with a thousand deuices to moue an appetite without necessitie, and charge nature without neede. I talkе not of other effects that accompany your gluttonous bellie when it is fant with wine. What lasciuiousnes in wordes, what wantonnes in gestures, what filthines in deedes, what swearing and blaspheming, what quarrelling and brawling, what murder and bloodshed, nay what wickednes is not vntemperat belly subiect to, and most readie to accomplish?

“Besides, howe doth your gluttonie chaunge Natures comlines into foule deformednes? how do the eyes flame with fierines, the face flush with rednes, the hands shake wyth vnstedfastnes, and the feete reele through drunkeneses? the head swimmes, the eyes dazell, the tongue stammers, the stomach is ouercharged, the body distempered, and the feeble legges ouerburdened, which beeing not able

to beare an vnralie Lord, doo lay him in ye durt like an ouer ruled slave ; and so through your distemperature, your selfe not alone weakened, but the other members so diseased, as to reckon vpp the sicknesses and sores of which the Bellie is cause, were to purge the stables of Augē king of Elis, or to sette them downe which were never knowne to Auicen, Galien, Hippocrates, nor all the Phisitions that euer liued, so that by these means it may be saide, that a gluttonous Bellye makes rich Phisitions and fat Churchyardeſ."—*A meruailous combat of contrarieties*, by W. [illiam] A. [verell] 1588, sign. B 2, back, B 3.

p. 102. *Drunkard*: see S. Rowlands' sketch of one in his *He Stabbe yee*, 1604, C 3, p. 21; *Diogenes Lanþorne*, 1607 (ed. 1873, p. 7-8); also his Epigrams 21 and 22 in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600 (ed. 1874, p. 27-8); and his praise of good liquor in *Letting, &c.*, p. 76-8. On 'How to make Drunken folk Sober,' see Sir Wm. Vaughan's *Naturall and Artificial Directions for Health*, 1608. Compare also the Act :—

A.D. 1606-7. 4 James I, chap. v. "An Acte for repressinge the odious and loathsome synne of Drunckenes. Whereas the loathsome and odious Synne of Drunkennes is of late growen into common use within this Realme, beinge the roote and foundation of many other enormous Synnes, as Bloodshed, Stabbinge, Murder, Swearinge, Fornication, Adulterye, and such lyke, to the great dishonour of God and of our Nacion, the overthrowe of many good Artes and Manuell Trades, the disablinge of dyvers Workmen, and the generall ynpoverishing of many good Subjectes abusively wasting the good Creatures of God : Be it therefore enacted . . . That all and every person or persons which, after Fortie Dayes next followinge the end of this present Session of Parliament, shalbe drunke, and of the same Offence of Drunkennes shall be lawfullie convicted, shall for every such Offence forfeite and loose Fyve Shillinges . . . to be paid within one week next after his her or their Conviccion thereof, to the Handes of the Churchwardens of that Parish where the Offence shalbe commytted, who shalbe accomable therefore to the use of the Poore of the same Parishes ."

§ III puts a Penalty of 3s. 4d., or the Stocke, on Persons found tippling, on View of any Mayor, Justices, &c. (On Church-Ales, &c., see p. 307-9 below.)

See too in Lupton's *Sivquila* (*Aliquis*), 1580, p. 57-60, the judgment on a rich drunkard and a poor one, in *Nusquam* or Nowhere, Lupton's 'Utopia' :—

"A, thou churle, more churlish than a hog or swine ! for though Niggardly and drunken sometimes they driue their fellowes from the meat, and eate by churles worse than swyne, yet when they haue filled themselves sufficiently, they themselues, yet when they haue filled themselves sufficiently, they than swyne.

goe awaye, and leaue the reste, eate it who wil. But thou, greedie cormorant, when thou hast taken more than is sufficient, thou dost not only consume more on thy selfe, but also the rest thou keepest from the poore hungry brother, and wilt not leaue anye thing for him, as the swine doth. And now, seeing Gods lawe cannot moue thee to go vnto Heaven, I will see if our law can stay thee from Hel. Therfore, bycause thou hast so much welth that thou canst not tel how to bestow the same wel, and more liuing than thou art worthy of ; therefore I wil, according to the lawe made for drunkards, A good iudgement giuen vpon that thou shalt give yerely during thy life, a prechers stipend a drunckarde. to a godly learned man, for his better maintenance ; who shall

[1. To pay a Preacher to preach to him 3 times a week.] be bounde euery weeke, three times, during thy life, not only to attend vpon thee one halfe hour at a time, then instructing thee (by the Scriptures) thy dutie to God and man, and the way to saluation, persuading thee also from drunkennesse, and shewing also howe detestable it is before God, and what is the gaine thereof; But also

[& 3 times a week in his parish church.] shall preache three dayes every weeke in the parische Churche where thou dwellest. And thou shalt sitte also three market dayes in the open Market, with a pot in thy hand, & a wryting on thy forehead, as followeth: ‘*This is the Drunkarde that spende as muche dayly at the Tauerne and for wine, as tenne of his nexte neyghbours did spende daylye in their houses.*’ And this

[2. to sit for 3 market days with a pot in his hand, & “Drunkard” on his forehead.] being ended, thou shalte remayne one halfe yeare in prison, and there thou shalt be taught to fast for thy long excesse: for euery dinner thou shalte be allowed not aboue a grote, in breade, drinke, and meate: and thou shalte be allowed nothing but breade and drinke at night in steade of thy supper, whiche shall not be aboue the value of a penny.’ The poor man who is a drunkard is to “sitte in the open market as the riche man did, but he shal not be imprisoned, . . . he must not drinke in anye Tipling-house or Tauerne the space of one whole yeare after. And bycause he may be knownen, he shall weare on his bosome the picture of a swine, al that while, whensoeuer he shall be out of his owne house . . . and every Sondaye during that yere, he shal sit before the Pulpit al the Sermon tyme, to heare the word of God, and learne to abyode drunkennesse.” Then, after complaining of the richer drunkards in England, *Sirquila* says “And the poorer sort, though they are not so able as they (the rich), nor can not so conueniently as they, yet on the Sundaye at the furthest they wyll bee euen wyth them, (if one days drinking will serue) for they wyll so tipple almost al the daye, and perhaps the next night, that all their whole weekes worke will scantily paye their Sundayes shotte: but some of them (not worth verye much) if they worke one day, they will loyter and drinke three for it, (I will not saye they will be drunke two and a halfe of the same.)”

See also the extract on drunkards from Bullein in my *Babees Book*, p. 247, and Andrew Boorde’s *Introduction*, my edn., p. 147, 149, 337-8.

“And I would to God, that in our time also wee had not iust cause to complaine of this vicious plant of unmeasurable Boalling [bowl-ing] . . . For it is not sufferable in a Christian Countrie, that men should thus labour with great contention, and strive, for the maistrie (as it were) to offende God, in so wilfull waste of his gratiouse benefits.” 1570-1601.—W. Lambarde. *Perambulation of Kent*, 1826 reprint, p. 320-1.

“Awake, thou noblest drunkard Bacchus; thou must likewise stand to me, if thou canst for reeling. Teach me, you sovereign skinker, how to take the German’s upsye-freeze, the Danish rousa, the Switzer’s stoop of rhenish, the Italian’s parmizant, the Englishmans healths, his hoops, cans, half-cans, gloves, frolics, and flapdragons, together with the most notorious qualities of the truest tosspots, as, when to cast, when to quarrel, when to fight, and where to sleep: hide not a drop of thy moist mystery from me, thou plumpest swill-bowl; but, like an honest red-nosed wine-bibber, lay open all thy secrets, and the mystical hieroglyphic of rashers o’ th’ coals, modicums, and shoeing-horns, and

## Notes on p. 103. *Fare in Edward VI.'s time.* 287

why they were invented, for what occupations, and when to be used." 1609.  
T. Dekker. *Gulis Hornbook, Praemium*, ed. 1862, p. 4.

My friend Prof. Paul Meyer, in his interesting Preface to his edition of *Le Débat des Héritants d'Armes* (ab. 1545), and John Cokke's Answer to it (1550), for his *Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1877, notes, that among the kindly remarks on England of the French Middle-Age writers—for France and England were then nearly one,—the only reproach was that *Anglia fstat*<sup>1</sup>, or *Li midstre bavar en Angletorre*,<sup>2</sup> though William of Normandy says in his *Besant*<sup>3</sup> that Pride has married in England her 3 eldest daughters, Envy, Lechery, Drunkenness. The most fertile source of early chaff against the English was the legend of their having tails, being *Anglii caudati*, as their apostle St. Augustine bare witness. See the article *caudati* in Du Cange; A de Montaignon, *Angiennes Poesies Françaises* VI, 347, &c. P. Meyer. See also Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle*.

p. 103. *England bitter in old times.*—See the other side of the question, in S. Rowlands's "Twas a merry world in the old time" in his *A Fooles Bolt is soone shot*, 1614 (ed. 1873, Hunterian Club, p. 28-9).

p. 103: *rough fare of our Forefathers: roots, pulse, herbes, &c.* Compare the Ploughman's food in Will's *Vision*, Text B, Passus VI, l. 282, 321, p. 107-110, E. E. T. Soc., ed. Skeat, bearing out this assertion, more or less. In Edward VI.'s time, Wm. Forrest says in his *Plasauant Poesye of Princelie Practise* (Starkey's *Life & Letters*, E. E. T. Soc. 1878, Extra Series, ed. Herritage) :—

MS. Reg. 17 D III. lf 61 (dated, on lf 8, A. D. 1548).

"So, for that Oxe whiche hathe beene the like soldē,  
for ffortie shealingis nowe takethe hee fyue pownde :  
yea, seaunyn is more, I haue herde it so tolde :  
hee cannot els lyue ; so deare is his grownde.  
**Sheepe**, thonghe they neauer so plentie abownde,  
suche price they beare whiche shame is to here tell,  
that scace the pooareman can bye a morsell.

**Twoe** pense (in Beeif) hee cannot haue serued,  
other in **Mutton**, the price is so hye :  
vndre a groate hee can haue none kerued :  
so goethe hee (and his) to bedde hungrylye,  
and risethe agayne with the bellies emptie,  
whiche turnethe to tawnye their white englisch skyn,  
like to the swarthie coelored Fflawndrekyn.

**Wheare** they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy & stowte, [lf 6r, back.]  
to shoothe, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate :  
to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte,  
as hitherto (manlye) they holde the chief seate ;

<sup>1</sup> *Reliquiae Antiquae*, Wright & Halliwell, i. 5 (Cotton MS. Vesp. B xiii).  
*Archives des Missions*, 2nd series, iii. 183 (Digby MS. 53, Bodleian Library).

<sup>2</sup> Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des Proverbes*, ii. 281.

<sup>3</sup> ed. Martin, l. 2000-3 : cp. the editor's note on this passage.

if they bee pinched and weynd from meate,  
I wisse, O kynge, they, in penurye thus pende,  
shall not bee able thy Royalme to defende.

Owre Englische nature cannot lyue by Rooatis,  
by water herbys, or suche beggerye baggage,  
that maye well serue for vile owtelandische Cooatis.  
geeue Englische men meate, after their olde vsage,  
Beeif, Mutton, Veale, to cheare their courage ;  
and then I dare to this byll sett my hande :  
they shall defende this owre noble Englande."

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#### TREATMENT OF THE POOR, USURY, &c.

p. 105. *Stinginess of the Rich to the Poor.*—“The poore with vs, woulde thinke themselves happy, if they migthe haue a messe of potage, or the scraps that come from the Rich mens tables, two or three houres after they begin their dinner or supper, and to haue the same giuen them at their doore. But many of The wicked and the saide rich greedie guttes, caring for nothing, but for the hillng cruel using of and filling of their owne backe and bellie, can not be content to the poore. goe by their poore pitiful brethren and give them nothing, but they will moste vncharitably and vnchristianly rebuke them, chide them, rattle them, yea, and threat them, that the poore, being chekct of them that shoulde chearishe them, are almost driuen to despaire.” 1580.—T. Lupton. *Sivquila*, p. 28-9.

p. 116. *Neglect of the poor.*—See Robert Copland’s most interesting account of the Beggars, Ne’er-do-wells, and Unthrifys of Henry VIII’s time in his *Hye Way to the Spytel Hous* (The folk who come to St. Bartholomew’s Hospital), about 1532-5 A.D., in Hazlitt’s *Popular Poetry*, iv. 17-72. On the poor dying in the streets, and vagrants lying there, he says, p. 30-I :—

‘ . . . I haue sene at sondry hospytalles  
That many haue *lyne dead without the walles*,  
And for lacke of socour *haue dyed wretchedly*,  
Unto your foundacyon, I thynke, contrary.  
Moche people resort here, and haue lodgyng ;  
But yet I maruell greatly of one thyng,  
That in the nyght so many lodge without :  
For in the whatche whan that we go about,  
Under the stalles, in porches, and in doores,  
(I wote not whither they be theues or hoores,  
But surely,) every nyght ther is found  
One or other lyeng by the pound,  
In the shepe-cootes, or in the hey-loft ;  
And at Saynt Barthylmews chyrch dore full ofte.

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And euen here by this brycke wall  
We do them fynd, that do bothe chyde and brall ;  
And lyke as bestes togyder they be throng,  
Bothe lame, and seke, and hole, them among,  
And in many corners wher that we go,  
Wheroft I wondre greatly why they do so,  
But oftymes when they vs se,  
They do rezne a great deal faster than we."

p. 116. *Inclosures.* See the series of extracts on this subject in my *Ballads from MSS.*, Part I., Ballad Society; the *Supplications* edited by Mr. J. M. Cowper and me for the E. E. Text Soc., 1871, and his edition of Starkey's *England in Henry VIII's Time*, E. E. Text Soc. 1871; *Harrison*, Pt. I. p. 306-7, &c. &c. And let us always remember that Shakspere, before he died, "told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe", the open landbrow—since enclosed—whence one best sees his Stratford. (*Leop. Sh. Introd.*, p. cix.)

"Where, by the way, the country Rook deplo'rd  
The grip and hunger of his ravenous lord,  
The cruel Castrel, which, with devilish claws  
Scratcheth out of the miserable jaws  
Of thee, poor tenant, to his ruin bent,  
Raising new fines, redoubling ancient rent,  
And, by th' inclosure of old common land,  
Racks the dear sweat from his laborious hand ;  
Whilst he that digs for breath out of the stones,  
Cracks his stiff sinew, and consumes his bones . . .  
        . . . . . and when he can no more,  
The needy Rook is turn'd out of the door,  
And lastly doth his wretchedness bewail,  
A bond-slave to the miserable jail."

1604.—M. Drayton, *The Owl.* Works, 1793, p. 568, col. 2.

p. 117. *Lawyers.*—See *Harrison*, Part I. p. 204-7; *Father Hubbard's Tales* (1604) in the last volume of Dyce's *Middleton*, &c. The complaint starts from long before *Piers Plowman* (Text B, Prol. I. 214-15, ed. Skeat), and even still continues, more or less.

"Oh, the innumerabyl wyles, craftys, sotyltes and delayes, that be in the lawe, which the lawyers wil never spye, because of their priuate lucres sake ; wherby the comon welth is robbed. Thei be almost as euyl as the wicked bisshops and prestes of Antichryst, saue only that thei robbe us but of our temporal goodys, and not of our fayth." Ab. 1542.—Hy. Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc. 1874, p. 21.

p. 118. *Dearth* (dearness, cost).—See my Stafford's *Compendious Examination of certeyne ordinary Complaints*, 1581. New Shaksp. Soc. 1876.

"What saies the craftie Clowne in clowted shooes,  
Time was ordain'd to get, and not to loose.

What though the poore lye staruing in the ditch ?

It is the dearth of Corne makes Farmers rich."

1613.—*The Vncaising of Machivils Instructions to his Sonne*, p. 8.

p. 119, l. 12 from foot. *Notwithstanding some mercilesse tygers, &c.*—“*Sivqila.* I knewe one that was empouerished bothe by the losse of the Sea, and by suretishep, yet notwithstanding he was caste into prison of his cruel Creditors, who hauing not sufficient lefte to satisfie them, offered to give them all that he hadde, and to leauue himselfe nothing in the worlde but the simple clothes he went in (which were not worth the value of a Noble), and yet these mercilesse wretches wold not release him out of prison, but kept him there, saying, they woulde make Dice of his bones, if they hadde nothing else.”—Thomas Lupton’s *Sivqila*, p. 35. 1580.—S. See p. 293 below.

p. 119. *Covetous men buying up poor men’s land.*

“Cormerauntes, gredye gullies, yea, men that would eate vp menne, women, & chyldren, are the causes of Sedition ! They take our houses ouer our headdes, they bye our growndes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leauie great (yea, vreasonable) fines, they enclose oure commens ! . . . we knowe not whyche waye to turne vs to lyue . . . In the countrey we can not tarye, but we must be theyr slaues, and laboure tyll our hertes brast, and then they must haue al. And to go to the cities we haue no hope, for there we heare that these vnsaciable beastes haue all in theyr handes. Some haue purchased, and some taken by leases, whole allies, whole rentes, whole rowes, yea, whole streats and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four fould to that they were wythin these .xi. yeres last past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden grownd fre from them.” 1550.—R. Crowley, *The Way to Wealth*. Select Works, E. E. T. S., 1872, p. 132-3.

Heal also Becon, who died in 1570:—“The cause of all thys wretchednesse Gentlemen and beggery in the common weale are the gredye Gentylmen, whyche Shepmongers are shepmongers and grasyars. Whyle they study for their owne priuate commoditie, the common weale is lyke to decay. Since they began to be shepe Maysters and feders of cattell we neyther had vyttayle nor cloth of any reasonable prycce. No merayle, for these forstallars of the market, as they vse to saye haue gotten al thynges so into theyr handes, that the poore man muste eyther bye it at their prycce, or else miserably staue for hongar, and wretchedly dye for colde. For they are touched with no pity toward the poore. It is founde true in them that S. Paul wrighteth. Al seke their own aduaantage, and not those thinges which belong vnto Iesu Christ. They whiche in tymes past wer wont to be fathers of the contry, are now pollers and pylers of the contry. They which in times past wer wont to be the defenders of the poore, are now become the destroiers of the same. They by whom the common weale sometime was preserued, are now become the Caterpillers of the common weale, and suche as seme by their maners to haue made a solemne vow vitterly to subuert the common weale, and to procure y<sup>e</sup> final destruction of the same. They are insatiable woulfes. They know no measure. So they may reigne, they care not who suffer pain. So they may abound, they care not who

fail to the grounle. So they may be enriched, they care not who be empouerished. Thei ar right brothers of Cain, which had rather slea his brother Abel, than he should haue any part with him of worldly possessions. The wyse *Gene. iiiii.*  
Eccle. xxxiii. [21] man sayeth the bread of the nedy is the life of the pore, he y<sup>t</sup>: *Eccle. xxxiii. [21]* defraudeth him of it, is a mansleare. Do not these ryche worldlyngeſ defraud the pore man of his bread, whereby is vnderstand al things necessary for a mans lyfe, which through their insacieble couetousnes sel Bread what it al things at so hie price, and suffer townes so to decay that the pore hath not what to eate nor yet where to dwell! What other are they than, but *Marke well.* very mawſlears? They abhorre the names of Monkes, Friers, Chanons, Nonnes, &c. but their goods they gredely gripe." *Becon, Jewel of Joy. Works, 1564, Vol. II. fol. xvi. back—fol. xvii.*—S. J. Herritage.

'*Les gros foizsons mangent les petits:* Pro. Justly applyed to the vniust world, wherein the rich deuoure the poore, the strong the weake, the mighty the meane.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

p. 119: *misers, or rich men, adding land to land.*—"Though all put their trust in God, with you, the most put their trust in themſelues with vs: for if they did not, thei would not ſo greedily gather their goods together, & lay lands to lands, houses to houses, and riches to riches, as they do. Some that are worth thousands, though they loke every day to die, (being of ſuch extreame age) haue ſo little trust and confidence in God, that gaue them all they haue, that they are ſo sparing to themſelues, ſo niggardly to theyr neighbours, and ſo pinching to the pouertie, as though they ſhould liue here euer, or else as though they had not ynough to finde themſelues one day." 1580.—T. Lupton. *Sivquila*, p. 70-1.

" What mettayle is this money that makes men ſo mad?  
 What mischiefe is it thereby is not wrought?  
 What earthly thing is not therefore to be had?  
 What hath been ſo loved, but money hath bought?  
 What vertue, or goodness, of us ſo much ſought?  
 'Who doth not wiſh for money,' each one doth ſay.  
 How many for money have been robbed and murthered?  
 How many false wiſhesses, and for money perjured?  
 How many wiſes from their husbands have been enticed?  
 How many maydens to folly for money allured?  
 How many for money have ſpirits and diuels coniured?  
 How many friends, for money have beeene mortall foes?  
 Mo mischieves for money then I can diſclose!  
 How many kings and princes for money have been poisoned?  
 How many betrayers of their country for money every day?  
 How many for money from true iudgment are led?  
 Did not the prophet Balaam curse God's people for money?  
 Did not Iudas, for money, his master Christ betray?" &c. &c.

1578.—T. Lupton, *All for Money*, in Halliwell's *Lit. of 16th & 17th Centuries*, p. 107. He also gives the other ſide of the question :

" *Pleasure.* In what caſe were the worlde, were it not for money?  
 Without ioye and pleasure, better be dead then aliue:

To liue like dome [dumb] goddes, who would not be wearie ?  
 To satisfie mans nature with pleasures, I can contrive,  
 But I conteyne them at this time and hower,  
 Hawking and hunting, shooting and fishing,  
 Eating and drinking, dysing and carding,  
 Riding and running, swimming and singing,  
 Daunsing and leaping, with all kinde of playng,  
 Banketing with fine meates, and wine of all sortes,  
 Dallyng with faier women, with other kinde of sportes :  
 All fine apparell that makes the heart ioye.  
 With musicall instruments, both with man and boye.  
 Thus no sporte or ioye wherein man hath solace,  
 But I doe conteyne them, though money bring them to passe."

1578.—T. Lupton. *All for money*, sign. B.j.

p. 123. *Usury*. See *Harrison*, I, p. 242. Also S. Rowlands, ‘To Mr. Mony-bag the Vsurer’ in his *Knaue of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 26 ; and his sketch of Usury in his *Diogenes Lanthorne*, 1607 (Hunt. Club, 1873, p. 6-7).

See the description of Avarice in *Piers Plowman*, Text B, Pass. v. p. 67-73, ed. Skeat, E. E. T. Soc., and specially lines 257-9 :

“ Hastow pite on pore men, þat mote nedes borwe ?  
 ¶ I haue as moche pite of pore men, as pedlerz hath of cattes,  
 þat wolde kille hem, yf he cacche hem myȝte, for coveitise of here  
 skynnes.”

“ *Simplicity*. O that vild Usury ! he lent my father a little money ; and for  
 breaking one day,  
 He took the fee-simple of his house and will quite away ;  
 And yet he borrowed not half a quarter as much as it cost ;  
 But I think, if it had been a shilling, it had been loste,  
 So he kill'd my father with sorrow, and undoed me quite.”

1584.—*The Three Ladies of London*, Hazlitt's Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vi. 259.

See the list of books against Usury in 5th Series of *N. & Q.*, x. 423, and xi. 63.

p. 123. *Every Begger almost is called Maister*.—See Lancelot's “MAISTER Launcelet” in the *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 51, and the extract illustrating it from Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth of England*, bk. I, ch. 20 (founded on *Harrison*, I, 133, 137), which I printed in *New Sh. Soc.'s Trans.* 1877-9, p. 103-4. Also Shakspere getting his “yeoman” father arms, and making him a “gentleman” in 1596 (*Leopold Shakspere Introduction*, p. ciii) ; and p. 237, above.

p. 124. *Usury allowed by Law*. The Act 13 Elizabeth, c. 8—which revivd the 37 Hen. VIII, cap. 9, that had been repeald by 5 & 6 Edward VI, cap. 20 —authorizd the taking of 10 per cent. interest for money lent on loan or mort-gage. The rate was reduced to 5 p. c. by the 12 Anne, St. 2, ch. 16.

p. 126-7. *Prisoners for debt*.

“ *Fallace . . .* if he come with his actions upon you, Lord deliver you ! you are in for one, half-a-score year ; he kept a poor man in Ludgate once twelve

year for sixteen shillings." 1599.—Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, V. vii., Works, i. 137, col. 2.

"I am, Sir, a Keeper of the Counter, and there are in our wards above a hundred poore prisoners, that are like nere to come forth without satisfaction." 1606.—*No-Body and Some-Body*. Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, i. 307. In *The Play of Study*, 1605, *it.* p. 228, the prison stink or plague is mentiond :

"Will you so much annoy your vital powers  
As to oppres them with the prison stink?  
You shall not, if you love me, come so near.  
The place is mortally infected lately."

"A prison . . . is a Fabricke built of the same stuffe the Keepers of it are made of, stone and iron : It is an vnwholesome full-stuffed humorous body, which hath an Hole in the posteriors of it, whence it vents many stinking, noysome and vnsauory smels, which is the onely cause there is such a perpetuall sicknesse and disease in it . . . when Epimetheus opened Pandora's box, there did not more mischieses and maladies flie out of it into the world, then there is in this cursed place, for it hath more sicknesses predominating in it, then there are in twenty French Hospitals, or at the Bathe, in the spring or fall of the leafe." 1617.—Wm. Fennor, *The Compters Common-walit, or A Voyage made to an Infernall Island long since discouered by many Captaines, &c.*, Sign. C. (Fennor had been arrested for a debt of £100, and confined in the Compter. He describes interestingly the place, the exacting jailers, the occupants of the two sides of the prison—those who could afford to pay well for food and drink, and those who couldn't—how they went on, how young men were duped and led into debt, &c. The 2nd edition in 1619 was call'd *Miseries of a Jaille, or A True Description of a Prison.*)

p. 127. *I will make dice of his bones.* The same phrase is used by Lupton (p. 290, above), and Rowlands :

"Greedy Vsurer.

**T**Hou Fur-gown'd sluae, exceeding rich and olde,  
Ready to be deuoured of the Graue:  
Thou that wilt sell a soule, to purchase Gold,  
And gold, still gold, nothing but golde dost craue:  
Thou most extreame hard-harted cruell wretch,  
Whome Hell gapes for ; the Devill comes to fetch.  
Thou that wilt not forbeare an howers time,  
But wilt a forsayture seuererly take :  
Thou that by crueltie to wealth dost clyme,  
And threatnest, *Dice, of poor mens bones to make,*  
Hauing that rustie gold vpon thy hand,  
For which, there's thousandes perish in the land,  
Ile stabbe yee."

1604.—S. Rowlands, *Looke to it: for, Ile Stabbe ye*, sign. B 3; p. 13, ed. 1872.

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1 "See Bacon, Nat. Hist. Cent. X no. 914. Besides the well-known black assizes at Oxford in 1577, there was a similar outbreak at Exeter in 1586. See Holinshed, IV. 868, and Leicester Correspondence, 224."

"Rayse Rentes apace, builde Houses, purchase Landes,  
 Be alwayes raking with Oppressions handes.  
 Thinke all is lawfull purchase, thou can'st catch  
 from thy distressed friendles needy wretch,  
 Buye thy poore neighbours House ouer his head,  
 Turne him and's children out to begge their bread.  
 Deale cruelly with those are in thy debt,  
 And let them at thy handes no fauour get,  
 Send them to Prison ; there in all distresse,  
 To taste the mercie of the mercilesse.  
 Ile shackle thee, for stirring handes or feete,  
 Within a Coffin and a Winding-sheet."—*Ib.* p. 43-4.

"Thou that vauntest, and wilt make dice of thy debtor's bones ; be these the words of a man ?"—Of Creditors, Minshul's *Essays and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*, 1618, ed. 1821, p. 29.—S.

p. 128. *Scriveners.* See T. M.'s *Father Hubbard's Tales* in Dyce's *Middleton's Works*, vol. v.

#### SWEARING.

p. 129. *Swearing.* On this in 1303, see my Roberde of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, pp. 23-7, 88-92. In 1550, R. Crowley's *Epigrams*, p. 19. On the *hunting oaths*, 1544, see the Supplication to Henry VIII. in *Four Supplications*, E. E. T. Soc., 1871, p. 53 : "What commessacyon / dronckenes / destable swearinge by all the partes of Christes bodye (and yet callynge them in scorne huntinge othes) extorcyon / pryd / couetuousnes / and suche other detestable vyce, raigne in this yowr realme /"

In 1542, Andrew Boorde said in his *Dyetary*, my ed. p. 243, "in all the worlde there is not suche odylle swearingyng as is vsed in Englande, specyally amonge youth & chyldren, which is a detestable thyng to here it, and no man doth go aboute to punysshe it."

p. 131. *Swearing.* It was the fashion for gallants, not only to swear generally all round, but for each to have oaths special to himself. In Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), I. i., *Works*, i. 73, "be sure you mix yourself still with such as flourish in the spring of the fashion, and are least popular [=vulgar] : study their carriage and behaviour in all ; learn to play at primero and passage ; and even [when you lose] have two or three peculiar oaths to swear by, that no man else swears." And in *Every Man in his Humour*, I. iii., Cob says : "Well, should they do so much to me, I'd forswear them all, by the foot of Pharaoh ! There's an oath ! How many water-bearers shall you hear swear such an oath ? O, I have a guest [Bobadil]—he teaches me —he does swear the legiblest of any man christened : 'By St. George ! the foot of Pharaoh ! the body of me ! as I am a gentleman and a soldier !' such dainty oaths !" Ben Jonson's *Works*, i. 12.

*"Il iure comme un Gentilhomme.* He sweares after a thousand pound a yeare.' *Il iure comme un Abbé* [viz. extreamly], *chartier* ; *gentilhomme* ; *prelat* [A Huguenot's comparison]. Like a Tinker, say we.' 1611.—Cotgrave.

"Old Jack of Paris-garden, canst thou get  
 A faire rich sute, though foul run in debt?  
 Looke smug, smell sweet, take up commodities,  
 Keepe whores, fee bauds, *belch impious blasphemies*,  
 Wallow along in swaggering disguise,  
 Snuffe up smoak-whiffs, and each morne, 'fore she rise,  
 Visit thy drab? Canst use a false cut die  
 With a cleane grace and glib facilitie?  
*Canst thunder common oaths*, like th' rattling  
 Of a huge, double, full-charg'd culvering?  
 Then, Jack, troupe among our gallants, kisse thy fist,  
 And call them brothers."

1599.—Jn. Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*, Works, 1856, iii. 295; and see on p. 281 :—

"What, meanst thou him that in his swaggering slops  
 Wallowes unbrace'd, all along the streete? . . .  
 . . . . . What! that ringo roote!  
 Means't that wasted leg, puffe bumbast boot?  
 What, he that's drawne and quartered with lace;  
 That Westphalian gamon clove-stuck face?  
 Why, he is nought but *huge blaspheming othes*,  
 Swart snout, big looks, mishapen Switzers clothes.  
 Weake meager lust hath now consumed quite,  
 And wasted cleane away his martiall spright;  
 Infeebling riot, all vices' confluence,  
 Hath eaten out that sacred influence  
 Which made him man."

p. 133, ll. 1, 2. *Christes blessed bodie, no parte thereof shalbe left untorne.*

"Our blisful Lordes body thay to-tere."

CHAUCER, *Pardoneres Tale*, l. 12. Bell's ed. iii. 73.—S.

R. Copland says of the Beggars at their Suppers in Henry VIII's time, ab. 1532-5, *Hye Way to the Spytel Hous*, Hazlitt's *Pop. Poetry*, iv. 43 :—

"And there they reuell as vnthryfyt bragger,  
 With horyble othes swerynge as they were wood, [By Gods]  
 Armes, nayles, woundes, herte, soule, and blood,  
 Deth, fote, masse, fleshe, bones, lyfe, and body,  
 With all other wordes of blasphemy,  
 Bostynge them all in dedes of theyn myschesef,  
 And thus passe the tyme with daunce, hore, pipe, these.  
 The hang-man shall lede the daunce at the ende,  
 For none other ways they do not pretende."

p. 135, l. 9. *There was a certayne yong man dwellyng in Enlocnilshire, &c.*  
 —A copy of Stubbes's poem here referred to, is in the Lambeth Library, and was reprinted in the old Shakespeare Society's Papers, 1849, iv. 73-88. See my *Forewords* above.

p. 136, l. 13. There was also a woman in the Citiie of Munidnol [= Londinum], &c.—“The 11. of February, Anne Aueries, widow, for swearing her selfe for a litle money that she should haue paid for sixe pound of towe, at a shop in Woodstreete of London, fell immediatly downe speechlesse, casting vp at her mouth in great abundance, and with horrible stinke, the same matter which by natures course should haue bene voided downewards, till she died: a terrible example of Gods iust judgement vpon such as make no conscience of falsly swearing against their brother.”—Stow’s *Annales*, ed. 1605, p. 1152.—S.

## SUNDAY SPORTS AND SABBATH-BREAKING.

p. 136. *Keeping of Sunday* (the Christian) as identified with the Sabbath (Jewish).

As to Stage-playes, see the extract from Gosson’s *Schoole of Abuse* under Theatres, below. As to Fairs and Markets, *Harrison*, I, p. 344, and the passage, ab. 1584, quoted by Mr. J. M. Cowper in his *Crowley’s Select Works*, E. E. T. Soc., 1872, p. xxiv :

“Go to alehouses on the Saboth daies: there is as well sold all kinde of loosenesse as vitayles. Go to Greenes: there is myrth that would wounde a Christian mans heart with heauiness. Goe to Fayres: there is a shewe and traffike, as well of all lewdnesse as of wares. Yea, goe to all other places, both in City and countrey; and what shall you see, but so many euils that prouoke God to the powryng forth of most fearefull iudgements, the Theaters, Parish garden, Tauernes, streetes, fieldes, all full and prophanely occupied, and this chiefly on the Saboth day.”—*The Vnlawfull Practises Of Prelates Against Godly Ministers, &c.*, sign. B 3, back. See p. 310, below.

Crowley himself says in his *One and thyrtye Epigrammes*, 1550 (ed. 1872, p. 9) :—

“How hallow they the Saboth, that do the tyme spende In drynkinge and idlenes till the daye be at an ende,	128
Not so well as he doeth, that goeth to the plowe, Or pitcheth vp the sheues from the carte to the mowe.”	132

And at p. 16-17 “of Bearbaytynge,” he writes :—

“What follye is thys, to kepe wyth daunger A greate mastyfe dogge and a foule ouglye beare?	376
And to thys onely ende to se them two fyght Wyth terrible tearynge: a full ougly syght.	380
And yet me thynke those men be mooste foles of all, Whose store of money is but verye smale,	384
And yet <i>euerye Sondaye</i> they will surely spende One penye or two, the bearwardes lyuyng to mende.	388
At Paryse garden, <i>eche Sondaye</i> , a man shall not fayle To fynde two or thre hundredes for the bearwardes waile.	392
One halpenye a piece they vse for to giue, When some haue no more in their purse, I belieue.”	396

So too Arthur Golding, in his ‘Discourse upon the Earthquake’ on April 6, 1580: “The Saboth dayes and holy dayes, ordayned for the . . . speciall occupying of our selves in all spirituall exercizes, is spent full heathenishly in taverning, tipling, gaming, playing, and beholding of Beare-baytings and Stage-playes, to the utter dyshonor of God, impeachment of all godlynesse, and unnecessary consuming of mennes substances, which ought to be better employed.” (From Collier’s *Stationers’ Register*, ii. 118, and my *Captain Cox*, p. 68.)

The Dancing on Sunday had Queen Elizabeth’s countenance. This is how Sunday, July 10, 1575, was spent at Kenilworth, during Leicester’s entertainment of the Queen there:

“On Sunday: the forenoon occupied (az for the Sabot day) in quiet and vacation from woork, & in diuine seruis & preaching at the parish church: The afternoon in excellent muzik of sundry swet instruments, and in *dauncing of Lordes and Ladiz*, and oother woorshipfull degrees, vttered with such lively agilitie & commendabl grace, az, whither it moought be more straunge too the eye, or pleauant too the minde, for my part indeed I coold not discern: but exceedingly well waz it (me thought) in both.” P. 12 of my edition of *Captain Cox*, or *Lanham’s Letter*, Ballad Soc. 1871.

Lanham’s capital description of the bearbaiting at Kenilworth (*ib.* p. 16-17) is well known, but J. Hooker’s listing of part of it—“It waz a sport very pleauant” to “a goodly releef”—bodily into his continuation of Holinshed’s *Chronicle*, ed. 1587, vol. iii. p. 1582, col. i, I have not seen noted.

p. 137. *Beare bayting on the Saboth day.*

“What else but gaine and Money gote	and not controlled ought,
maintaines each Saboth day	Although the same of custome be
The bayting of the Beare and Bull?	on holy Saboth wrought?
What brings this brutish play?	Now sure I thinke tys gaine or spite
What is the cause that it is borne,	against good and godly lyfe.”

1569, E. Hake. *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, sign. E. 6, back, ed. 1579.

The Sabbath day, says Kethe’s Sermon at Blandford, 1570, “the multitude call their revelyng day; which day is spent in bulbeatings, bearebeatings, bowlings, dicynge, cardynge, daunsynges, drunckenes and whoredome . . . in so much as men could not keepe their seruautes from lyinge out of theyr owne houses the same sabbath-day at night.” Hazlitt’s *Brand*, i. 158, note 1. See p. 301 below.

p. 137. *What comes of being at Church when you ought to be at Bear-baiting.*—“Of sayeng seruice, quod I, this is much like as at Beuerlay late, whaz much of the people beyng at a bere baytyng, the church fell sodeinly down at euensonge tyme, and ouerwhelmed some that than were in it: a good felow, that after herde the tale tolde, ‘lo quod he, now maie you see what it is to be at euensong whan ye should be at the bere baytyng.’ How be it, the hurt was not ther in beinge at euensonge, but in that the churche was falsely wrought.”—Sir T. More (died 1535), *Works*, p. 208, ed. 1557.—R. Roberts.

Compare Dr. M. Busch’s *Bismarck in the Franco-German War*, 1870-1, i. 221-2 (1879):—

“And the ‘keeping holy the Sabbath-day,’ said the Chief [Bismarck], that

is a perfectly horrible tyranny. I remember, when I first went to England, and landed in Hull, that I began to whistle in the street. An Englishman, whom I had got acquainted with on board, told me that I must not whistle. ‘Pray, sir, do not whistle!’ ‘Why not; is whistling forbidden here?’ ‘No,’ said he, ‘it is not forbidden; but it is the Sabbath!’ This so disgusted me that I at once took my ticket by another steamer going to Edinburgh, [out of the frying-pan into the fire, eh?] as I did not choose not to be able to whistle when I had a mind to.”

p. 137. *Bearbaiting, &c., on Sundays*.—See the Act i Car. I [A.D. 1625], Ch I. An Acte for punishing of divers abuses committed on the Lordes day called Sunday. “Forasmuch as . . . the holy keeping of the Lordes day is a principall part of the true Service of God, which in very many places of this Realme hath beeene and now is profaned and neglected by a disorderlie sort of people, in exercising and frequenting Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes, and other unlawfull exercises and pastimes upon the Lordes day; And for that many quarrelles, bloodsheddes and other great inconueniences have growen by the resort and concourse of people going out of their owne Parishes to such disordered and unlawfull exercises and pastimes, neglecting Divine service both in their own Parishes and elsewhere; Be it enacted . . . that from and after fortie dayes next after the end of this Session of Parliament there shalbe no meetings assemblies or concourse of people out of their owne Parishes on the Lordes day within this Realme of England, or any the Dominions thereof, for any sportes or pastimes whatsoeuer; nor any Bearebaiting, Bullbaiting, Enterludes, common Playes or other unlawfull exercises or pastimes used by any person or persons within their owne Parishes, and that every person and persons offending in any the premisses, shall forfeit for every offence three shillinges four pence, The same to be employed and converted to the use of the poore of the Parish where such offence shall be committed . . .” (This Act was confirm'd and continued by later ones.)

p. 137. *Prophanation of the Saboth*.

About 1542, says Henry Brinklow, *Complaynt of Roderick Mors*, E. E. T. Soc., 1874, p. 62-3, after the Latin service, “the people depart the church as empty of all sprytual knowledge as thei came thether. And the rest of the day thei spend in all wanton and vnlawful gamys, as dyse, cardys, dalyeng with wemen, dansing, and such lyke.” The fact that Sunday amusements were inheritances from Popery, no doubt made them doubly offensive to the Reformers and the Puritans.

22 July 1566—22 July 1567.

lacye Receyvd of Alexandre lacye for his lycense for pryntinge of a balefft the abuse of y<sup>e</sup> sabooth of the lorde &c/ . . . . . iiijd  
Arber's Transcript of the Stationers Registers, i. 328.

(1578-9.) 28 Februarij.

Jhon hynde Lycenced vnto him vnder thandes of the wardens ij ballades. thone Dialogewise betwene William Wax-wise and Walter Wold-be-wanton concerning thabus of the Sabothe Daye. thother the lamentacon of a synner troubled in consciencie . . . viijd  
(Ib. ii. 348.)

"For further proof wherof, I call to witnesse the Theaters [Burbage's], Curtins [in Shoreditch] Heading<sup>1</sup> houses, Rifting boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely [= specially] the Sabbath daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter destruction of youth." 1579.—T. F., *Newes from the North*, ed. 1585, sign. F 4, quoted in my Thynne's *Annotations*, E. E. T. Soc., 1875, p. cxxxv. (Mr. Collier absurdly attributed the *Newes* to Francis Thynne.)

*God wort served on the Sabbath daies* "And trust me, I am of that opinion, that the Lord is never so il serued as on the holie-daies. For then hel breakes loose. Then wee permit our youth to haue their swinge; and when they are out of the sight of their maisters, such government haue they of themselves, that what by il companie they meete withal, & il examples they leaue at plaires, I feare me, I feare me, their harts are more alienated in two hours from vertue, than againe maie wel be amended in a whole yeare." 1580.—*A second and third blisst of retrait from plates and Theaters* (ed. Hazlitt, 1869), p. 135.

*Fairs.* Harrison, in Part II. p. 101, complains that the "paltrie fairs . . . tendeth to the corruption of youth . . . whereby they often spend, not onelie the weeke daies, but also the Lords sabbath in great vanitie and riot." See too the notes on p. 152, &c., that follow below.

*Fairs & Markets on Sundays.* Compare the then expired Act, 22 Hen. VI. cap. 5 (englisch). "Considering the abominable Injuries and Offences done to Almighty God, and to his Saints, always Aiders and singular Assisters in our Necessities, because of Fairs and Markets upon their high and principal Feasts, as in the Feast of the Ascension of our Lord . . . in the Day of Whitsunday, in Trinity Sunday, with other Sundays . . . and on Good Friday accustomably and miserably holden and used in the Realm of England; in which principal and festival Days, for great earthly Covetise, the People is wilfully more vexed, and in bodily Labour toiled, than in other ferial Days, as in fastening and making their Booths and Stalls, bearing and carrying, lifting and placing their Wares outward and homeward, as though they did nothing remember the horrible Defiling of their Souls in buying and selling, with many deceitful Lyes, and false Perjury, with Drunkenness and Strifes, and so specially withdrawing themselves and their Servants from divine Service: the . . . King . . . hath ordained That all Manner of Fairs and Markets in the said principal Feasts and Sundays, and Good-Friday, shall clearly cease from all shewing of any Goods or Merchandises, necessary Victual only except, upon Pain of Forfeiture of all the Goods aforesaid . . . the Four Sundays in Harvest except . . ."

*Sabbath Doings.* See in 1579, T. F.'s *Newes from the North*. Cap. 14... "For I haue partly shewed you heer, what leaue and libertie the common people, namely<sup>2</sup> youth, haue to follow their own lust and desire in all wantonnes and dessolution of life. For further proof wherof, I call to witnesse the Theaters,

1 Robbing: "to heue a bough, to robbe or rifle a boeweth [booth]." 1567.—J. Harman, *Caveat: Rogues, their pelting Speche*: p. 84, E. E. T. Soc., 1869.

<sup>2</sup> specially.

Curtines<sup>1</sup>, Heauing houses, Rifting boothes, Bowling alleyes, and such places, where the time is so shamefully mispent, namely<sup>2</sup> the Sabaoth daies, vnto the great dishonor of God, and the corruption and vtter distruption of youth" (ed. 1585, sign. F. 4). With other extracts, in my edition of F. Thynne's *Animadversions*, p. cxxxv.

"But what is he that may not on the Sabbath-day attend to hear God's word,  
But he will rather run to bowls, sit at the alehouse, than one hour afford,  
Telling a tale of Robin Hood, sitting at cards, playing at skittles, or some  
other vain thing,

That I fear God's vengeance on our heads it will bring."

1584. *The Three Ladies of London.* Hazlitt's Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vi. 28.

p. 139, l. 13. *it chaunced that a certaine Jewe.*—“In this yere [43 Hen III.] fell that happe of the Jewe of Tewkysbury, whiche fell into a gonge vppon the Saterdaye, and wolde not for reuerence of his sabot day be plucked out; wherof heryng the Erle of Glouceter, that the Jewe dyd so great reuerence to hys sabot daye, thought he wolde do as myche to his holydaye, whych was Sondaye, and so kept hym there tyll Monday, at which season he was found dede.”—*Fabyan.* Quoted in *Prompt. Parv.*, s. v. Goonge. According to Munster (*Cosmography*, bk. III. p. 738, ed. 1550) this happened in Germany in 1270. Respect for the Sabbath made the Jews reject their unfortunate brother's entreaties to be released. Munster says that it was Conrad, bishop of Magdeburg, earl of Sternenberg, “*Judæis multum fuit infestus*,” who indulged in this vile jest, which the Jew seems to have survived.—S.

p. 141, l. 7 from foot. *Theopompus mingled Moyses lawe with his writinges.*—He [Demetrius Phalereus] told him [Ptolemy Philadelphus] that “Theopompus was desirous of writing somewhat about them [the Jewish laws], but was thereupon disturbed in his mind for above thirty days' time; and upon some intermission of his distemper, he appeased God [by prayer] as suspecting that his madness proceeded from that cause. Nay, indeed, he further saw a dream, that his distemper befel him while he indulged too great a curiosity about divine matters, and was desirous of publishing them among common men; but when he left off that attempt, he recovered his understanding again. Moreover he informed him of Theodectes, the tragic poet, concerning whom it was reported, that when, in a certain dramatic representation, he was desirous to make mention of things that were contained in the sacred books, he was afflicted with a darkness in his eyes; and that upon his being conscious of the occasion of his distemper, and appeasing God [by prayer], he was freed from that affliction.”—Whiston's *Josephus*, Antiq. XII. ii. § 13, vol. ii. p. 148, ed. 1818.—S.

<sup>1</sup> See note for p. 144 on p. 304 below.

<sup>2</sup> specially.

PLAYHOUSES, THEATRES, AND ACTORS, &c.

p. 140, &c. *Stage-Plays, Bear-baiting, &c., on Sundays.*

"The Sabbath days and holy days ordained for the hearing of God's word to the reformation of our lives, for the administration and receiving of the Sacraments to our comfort, for the seeking of all things behooveful for body or soul at God's hand by Prayer, for the minding of his benefits, and to yield praise and thanks unto him for the same, and finally, for the special occupying of ourselves in all spiritual exercises, is spent full heathenishly, in taverning, tippling, gaming, playing and beholding of Bear-baiting and Stage plays to the utter dishonour of God, impeachment of all godliness, and unnecessary consuming of men's substances which ought to be better employed."—*Liturgical Service*, time of Queen Elizabeth, p. 574, Parker Soc.

p. 144. *Theaters & curtens.* James Burbage's "Theatre" in Finsbury Fields, near Bishopsgate St.,—built ab. 1577, and said to have been the first regular theatre built (but see *Harrison*, I, Appendix I to Forewords, p. liv),—and the *Curtain*, built before 1579, in or near the present *Curtain* Road close by.

p. 140-6. Here are a few extracts from a rare tract in the Lambeth Library, made before Mr. Hazlitt reprinted it in his Roxburghe Library (1869), *English Drama and Stage, 1543-1664*.

"A second and third blast<sup>1</sup> of retrait from plaiers and Theatres:/ the one wherof was sounded by a reuerend Byshop dead long since<sup>2</sup> ;/ the other by a worshipful and zealous Gentleman/ now aliue :/ One showing the filthiness of plaiers in times past ; the other the abomination off Theaters in the time present :/ both expresaely prouing that the Common-weale is nigh vnto the curse of God ; where-/in either plaiers be made of, or/ Theaters main-tained./ Set forth by Anglophilie Eutheo. / Ephes. 5, verse 15, 16. / Take heede therefore that ye walke circumspectlie, not as vnwise, but as wise, redeeming the time, / because the daies are euil./ Allowed by auctoritie/ 1580

"*Evils of travelling players*—Since the reteining of these Caterpillers [Players], the credite of Noble men hath decaied, & they are thought to be couetously permitting their seruants, which cannot liue of themselues, and whome, for neerenes *Players* they wil not maintaine, to liue at the deuotion or almes of other men, bold passing from countrie to countrie,<sup>3</sup> from one Gentlemans house to another, *beggers*. offering their seruice, which is a kind of beggerie. Who in deede, to speake more trulie, are become beggers for their seruants. For commonlie the goodwil men beare to their Lordes, makes them drawe the stringes of their purses to extend their liberalitie to them, where otherwise they would not.

"By such infamous persons much time is lost ; and manie daies of honest trauel are turned into vaine exercises. Wherein is learned nothing but abuse ; poore men

<sup>1</sup> Gossom's *Schoole of Abuse* was the first.

<sup>2</sup> Salviano, Bp. of Massilia, ab. 470. *De Gubernatione Dei*, bk. vi.

<sup>3</sup> county to county.

luing on their handie labor, are by them trained vnto vnthriftnes ; schoolers, by their gaudes are allured from their studies.

" Thus the people are robbed ; youth corrupted ; the Sabbath prophaned : and of all these euils, who are counted the vpholders, but the Noble, who of right *Traiane the Emp̄tor* should establish the iawe of the *Roman Traiane*, who commanded that no plaier, iester, nor iugler, should be admitted in his Commonweale to pick the purses of his subiects, but that they should either learne some occupation to mainteine themselves in their owne houses, or otherwise be banished out of *Rome*. But now, such like men, vnder the title of their maisters, or as retaineris, are priuiledged to roaue abroad, and permitted to publish their *Temples with plaies.* mame-tree<sup>1</sup> in euerie Temple of God, and that throughout England, *prophaned* with the horrible contempt of praier. So that now the Sanctuarie is become a plaiers stage, and a den of theeuers and adulterers." p. 75-8. *A second and third blast of retrall from plaies and Theaters, 1580.*

" Whosoeuer shal visit the chappel of Satan, I meane the Theater, shal finde there no want of yong ruffins, nor lacke of harlots, vterlie past al *chappells of Satan.* shame : who presse to the fore-frunt of the scaffoldes, to the end to shewe their impudencie, and to be as an obiect to al mens eies.<sup>2</sup> Yea, such is their open shameles behauior, as euerie man may perceave by their wanton gestures, wherenvnto they are giuen ; yea, they seeme there to be like brothels of *The open plaies.* the stewes. For often, without respect of the place, and company which *wickednes of harlots* behold them, they commit that filthines openlie, which is horrible to *at plaies.* be done in secret ; as if whatsoeuer they did, were warranted. For neither reuerence, iustice, nor anie thing beside, can gouerne them" (ed. Hazlitt, p. 139).

*Against training vp boies to plaies.* (p. 110.) " As I haue had a saieng to these versi-fieng Plaie-makers, so must I likewise deal with shameles inactors. When I see by them yong boies, inclining of themselves vnto wickednes, trained vp in filthie speeches, vnnatural and vnseemlie gestures, to be brought vp by (p. 111) these Scholemasters in bawderie, and in idlenes, I cannot chuse, but with teares and grieve of hart lament.

" O with what delight can the father behold his sonne bereft of shamefastnes, & trained vp to impudencie ! How proane are they of themselves, and apt to receiue instruction of their lewde teachers, which are the Scholemasters of sinne in the schoole of abuse ! what do they abuse. teach them, I prae you, but to foster mischiefe in their youth, that it maie alwaies abide in them, and in their age bring them sooner vnto hel ?

" And as for those staggers themselves, are they not commonlie such kind of men *Disposition of plaies for the most part.* in their conuersation, as they are in profession ? Are they not as variable in hart, as they are in their partes ? are they (p. 112) not good practisers of Bawderie as inactors ? Liue they not in such sort

<sup>1</sup> maumetrie, idolatry.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. the ironical *Actors Remonstrance* in 1643 : " we shall for the future promise never to admit into our six-penny-rooms those unwholesome enticing Harlots that sit there merely to be taken up by Prentizes or Lawyers Clerks, nor any female of what degree soever, except they come lawfully with their husbands or neere allies." (Hazlitt, *ib.* p. 65.)

themselves, as they giue preceptis vnto others? doth not their talke on the stage  
*Players can* declare the nature of their disposition? doth not euerie one take that  
*not better* part which is proper to his kind? doth not the Ploughmans tong  
*to compare* walke of his plough; the Sea-faring man of his mast, cable, and  
*than to the* saile: the Soldier of his harnes, speare, and shield; & bawdie mates  
*Canutum.* of bawdie matters? Aske them, if in their laieng out of their partes, they choose  
 not those partes which is most agreeing to their inclination, and that they can  
 best discharge? And looke what exerie of them doth most delight in, that he  
 can best handle to the contentment of others. If it be a roisting, bawdie, and  
 lasciuious part, wherein are vnseemelie (p. 113) speeches, & that they make choise  
 of them as best answering, & proper to their manner of plaie: maie we not  
 saie, by how much he exceeds in his gesture, he delights himselfe in his part?  
 & by so much it is pleasing to his disposition and nature? If (it be his nature)  
 to be a bawdie plaior, & he delight in such filthie & cursed actions, shal we not  
 thinke him in his life to be more disordered, and to abhor virtue? . . . .

“If the good life of a man be a better instruction to repentance than the tong, or  
 words, why do not plaiers, I beseech you, leaue examples of goodnes to their posterite?  
 But which of them is so zealous, or so tendereth his owne saluation that he doth amend himselfe in those pointes, which, as they saie, others should take  
 heede of? Are they not notoriouslie known to be those men in their life abroad, as  
 they are on the stage, roisters, brallers, il-dealers, bosters, louers, loiterers,  
 ruffins? So that they are alwaises exercised in plaieng their parts, and practising  
 wickednes; making that an art, to the end they might the better gesture it in their  
 partes. For who can better plaie the ruffin than a verie ruffian? who better the  
*Chiefē end* louer, than they who make it a common exercise? To conclude, the  
*of plāies.* principal end of all their interludes is, to feede the world with (p. 116)  
*Players* sights & fond pastimes; to wriggle in good earnest the monie out of  
*infamous* persons other mens purses into their owne hands. What shall I saie? They  
 are infamous men.” (End of the *Blast* extracts.)

“Those also haue offended in wantonnesse, that give themselues libertie  
 to be present at, and see, such things as bee practises of wantonnesse, as  
*stage-playes*, which serue for nothing but to nourish filthinesse; and where they  
 are most vsed, there filthinesse is most practised; where the man is cloathed  
 with womans apparell; and that ordinarily is put in vse, which the Lord  
 condemneth as an hainous abomination. Deut. (22. 5.) This is a way to  
 breede confusion of sexes, and it is a plaine belyng of the sexe.” 1615. [R.  
 Cleaver] *Exposition of the Ten Commandments*, p. 299.

On the ‘light-taylde huswiues’ at the Globe in 1600, see John Lane in my  
*Tell-Troth* volume, 1876, p. 133, and the note on p. 199; also *Harrison*, Pt. I.  
 p. lxxix, lxxx.

“as enterlude-plaiers, you shal now see them on the stage, play a King, an  
 Emperor, or a Duke; but they are no sooner off the stage, but they are base  
 rascals, vagabond abjects, and porterly hirelings, which is their naturall and  
 originall condition.” 1603.—J. Florio, *Montaignes Essays* (French, 1580), ed.  
 1634, p. 140.

“Players shal haue libertie to be as famous in pride and idlenes, as they are  
 dissolute in liuing, and as best in their marriages for communitie, as vnhappy in

their choyses for honesty." 1606.—Anthony Nixon, *The Black Yeare*, C 3.  
"There shall be also as much strife among Players, who shall haue the greatest  
*Auditory*, as is warre among the foure knaues at Cardes, for superioritie." *Ib.* B  
2, back.

p. 144, at foot.—Gosson has an amusing passage in his *Schoole of Abuse*, 1579  
(old Shakesp. Soc., 1841, p. 25), on men's behaviour to girls at the theatre or  
play-house, and their making it a place for picking one another up on Sundays:

"In our assemblies at playes in London, you shall see suche heaving and  
shooving, suche ytching and shouldering, to sytte by women; suche care for their  
garments that they be not trode on; suche eyes to their lappes, that no chippes  
lighte in them; such pillowes to their backes, that they take no hurte: suche  
masking in their eares, I know not what; suche geving them pippins<sup>1</sup> to passe  
the time; such playing at foote saunt without cardes; such tickling, such toying,  
such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home when the sportes are  
ended, that it is a right comedie to marke their behaviour, to watch their con-  
ceates, as the catte for the mouse, and as good as a course at the game it selfe, to  
doge them a little, or follow aloofe by the printe of their feete, and so discover  
by slotte where the deare taketh soyle."

"If this were as well noted as il seene, or as openly punished as secretly  
practised, I have no doubt but the cause woulde be seared, to drye up the effect,  
and these prettie rabbets verye cunninglie ferretted from their borrowes. For  
they that lacke customers all the weeke, either because their haunt is unknownen,  
or the constables and officers of their parish watch them so narrowly that they  
dare not queatche, to celebrate the Sabbath, flocke too theaters, and there keepe  
a generall market of bawdrie. Not that any filthinesse, in deede, is committed  
within the compasse of that ground, as was once done in Rome, but that every  
wanton and [his] paramour, everye man and his mistresse, every John and his  
Joane, every knave and his queane, are there first acquainted, and cheapen the  
marchandise in that place, which they pay for else where, as they can agree.  
These wormes, when they dare not nestle in the pescod at home, find refuge  
abrode, and ar hidde in the eares of other mens corne."

p. 144-5. *playhouse*.—See chapter vi. of Dekker's *Guls Hornbook*, 1609,  
"How a Gallant should behave himself in a Playhouse."

#### LORDS OF MISRULE, MAY-GAMES, CHURCH-ALES, &c.

p. 146. *Lords of Misrule*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1841,  
1. 272-8 (Stubbs is the chief authority), and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 272-281: the  
latter has several valuable fresh extracts.

p. 147. *Lords of Misrule in the Churchyard*.

"Whether the minister and churchwardens have suffered any lords of misrule  
or summer lords or ladies, or any disguised persons, or others, in Christmas or

<sup>1</sup> See the extract from Gosson's *Playes confuted* (ab. 1580) in *Harrison*, Pt. I.  
p. lxxx: 'they give them pippines; they daily with their garments,' &c.

at May-games, or any morris-dancers, or at any other times, to come unreverently into the church or churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly parts, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures or ribald talk, namely [=specially] in the time of Common Prayer. . . ."—1576. Arch-Bishop Grindal, *Articles for the Province of Canterbury, Remains*, p. 175, Parker Soc. 1843.

" . . . that their churches and chapels be kept clean and decently, that they be not loathsome to any, either by dust, sand, gravel, or any filth; and that there be no feasts, dinners, or common drinking kept in the Church; and that the Church-yard be well fenced, and cleanly kept, and that *no folks be suffered to dance in the same*."—1571-2. Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains*, 1843, p. 135.

p. 148-9. *Maike games.* See the latter part of the extract from Northbrooke, in the note for p. 155, below, p. 314. Compare Herrick's kindlier account:

" Come, my Corinna, come ; and comming, marke  
 How each field turns a street ; each street a parke  
 Made green, and trimm'd with trees : see how  
 Devotion gives each house a bough,  
 Or branch : each porch, each doore, ere this,  
 An arke, a tabernacle is  
 Made up of white-thorn neatly enterwove ;  
 As if here were those cooler shades of love.  
 Can such delights be in the street,  
 And open fields, and we not see't ?  
 Come, we'll abroad ; and let's obey  
 The proclamation made for May :  
 And sin no more, as we have done, by staying ;  
 But, my Corinna, come, let's goe a Maying.  
 There's not a budding boy, or girle, this day,  
 But is got up, and gone to bring in May.  
 A deale of youth, ere this, is come  
 Back, and with White-thorn laden home.  
 Some have dispatcht their cakes and creame,  
 Before that we have left to dreame :  
 And some have wept, and woo'd, and plighted troth,  
 And chose their priest, ere we can cast off sloth :  
 Many a green-gown has been given ;  
 Many a kisse, both odde and even :  
 Many a glance too has been sent  
 From out the eye, love's firmament :  
 Many a jest told of the keyes betraying  
 This night, and locks pickt, yet w're not a Maying."

*Herrick's Hesperides* (1869), p. 70.

I remember getting up before sunrise, forty years ago, on the First of May and eight succeeding mornings, and washing my face in dew to take away freckles, for which washing in May-dew nine mornings together was said to be a cure.—R. Roberts.

p. 149. *Maygimes*. Stafford, in 1581, says that these, and wakes, revels, wagers at wrestling, &c., had been 'layde downe now', p. 16 of my N. Sh. Soc. edition. He can have meant only 'partly disused.'

"Littlewit. He was a baker, sir, but he does dream now, and see visions ; he has given over his trade.

*Quarrous*. I remember that too : out of a scruple he took that, in spiced conscience, those cakes he made, were served to bridales, maypoles, morrices, and such profane feasts and meetings. His christian name is Zeal-of-the-land." 1614.—Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, I. i.; *Works*, ed. Cunningham, ii. 152, col. i.

"Well, syr, after theez horsmen, a liuely *morisdauns*,<sup>1</sup> according too the auncient manner, six daunserz, Mawdmariion, and the fool." 1575.—Laneham's *Letter*, p. 22 of my edition.

p. 150. *Church-Ales*, or Whitsun-Ales.—See Brand's *Pop. Antiq.* i. 157-161, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ed. Hazlitt, 1870, i. 156-172. 'For Scot-Ales, Give-Ales, Sect-Ales, Bride-Ales, Clerk-Ales, &c., see *Archæologia*, xii. 11-17.'

*Church-Ales on Sundays*: 'by an order made in July, 1595, at a Sessions held in the Chapter House . . It is declared that all "Church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the Sabbath day and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's "Saboth," the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy, and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth." It is therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath ; that there shall be no drink "used, kept or uttered" upon the Sabbath, at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or preaching of the Word ; nor at any time in the night season ; nor yet that there shall be "any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncyng, or suche wanton Dallyances," used at the said May-games,' &c. 'In January 1599, the justices took a long step further, and having discovered that many inconveniences "which with modestie cannot be expressed," had happened in consequence of these gatherings, they ordered that parish ales, church ales, and revels should thenceforth be utterly suppressed. A market which had been held on the "Saboth" at East Budleigh, was also abolished.' 1878.—A. H. A. Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Q. Elizabeth to Q. Anne*, p. 28-9.

And under James I 'An order of Easter 1607 declares that church ales, parish ales, young men's ales, clerks' ales, sextons' ales, and all revels, are to be utterly suppressed. Yet we find as late as 1622 that the war against them was still being carried on.' *Ib.* p. 73.

"An other sorte of blynde shuelings . . preache muche holynes and Gods seruice to stande in their holy oyle / holy creame / holy water / holy asshes / hal-

<sup>1</sup> See Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, Vol. i, pp. 50, 51, 52, and Chappell's *Popular Music*, pp. 130-135.—W. C.

lowed bedes / mumblyng of a numbre of psalmes in Laten / keepinge of church ale, in the whiche, with leappyng / daunsynge / and kyssyng / they maynteyne the profett of their churche (to the honoure of God, as they both saye and thyncke)." 1544—*A Supplicacion to . . Kynge Henry the Eyght.* E. E. T. Soc. 1871, p. 41.

p. 150. *Ale sold in Churches, &c.*

"Item, whether upon the holy-days there be kept in the Church or Church-yard any market, buying or selling, with such doings as becometh neither the day nor the place." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Injunctions* (?), in his *Later Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 142.

"Item, that the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noises, tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth, in the church, church-porch or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily." ? Ab. 1550.—Bishop Hooper, *Later Writings* (Parker Soc.), p. 129.

"Ye shall not keep, or suffer to be kept, in your parsonage or vicarage houses, any alehouses, tippling-houses, or taverns, nor shall sell ale, beer or wine." . . . 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Clergy*, p. 130, Parker Society.

"The Churchwardens shall not suffer any pedler, or others whatsoever, to set out any wares to sale, either in the porches of churches or in the church-yards, nor any where else on holy days or Sundays, while any part of divine service is in doing, or while any sermon is in preaching." 1571-2.—Bishop Grindal, *Injunctions at York for the Laity, Remains*, p. 138, Parker Society.

p. 150, l. 19. *Hufcap*.—See *Harrison*, I. 295 : "there is such headie ale & beere in most of them [markets], as for the mightinesse thereof, among such as seeke it out, is commonlie called *hufcap*, the mad dog, father whoresonne, angels food, dragons milke, [go by the wall, stride wide, and lift leg, (1587)] &c. . . It is incredible to saie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs should lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie still againe, and be not able to wag."

I thought at first that the *huftie-tuftie* of Snuffe, the Clown of the Curtain in 1600, was this *Huf-cap*: but the extract below, from T. Nash, in his *Hauue with you to Saffron Walden*, sign. L 4, shows that Snuffe used the word for an exclamation, "jolly," or the like. "Who's the Foole now?" asks Snuffe, and answers, his drunken friend who got robb'd on his way to the Curtain theatre in Shoreditch :

"My friend was pleasant, drinking all the day,  
With *huftie-tuftie*, let vs all be merrie,  
Forgetting how the time did passe away:  
Such is mans folly, making himself wearie.  
But now attend, and I will tell the rest,  
How my friends follie he could scarce digest.

When he was beaten with a Brewers washing bittle  
Or had in deed almost quite burst his thombe,  
Or had behelde the Diuell, where he did tipple,

Or (the old word) was drunke, marke what did come,

Thus it fell out, as he him selfe did say,  
He to the Curtaine went, to see a Play.

His friendes went with him, and as wise as hee,  
Yet wiser as it chaunst, for he went reeling ;  
A tottering world it was, God wott, to see  
My friend disguide thus without sense or feeling.

Here a fell downe, and vp againe, God wott,  
Backward and forward staggering like a sott.

A soberer man than he, or girle or boy,  
I know not who—for he him selfe not knowes—  
Begins to looke into this goodly toy,  
And, to teach him wit, this deede at pleasure shoues :

Into his pocket diues, and being alone,  
Purss, hat, cloake, from my drunken friend was gone.”

1600.—*Quips upon Questions*, sign. B 4, back, and C 1.

*huffy tuffy*, adv. bravely, finely.

“ I haue a tale at my tunges end if I can happen vpon it, of his hobby horse  
reuellling & dominering at Audley-end, when the Queene was there : to which  
place Gabriell [Harvey] (to doo his countrey more worship & glory) came ruffing  
it out *huffy tuffy* in his suite of velvet.” 1596.—T. Nashe, *Hauie with you to  
Saffron-walden*, sign. L 4, back.

(I've unluckily mislaid my other extracts on the names for being drunk.)

p. 150. *Church-ales*. “ There were no rates for the poor in my grand-  
father's days<sup>1</sup>; but for Kington St. Michael (no small parish) the church-ale at  
Whitsuntide did the business. In every parish is (or was) a church-house, to  
which belonged spits, crocks &c., utensils for dressing provision. Here the house-  
keepers met, and were merry, and gave their charity. The young people were  
there too, and had dancing, bowling, shooting at butts &c., the ancients sitting  
gravely by and looking on. All things were civil and without scandal. This  
church-ale is doubtless derived from the ἀγάπαι, or love-feast, mentioned in the  
New Testament.” — Aubrey's *Introduction to the Survey of Wiltshire*, in his  
*Miscellanies* (Library of Old Authors), pp. 216-17.—S.

p. 150. *Church-Ales & Dancing*. Compare the Bride-Ales:

“ Early in the morning the wedding people begynne to exceedē in superfluous  
eating & drinkyng | wherof they spyte vntill the halfe sermon be done. And  
whan they come to the preaching | they are halfe dronke | some alltogether |  
therefore regard they nether the preaching ner prayer | but stonde ther onely  
because of the custome. Such folkes also do come vnto the Church with all  
maner of pompe and prude | & gorgiousnesse of rayment and Iewels. They  
come with a greate noyse of basens & drommes | wher-with they trouble the

<sup>1</sup> Say about 1600. Aubrey was born in 1626, and died about 1697.

whole church ; & hindre them in matters pertayninge to god. They come in to the lordes house ; as it were into an house of merchaundise ; to lay forth theyr wares & offre to sell themselues vnto vyce and wickednesse. And euen as they come to the Church ; so go they from the Church agayne ; lyght ; nyce ; in shamefull pompe and wayne wantonesse." (Fol. 50.) Fol. lvi, ed. 1552.

" After the bancket and feast ; there begynneth a wayne ; madd ; and vnmanerly fashionz. For the bryde must be brought in to an open dauncing place. Then is there such a renninge ; leapinge ; and flynginge amounge them ; then is there such a lyftinge vp and discoueringe of the damesels clothes and of other wemens apparell ; that a man might thinke ; all these dauncers had cast all shame behinde them ; and were become starke madde, and out of theyr wyttes ; and that they were sworne to the deuels daunce. Then must the poore bryd kepe foote with all dauncers ; & refuse none ; how scabbed ; foule ; droncken ; rude and shameles soever he be. Then must she oft tymes heare and se much wickednesse ; & many an vncomely word. And that noyse and rombling endureth euen till supper.

" As for supper, looke how much shameles and dronken the evening is more then the morning, so much the more vice, exces, and misnurturē is vsed at the supper. After supper, must they begin to pype and daunce again of anew. And though the young persons (being weary of the bablyng noyse and inconvenience) come once towards their rest, yet can they haue no quietness. For a man shall find vnmanerly and restles people that wyll first go to their chamber doore, and there syng vicious and naughty balates, that the devil may have his whole triumphe now to the vttermost." 1541.—Miles Coverdale, *The Christian State of Matrimonye*, fol. 51 (sign. H i, Fol. lvii, ed. 1552).

" fye vpont, what a miserable thing tis to be a noble Bride! there's such delayes in rising, in fitting gownes, in tyingng, in pinning Rebatoes, in poaking, in dinner, in supper, in Reuels, & last of all in cursing the poore nodding fidlers for keeping Mistris Bride so long vp from sweeter Reuels,—that, oh I could neuer endure to put it vp without much bickering." 1602.—T. Dekker, *Satiromastix*. Works, 1873, i. 186.

" As for matrimony, that hath also corruptions too many . . . . Other petty Abuses things out of the book we speak not of, as that women, contrary to the accidental rule of the Apostle, come, and are suffered to come, bareheaded, with bagpipes and fidlers before them, to disturb the congregation ; and they must come in at the great door of the church, else all is marred." 1570-1600.—Archbp. Whitgift, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 353, Parker Soc.

p. 152. *Wakes and Feasts*.—See Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ii. 1-10, ed. Ellis, 1841, and ii. 1-10, iii. 7-8, ed. Hazlitt, 1870.

'*Wakes*: a very old English custom. The 35th of Elfric's Canons is : " ye ought not to make merry over dead men, nor to hunt after a corpse, unless ye be invited to it. When ye are invited, forbid the heathenish songs of laymen, and hear loud cackling, and do not eat & drink over the body in their heathenish manner." (Quoted from Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. i, p. 255, by Chappell, in his Introduction to *Old English Ditties*, p. 81.)'

The above are the real Irish wakes, not those on the eve of Saints' Days when the people danced in the churches or church-yards through the night.—W. C.

p. 152. *wakes, &c.* See *The Chetham Miscellanies*, Vol. V. Ed. F. R. Raines (Chetham Society). The *Athenaeum Review*, August 12, 1876, says: "The first article in the collection is a Report on 'The State, Civil and Ecclesiastical, of the county of Lancaster,' made by certain of the clergy about 1590.<sup>1</sup> . . . . The authors of the Report were for the most part men of Puritan leanings, but there is nothing particularly strange or grotesque in the complaints they make. We know from many other sources that the rough-and-ready manner in which the Reformed doctrines and discipline had been planted in the county palatine of Lancaster had cruelly wounded the feelings of many, and that the first result of a change so violent was an alarming amount of godlessness. Almost every clause of this old paper shows that the bonds of authority had become terribly relaxed, and that there was no strong public opinion on the side of moral order to keep loose persons in check. Not only do we find that the mediaeval custom of holding fairs and markets on Sunday was still usually retained, and that 'wackes, ales, greenes, maigames, rushbearinges, bearebaites, doveales, bonfires, [and] all maner vnlawful gaming, pipeinge, and daunsing, and such like, ar in all places freely exercised vppon y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath,' but that the persons who professed to conform to the worship of the English Church frequently did so in such a manner as to show their contempt for her ritual, some walking about and talking, others laughing during prayers,<sup>2</sup> while the more devout evinced their adherence to the

<sup>1</sup> "The manifolde Enormities of the Ecclesiasticall state in the most partes of the Countie of Lancaster; and many of them in som partes also of Cheshire [about the year 1590] . . . .

"V. Faires and Marketes in most Townes ar vsually kepte vppon the Sabbath: by occasion whereof divine Service in the Forenoone is greatly neglected.

"VI. Wackes, Ales, Greenes, Maigames, Rushbearinges, Bearebaites, Doveales, Bonfiers, all maner vnlawfull Gaming, Pipeinge and Daunsinge, and suche like, ar in all places freely exercised vppon y<sup>e</sup> Sabbath."

<sup>2</sup> Compare Sir Thomas More's complaint of the *Irreverent behaviour at Prayer* in his Popish day: he died in 1535. *Works* (1557), p. 1359. "Out of al, most true is y<sup>e</sup> old said saw, that the outward behauior & continaunce is a plain expresse mirror or ymage of y<sup>e</sup> minde, in asmuche as by y<sup>e</sup> eyes, by y<sup>e</sup> chekkes, by y<sup>e</sup> eye liddes, by y<sup>e</sup> browes, by y<sup>e</sup> handes, by y<sup>e</sup> fete, & finally by y<sup>e</sup> gesture of y<sup>e</sup> whole body, right well appereth, how madly & fondly y<sup>e</sup> minde is set & disposed. For as we litle passe how smal deuocion of hart we come to pray w<sup>t</sup>hal, so dooe we litle passe also howe vndeoulti we go forward therin. And albeit we wold haue it seme, yt on y<sup>e</sup> holye daies we go more gorgeously apparelled then at other times onely for y<sup>e</sup> honor of god, yet y<sup>e</sup> negligest fashion yt we vse, a greate mainy of vs, in y<sup>e</sup> time of our praier, doth sufficiently declare, (be we neuer so lothe to haue it so knownen & apparaunte to the world) yt we do it altogether of a peuysh worldly pride. So carelessly do we euen in y<sup>e</sup> church somewhiles solemnly iet to & fro, & other whiles faire & softly sette vs down again. And if it hap vs to kneele, then either do we knele vpon y<sup>e</sup> tone knee, & lene vpon y<sup>e</sup> other, or els will wee haue a cushion layd vnder them both, yea & sometime, namely if we be any thyng nyce & fine) we cal for a cushion to beare vp our elbowes to, & so, like an olde rotten rynouse house, be we fain therwith to bee staide & vnderpropped. And then further do we euery way discouer,

suppressed religion by crossing themselves, beating their breasts, and telling their beads in secret. At the time when service was going on, it was common for the unreclaimed people who remained without, to assemble in the churchyard or the streets hard by, and to amuse themselves with clamorous shouting and throwing stones upon ‘the leades of the churche.’<sup>1</sup>

“The ancient burial customs seem to have been retained almost without alteration, as far as the change of circumstances would permit. When the body was laid out preparatory to burial, it was surrounded, by night and by day, with burning candles, the church bells were rung to warn the neighbours to pray for the soul of the departed, and all the neighbours who visited the corpse were wont to say a *Pater Noster* or a *De Profundis*. The wayside crosses, which have now nearly all been swept away either by the reforming zeal of our predecessors or the carelessness of more modern times, seem then to have been common; for these Lancashire clergy tell us that at funerals ‘they carie the corse towardse the churche all garnished with crosses, which they sett downe by the way at everie crosse, and there all of them devoutly, on theire knees, make prayers for the dead.’

“This custom of affixing small crosses to the bier or the pall lingered long. We have heard of it being followed late in the last century. ‘The Obsequy of faire Phillida,’ a ballad in the Roxburghe collection (Ballad Soc. ix. 345), is adorned with a woodcut of a funeral, which, from the dresses of the bearers and grave-digger, cannot be much older than 1640. There we find the coffin or bier, (it is not easy to say which it is), covered with a tight-fitting pall, on which are fastened in an irregular manner seventeen small crosses in circles.

“The intense dislike of the Roman Catholic population for the English burial service is shown by the fact that when the body was brought to the churchyard, they were accustomed to ‘overtreatre the minister to omit the service,’ and bury the body themselves without religious rites. If, however, the clergyman insisted upon performing his duty, the friends were in the habit of going away, as they refused absolutely to join in or be present at the service.

“Secret marriages and baptisms are complained of, though the memorialists do not seem to have felt the evil of them so bitterly as they did many other things of less consequence. To us, for whom all these things are but matters of history, these unregistered marriages and baptisms are of far more import than the ceremonial which gave so much pain to the compilers of the Memorial. It is well known that throughout the whole of the north of England in the sixteenth and

how far wide our mind is wandring from god. We clawe our head, we pare oure nailes, we picke our nose, & say therwhiles one thing for an other, sith what is said or what is vsaid both hauing cleane forgottez, we be fain at al aduentures to ay me what we haue more to say. Bee we not ashamed thus madly demeaning our selfes both secretly in our hert, & also in our doings openly in such wise to sew for soucor vnto god, being in so gret danger as we be, & in such wise to pray for pardow of so many horrible offences, & ouer y<sup>t</sup> in suche wise to desire him to preserue vs from perpetuall damnacion? so y<sup>t</sup> this one offence so vnreuerently to approch to y<sup>t</sup> high maiestie of God, al had we never offendred him before, wer yet alone wel worthy to bee punished.”—R. Roberts.

<sup>1</sup> The next page was set by the compositor in mistake, but is let stand.

seventeenth centuries the more devout among the Roman Catholics were wont to have these rites performed by their own priests. One consequence is that now they are, in many cases, entirely incapable of proof. The Bodleian list of Yorkshire Roman Catholics in 1604 furnishes numerous examples of these secret marriages, and is in some instances the only evidence we have that such marriages were ever contracted. They usually took place far from home, before a few chosen and faithful witnesses only. Here is an instance, notable as relating to one of the higher gentry of the county of York :—‘Secret mariage. Richard Cholmley, Esquier, maryed with Mary Hungate, in the presence of John Wilson, William Martin, Hugh Hope, and Christopher Danyell, in a fell with a Popish priest.’ The lady and her lover dare not be wedded at home, for fear of spies ; so they met by appointment at some wild place on the moorlands, where a priest, at the risk of his life, was found ready to perform the marriage rite. . . .

“In the volume are the letters of Randal Holme and Leonard Smethley, the deputy heralds who acted in Lancashire and Cheshire in the reign of James the First. . . .

“Both master and man were constantly in trouble with the gentry in their dominions on the subject of fees. When the Herald’s College was incorporated, it took upon itself not only the regulation of arms, but also the ordering of those sumptuous funerals in which the bad taste of our forefathers delighted. If a great man died, the body was sometimes kept lying in state for weeks. More frequently, however, the remains were privately interred, without pomp or heraldic display, and some time afterwards a magnificent hearse was erected in the church, hung round with the arms, crest, and motto of the dead and his ancestors, and the family retainers went at night by torch-light to hear a funeral sermon in praise of the virtues of the deceased. For all this display, heraldic knowledge was needed ; yet so perverse were the gentry around that, instead of employing Holme and Smethley to superintend the pageant and paint the banners, they often engaged what the senior deputy herald calls ‘poor snaks, hedge-paynters, and, I take it, plasterers,’ to do their blazonry for them. This was unbearable to the men in authority, who were defrauded of their fees ; and long and bitter were their complaints to the authorities in St. Paul’s Churchyard, urging that sharp measures should be taken with the arms-painters, and that the people who had these stately funerals provided for their relatives should be compelled to pay the accustomed fees to Messrs. Holme and Smethley, whether they availed themselves of their services or not.”

As to Sabbath-keeping in early days in Arbroath and Scotland, note :—“It is the common opinion that the strict observance of Sunday, for which the Scotch people are remarkable, came in with the Reformation, and that the practice, so far from having become more stringent as time went on, has been relaxed in modern days. This is, of course, a mistake. In 1564, we find the council of the town ordering that ‘thair be na mercats upon the sabouith day before aucht [eight] hours, noder flesh nor uder merchandise on pain of viij<sup>s</sup>.’ Mr. Hay truly remarks that we should think it passing strange were a town council nowadays to give tacit consent to holding public markets at any hour on the Sunday. It is curious, too, at so early a date to find Sabbath used to indicate the *dies dominica*. Inaccurate, however, as the term is, the Reformation is not responsi-

ble for coining it, but only for bringing it into common use. The town records of Beverley in 1456—ninety-eight years before this—contain a memorandum of how a certain John Johnson was fined fourpence because he housed corn on the Sabbath—‘Hospitabat frumentum . . . die Sabbati.’ (Poulson’s *Beverlac*. I. 219.) It was, as the author points out, a considerable time after the establishing of the reformed faith before the custom of holding markets and other such assemblies on Sunday was discontinued.

“We have come across many instances in England of parish meetings being held, and churchwardens’ accounts audited, on Easter Sunday late in the reign of Elizabeth, and far down into that of her successor. Though the Scotch did not enter on their course of strictness so early as some have thought, they certainly did at length surpass in that particular all other people on earth, unless it were some of the New England settlements. It would, we should imagine, be impossible to parallel the following from the records of the most Protestant town in Germany, Holland, or Scandinavia :—

“On the 5th December, 1732, the barbers in the Town compeared before the session in answer to their citation ; and record bears, “ Being accused of profaning the Sabbath-day by shaving people and dressing their wigs before and in time of the sermon, [they] confessed their faults, upon which they were exhorted to reform, under the pain of being publicly censured.””—*Athenæum*, August 19, 1876, on G. Hay’s *Hist. of Arbroath*.

In Messrs. Cotton and Woolcombe’s *Gleanings from the Municipal and Cathedral Records relative to the City of Exeter*, 1877, there are many convictions during the Puritan time for baking on the Lord’s Day, and for heating an oven on it. Travelling on Sunday was forbidden, and punishit with the stocks ; and a barber was brought up for “tryming a man on the Lords Day, about tenn o’clocke in the forenone in sermon time.”—*Athenæum*, September 15, 1877, p. 332.

p. 154. *Dancing*.—See p. 297 ; T. F.’s *Newes from the North*, 1597, as to the Dancing School ; and Northbrooke’s Treatise [against] Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds, 1577, old Sh. Soc. reprint, 1840, p. 113–148.

p. 155 : *kissing*. See note on this at p. 269, above.

p. 155 : *dancing*.—Busino, of the Venetian Embassy at Jas I’s Court in 1617—1618, speaks thus of the dancing before the King :—*Quart Rev.* Oct. 1857, p. 424. *Harrison*, Part II., p. 58\*. “The masque began. [Ben Jonson’s *Pleasure reconciled to Virtue*, Twelfth Night, 1617-18]. . . At last twelve cavaliers in masks, the central figure always being the prince, ‘ chose their partners and danced every kind of dance, the last being the Spanish dance in single pairs, each cavalier with his lady ; and at length, being well nigh tired, they began to flag, whereupon the king, who is naturally choleric, got impatient, and shouted aloud, “ Why don’t they dance ? What did you make me come here for ? Devil take you all ; dance ! ” On hearing this, the Marquis of Buckingham, his majesty’s most favoured minion, immediately sprang forward, cutting a score of lofty and minute capers with so much grace and agility, that he not only appeased the ire of his angry sovereign, but, moreover, rendered himself the admiration and delight of everybody. The other

314 Notes on pp. 155, 171. *Dancing. Bawdy Songs.*

masquers, being thus encouraged, continued successively exhibiting their prowess with various ladies ; finishing in like manner with capers, and by lifting their goddesses from the ground."

See also a tract of 19 leaves in the Lambeth Library : "A Treatise of Daunses wherin it is shewed that they are as it were accessories and dependants (or things annexed) to whoredome ; where also by the way is touched and proved that Playes are joyned and knit togeather in a rancke or rowe with them . . Anno 1581." Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 137. Also "A Dialogue agaynst light, lewde, and lascivious dauncing : wherein are refuted all those reasons which the common people vse to bring in defence thereof. Compiled and made by Christopher Fetherston. Eccle. 9. 4 Use not the companie of a woman that is a singer and a dauncer, least thou be intrapped in her snares. Imprinted at London by Thomas Dawson, 1582." 8vo. 46 leaves. Bodleian (Douce). Hazlitt's *Handbook*, p. 195.

"Age. What wolde these fathers say nowe, if they were presently aliue, to see the wanton and filthie daunces that are now vsed, in this cleare day and light of the Gospell? What Sabbath dayes, what other dayes are there, nay, what nightes are ouerpased without dauncing among a number at this time? In summer season, howe doe the moste part of our yong men and maydes, in earely rising and getting themselves into the fieldes at dauncing? what foolishe toyes shall not a man see among them? what vnchast countenances shall not be vsed then among them? or what coales shall there be wanting that may kindle Cupid's desire?—truly none. Through this dauncing, many maydens haue been vnmaydened, whereby I may saye, it is the Storehouse and nurserie of bastardie. What adoe make our yong men at the time of May? Do they not vse night watchings to rob and steale yong trees out of other men's grounde, and bring them home into their parishes with minstrels playing before? and when they haue set it vp, they will deck it with floures and garlandes, and daunce round (men Exod. 32, 6. and women toghether, moste vnseemly and intolerable, as I haue 1 Cor. 10, 7. proued before) about the tree, like vnto the children of Israell, that daunced about the golden calfe that they had set vp," &c. 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, etc.*, ed. 1840, p. 175-176.

p. 171 : bawdy songs.

"He hath all that to villany belongs,  
The hugest number of such bawdy songs,  
You euen would wonder (Gossips, this is plaine)  
That any man could beare them in his braine.  
He hath a song cald, *Mistris, will you do ?*<sup>1</sup> [1]  
And *My man Thomas did me promise to,* [to is too] [2]

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ebsworth kindly identifies these songs :—

(2)     " My man Thomas  
          Did me promise  
          He would visit me this night.  
*Thomas.]* ' I am here, love;  
          Tell me, dear love;  
          How I may obtain thy sight.

*Maid* ] Come up to my window, love;  
          Come, come, come!  
          Come to my window, my dear;  
          The wind nor the rain  
          Shall trouble thee again,  
          But thou shalt be lodged here."

He hath the *Pinnace rigg'd with silken saile,* [3]  
 And pretty Birds, with *Garden Nightingale,* [4, 5]  
*Ile tye my Mare in thy ground* a new way, [6]  
 Worse then the Players sing it in the Play, [? what Play]  
*Besse for abuses,* and a number more, [7]  
 That you and I haue never heard before.  
 And these among those wenches he doth learne,  
 Which by actiuity their liuings earne.  
 His Crownes vpon them frankly he bestowes,  
 Not caring for his wife, or how she goes."

1609.—S. Rowlands, *A Crew of kind Gossips*, sign. C 2 (Hunt. Club, 1876, p. 19).

On 2, 3, 6 of these Mr. Wm. Chappell says:—“See my *Popular Music*, p. 738, for *My Man Thomas, A Pinnace rigg'd, and I'll tie my mare*:—

‘A pinnace rigg'd with silken sail,  
 What is more lovely than to see?  
 But still to see, is small avail ;  
 I must aboord, as thinketh me.’

It is full of double meanings.” In *Pop. Mus.*, p. 738, are 6 lines and the music of

Two other verses are elsewhere sung “Tye the Mare, Tom, boy ! ” of early date. (1) I have (certainly of 1601)

“Mistress, since you so much desire ;” probably resembling “Mistress will you do ?” (7) I believe that “Besse for abuses” I also have a clue to ; and I know of one “Pretty Nightingale,” of date 1575,

“Little pretty nightingale,  
 Among the braunches greene,  
 Geue us of your Christmasse ale,  
 In the honour of Saint Steven.”

But this is a “Mock” to the original which I possess from an early MS., beginning thus:—

“The lytill pretty nyghtyngale,  
 Among the levys grene,  
 I wolde I were with hur all nyght,  
 But yet ye wot not whome I mene,” etc., etc.

(3). “A pinnace rigg'd with silken saile” is extant in an early MS. (time noted, before 1609), belonging to a friend of mine. I will print it soon in *The Amanda Group of Bagford Poems*, for the Ballad Society.

“A pinnace rigg'd with silken saile,  
 What is more lovely then to see ?  
 But still to see is small availe :  
 I must aboord, as thinketh mee.  
 To see is well,  
 But more to tell  
 Lackes more then sight, you will agree.”  
 (etc. four other verses.)

(6) I have the Catch “Ile tye my Mare in thy ground.” There is also another,

“(4) I have also one song beginning “Ye pretty birds that chirp and sing,” but its date is much later in the 17th century :—the author was not scrupulous in availing himself of elder suggestions, and occasionally would “convey, the wise it call !”—J. W. Ebsworth.

*My man Thomas*, of which 12 lines were sung in Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*, Act III. sc. iii (B. & F.'s *Works*, 1839, i. 481, col. 1). See too the note for p. 185, below, p. 319.

Compare the following cancell'd entry in the Stationers' Registers, Arber's *Transcript*, ii. 576:

7. marcij [1590-1]

Thomas Gosson Entred for his copie *a ballad of a yonge man that went a twaying &c.* Abell Jeffes to be his printer hereof Provyded Cancelled out of the book, for the vndecentnes of it alwayes, that before the publishinge hereof the vndecentnes be in Diuerse verses reformed . . . . . vd

### GAMES, SPORTS, AND FOOTBALL.

p. 173: *games and sports.* Here is a list of them in 1600:—

“Man, I dare challenge thee to throw the sledge,  
To iumpe or leape ouer a ditch or hedge,  
To wrastle, play at stooleball, or to runne,  
To pitch the barre, or to shoothe off a gunne :  
To play at loggetts, nine holes, or ten pinnes,  
To trie it out at foot-ball by the shinnes ;  
At Ticktacke, Irish, Noddie, Maw, and Ruffe ;  
At hot-cockles, leape-frogge, or blindman-buffe ;  
To drinke halfe pots, or deale at the whole canne ;  
To play at base, or pen-and-Ynk-horne sir Ihan :  
To daunce the Morris, play at barley-breake :  
At all exploytes a man can thinke or speake :  
At shoue-groute, venter-poynt, or crosse and pile :  
At beshrow him that's last at yonder style.”

1600.—S. Rowlands, *The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-vaine*, D 4, back (ed. 1874, p. 64). On these and other games see Hazlitt's *Brand*, vols. i., ii. Also Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. The Act 33 Hen. VIII., ch. 9, § 8, says: “noe manner of person . . . shall for his or their gayne, lucre or lyvinge, kepe . . . or maynteyne any common house, alley or place of bowlinge, Coytinge, Cloyshe, Coyles, halfe bowle, Tennys, Dysing, Table, or Cardinge, or any other manner of Game prohibite by anye estatute heretofore made, or any unlaufull newe game nowe invented or made, upon payne to forfeit and paye for everie day kepinge . . . or sufferinge any such Game to be . . . playde . . . fourtie shillinges . . .” By § 11 “noe manner of Artyfycer or Craftes man of any handy crafte or occupacion, husbandman, apprentice, laborer, seruaunte at husbandrye, journeymen or seruaunte of artyficer, mariniers, fysshermen, watermen, or any servyngman, shall . . . playe at the Tables, Tennys, Dyce, Cardes, Bowles, Clashe, Coytinge, Logatinge, or any other unlawfull, Game, out of Christmas, under peyne of twentye shillinges to be forseyt for everie

tyme, And in Christmas to playe at anye of the said Games [only] in their maisters houses or in their maisters presence: and also that noe manner of person shall at any tyme playe at any bowle or bowles in open places out of his garden or orchard, under the peyne for everie tyme so offendinge to forfeyt vjs. viij*l*."

§ 15 and 16 provide for Servants playing Cards Dice & Tables by License of their Masters, & give Noblemen, & Landholders of £100 a year, power to license their Servants to play in their Houses, Gardens or Orchards 'Cardes, Dyce, Bowles or Tenny's.' 33 Henry VIII was from 22 April 1541 to 21 April 1542.

p. 174. *Dicing.* "O how happie were it for your Posteritie, if the Innes of the Court were farre from the Dycing-houses, or Dicyng-houses with their Originall, the Deuill . . . These Houses (outwardly) are of the substance of other Buildinges, but within are the Botches and Byles of abhomynation : they are lyke vnto deepe Pittes, couered with smoothe Grasse, of which, men must be warned, or els they can hardly auoide that their eye can not discouer." 1586.—Geo. Whetstone, *The Enemie to Vnthyfinesse . . . A Perfect Mirrour for all Maiestrates*, A 3, back. (A very disappointing book, which professes to discover 'the vnsufferable Abuses now raigning in our happie English common wealth,' but only quotes the abuses in Rome which Alexander Severus tried to put down, and gives no details of them in England. He had brothels shut from sunset to sunrise, that the frequenters of them might be seen, &c.)

Latimer, in his 6th Sermon before Edward VI, in 1549, says:—"There be such dicing houses also, they say, . . . where young gentlemen dice away their thrif; and where dicing is, there are other follies also . . Men of England, in times past, when they would exercise themselves . . were wont to go abroad in the fields a shooting ; but now it is turned into [boiling, 1562] glossing, gulling and whoring within the house. The art of shooting . . hath been Gods instrument whereby he hath given us many victories against our enemies ; but now we have taken up whorung in towns, instead of shooting in the fields." *Sermons*, Parker Soc. 1844, p. 196-7.

p. 175. *Football.* Cp. Laneham's Letter, 1575, on the sports, &c., at Kenilworth Castle: the bridegroom is 'lame of a leg, that in his youth was broken at football,' p. 27. '*Fatal Accident at a Football Match.*'—An inquest was held yesterday evening by Mr. Bedford, the coroner for Westminster, at the Board-room, Eburybridge, Pimlico, touching the death of Mr. Sydney James Henniss Branson, aged 21, a medical student, residing at 7, South Eaton-place, Eaton-square, which occurred under the following sad circumstances:—Mr. Maurice Chilton, medical student, deposed that he resided with the deceased at the above house, and on the afternoon of Wednesday week last they were, with a great many others, taking part in a football match at Battersea-park; and at about four o'clock a young gentleman named Baily had seized the football and was running with it swiftly across the ground, when the deceased immediately ran after him, but had scarcely reached him when he stumbled and fell to the ground. He caught hold of Baily's leg and dragged him down upon him, the latter falling with considerable force upon deceased's chest and stomach. Deceased was picked up by his companions and taken in an insensible state to the porter's lodge, where he remained an hour, and was afterwards taken home in a cab with witness's assistance. In witness's

opinion Mr. Baily's falling was quite the consequence of deceased pulling him. Mr. Charles Henry Baily, sub-lieutenant, Royal Naval College, Greenwich, was called, and stated that deceased was a stranger to him. On that afternoon he scarcely knew deceased was running after him, but recollects being caught suddenly round the legs, and falling with his knees on deceased. Mr. Bertram Pink, surgeon, stated he lived in the same house, and saw deceased when brought home. Without doubt he had an internal rupture, and some injury to the abdomen. He had him put to bed, inflammation (the result of the injury) set in next day, from which he died on Monday. The jury returned a verdict of 'Accidental Death,' agreeing with the coroner that it was deceased's own imprudence which had caused the death."—*Daily News*, March 19, 1875.

"*Shocking Football Accident at Derby.*—On Saturday afternoon a match took place at Derby, under the Rugby rules, between the Derby Wanderers and a Birmingham football club. The ground was hard, owing to the frost of the previous night. During the play, one of the Birmingham players named Matthew Wilcox made a 'charge,' but missed his mark and fell. Before he could recover himself another player fell across him, and he became insensible. Various means used to recover him failed, and he was conveyed upon a shutter to the infirmary, where it was discovered that the lower cervical vertebrae were dislocated. Under surgical treatment he recovered consciousness, and his friends were telegraphed for, but the case is considered hopeless."—*Daily News*, March 20, 1876.

"*Football and the Rugby Rules.*—The accident to Mr. Matthew Wilcox, of Birmingham, in a football match at Rugby, having terminated fatally, an inquest was held yesterday. The deceased was a jeweller of Handsworth, and was twenty-five years of age. He was one of the (Birmingham) Moseley Club, who played the Derby Wanderers at Parker's-field Ground last Saturday. Mr. Thomas Hill, solicitor, deposed that deceased picked up the ball, and, running with it towards the goal, was collared by an opponent named Champion, and both fell, deceased, who appeared to turn a somersault, being undermost, with the whole weight of his opponent on the back of his neck. He tried to rise, but could not. Mr. Iliffe, surgeon, directed him to be taken to the Infirmary. Mr. Andrew Champion (Wanderers), and Thomas Bent and W. Matthews (Moseley Club), gave similar evidence. The house surgeon at the Infirmary stated that deceased was suffering from complete paralysis arising from dislocation of the lower cervical vertebrae. He lingered until 11.30 on Sunday night, when he died. A verdict was returned of 'Accidental Death.' The sad affair has created a profound impression in Derby, where football is much played. In connection with this matter, Mr. T. Budworth Sharp, of Smethwick, a friend of the deceased, writes to the *Birmingham Daily Post*, giving the following list of serious injuries sustained, owing to the Rugby rules, in one Birmingham Club (the Handsworth) in one season alone :—'1. A broken thigh and leg, bent to an angle of about 45 degrees. We put the player into a cab, sent him off to the hospital, where he remained some months. 2. Some dislocations about the collar-bone. 3. A broken collar-bone. 4. Some serious internal ruptures, necessitating the use of a truss and gentle exercise for some years. 5. Some broken bones in the ankle : sent to hospital for some weeks, and since on

crutches. 6. Injuries to the chest. 7. Serious injury to the knee-joint ; laid up for three weeks. Nos. 4 and 5 are brothers ; Nos. 1 and 6 are twin brothers ; and No. 7 is the writer.' Mr. Sharp adds that this list was written in April, 1875, and was then put aside at the request of certain members of the club, one of whom was the unfortunate Matthew Wilcox."—*Daily News*, March 22, 1876. Other deaths, and lots of accidents, have been reported since. Here's the last, from the *Echo*, Feb. 10, 1879, p. 3, col. 1 :—

"*Killed at Football*.—Yesterday a youth died at Tunstall from a kick received at a football match played between the Tunstall and Goldenhill (North Staffordshire) teams, at Tunstall, a few days before. Play was very rough, and Herbert Whitedock, one of the Goldenhill team, was kicked in the stomach. He was conveyed from the ground in a state of unconsciousness, and succumbed after much suffering. It is not known who made the fatal foul."

p. 175. On gaming and dice, leading to robbery. — See S. Rowlands's 'All's Fish that comes to net' in his *Knave of Spades* (? 1611), ed. 1874, p. 14 ; also his Satyres, p. 59, in his *Letting of Humours Blood*, 1600, ed. 1874 ; and the extract from Latimer in Note for p. 174, above, p. 317.

p. 177. *Bearbaiting*.—See the extracts above, p. 296-8, 301.

p. 179. *Accident at the Bear-Garden*. Stowe says—*Annales, 1605, p. 1173*—“The same 13. day of Januarie, being sonday, about four of the clocke in the afternoone, the old and vnderpropped scaffolds round about the Beare garden, commonly called Paris garden, Eight persons killed by the fall of a scaffold at the Bear garden. on the Southside of the riuier of Thamis ouer against the citie of London, overcharged with people, fell suddenly downe, whereby, to the number of eight persons, men and women, were slaine, and many others sore hurt and bruised, to the shortening of their liues. A friendly warning to such as more delight themselves in the crueltie of beasts then in the works of mercie, the fruits of a true professed faith, which ought to be the sabbath daies exercise.”

p. 184: *wrestling* in the City of London :—“On Bartholomew day, for the Wrastling. So many Aldermen as doe dine with the Lord Maior, and the Sherifffes,

The meeting at the Lord Maiors house on Bartholomew day. are apparelled in their Scarlet Gownes lined ; and after dinner, their horses are brought to them where they dined. And those Aldermen which dine with the Sherifffes, ride with them to the Lord Maiors house, for accompanying him to the Wrastling. When as the Wrastling is done ; they mount their horses, and ride backe againe thorow the Fayre, and so in at Aldersgate, and then home againe to the Lord Maiors house.

The next day (if it be not Sunday) is appointed for the Shooting, and the service performed as upon Bartholomew day ; but if it bee Sunday, the ing day. Sabbath day, it is referred to the Monday then following.” 1633. Continuation of Stowe's *Suruay*, p. 651, col. 2.

p. 185: *bawdy songs, &c.* (See p. 314-16, above.)

“... our own children . . the first words

We form their tongues with, are licentious jests :

Can it call ‘whore,’ cry ‘bastard’? O then, kiss it !

A witty child ! can't swear ? The father's darling !  
 Give it two plums. Nay rather than't shall learn  
 No bawdy song, the mother herself will teach it ! "

1598-1601.—B. Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, II. iii. *Works*, i. 22, col. 1.

p. 185. *Babberies, &c.* " & in truth, what leasings will not make-shyfis invent for money ? What wyl they not faine for gaine ? Hence come our babling Balletts, and our new found Songs and Sonets, which euyer rednose Fidler hath at his fingers end, and euyer ignorant Ale knight will breath forth ouer the potte, as soone as his braine waxeth hote. Be it a troth which they would tune, they enterlace it with a lye or two to make meeter, not regarding veritie, so they may make vppe the verse ; not vnlke to Homer, who cared not what he fained, so hee might make his Countrimen famous . . . sith they obtaine the name of our English Poets, and thereby make men to thinke more baselie of the wittes of our Countrey, I cannot but turne them out of their counterfet liuerie, and brand them in the foreheade, that all men may know their falsehood." 1590.—T. Nashe, *The Anatomie of Absurditie*, B 4.

p. 186 : *putting good Laws into practice. Idle fellows and rascals.*

*Queene E.* " Queene Elizabeth in the xiii and xviii yeres of hir gracious reygne, an. 14 & 18 two actes were made for ydle, vagrant, and maisterlesse persons, that used to loyter, and woulde not worke, shoulede, for the first offence, haue a hole burned through the gristle of one of his eares, of an ynche compasse ; and, for the seconde offence committed therein, to be hanged.

" If these and such lyke lawes were executed iustlye, truly, and seuerely, (as they ought to be), without any respect of persons, fauour, or friendshipp, this dung and filth of ydleness woulde easily be reected and cast oute of thys common wealth ; there would not be so many loytering, ydle persons, so many ruffians, blasphemers, and swingebucklers, so many drunkardes, tossepottes, whooremaisters, dauncers, fydlers, and minstrels, diceplayers, and maskers, fencers, theeves, enterlude players, cut purses, cosiners, maisterlesse seruauntes, jugglers, roges, sturdye beggars, counterfaite Egyptians, &c. as there are ; nor yet so many plagues to bee amongst vs as there are, if these dunghilles, and filthe in common weales were remoued, looked vnto, and cleane caste out by the industrie, payne, and trauell of those that are sette in authoritie and haue gouernemente." 1577.—John Northbrooke, *A treatise against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with other idle Pastimes*, ed. 1840, p. 76. See too the end of the note for p. 75, above, p. 265.

## APPENDIX.

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POPULAR AND POPISH  
 SUPERSTITIONS AND CUSTOMS  
*On Saints'-Days and Holy-Days*  
 IN GERMANY  
 AND OTHER PAPIST LANDS

A. D. 1553,

BEING

THE FOURTH BOOKE OF

“The Popish Kingdome, or *reigne of Antichrist*, written in Latine  
 verse by Thomas NAOGORGUS (or KIRCHMAIER), and  
 englyshed by Barnabe GOOGE. . . Anno 1570.”

[THOMAS KIRCHMAIER: one of the most violent Protestant writers of the 16th century, born in 1511 at Straubingen, in Bavaria. Following the custom of his time, he changed his name for that of Nao-Georgos—two Greek words, having the same meaning. He embraced the reformation of Luther, and did not cease to declaim against what he termed the superstitions of the Romish Church, with a virulence which harmed him even in the opinion of the sensible members of his own community. [This is written by a Papist.] He had imagination, power, and much wit. From the number of his productions we can judge of the great facility with which he worked. He knew a good deal of Greek, and we possess several translations by him. After having exercised the functions of pastoral minister in various villages in Germany, and having called down upon himself the censures of the Consistory of Weimar, he died on the 29th December, 1563, at Wisbach, in the Palatinate. The curious seek for his works with great eagerness, and this reason has induced us to give a complete list of them. I. *Trag. nova, Pammachius*, Wittemberg, 1538, in 8° of 81 leaves. II. *Tragedia nova, Mercator seu Judicium*<sup>1</sup> (Bâle, 1540), in 8° of 75 leaves. This work has been translated into French under this title: *Le Marchand converti, tragédie nouvelle en laquelle la vraie et la fausse religion, au paragon l'une de l'autre, sont au vif représentées*, etc. (Genève), 1558; in 8° 1561, in 12° with the “*Comédie du Pape malade et tirant à sa fin*” (by Theod. de Bèze), 1585, in two parts in 16°; 1591 in 16°, 1594 in 12°. The translation of the “*Marchand Converti*” is attributed to J. Crespin. III. *Incendia, seu Pyrgopolynices, tragedia recens nata, nephanda quorundam papistici gregis exponens facinora*, Wittemberg, 1541, in 8° of 49 leaves, without the title-page; republished under the same date, in 8° of 56 leaves. This was Kirchmaier's rarest work, but it has been republished in the ‘*Politica imperialia*’ of Goldast, p. 1112; IV. *Hammanus, trag. nova sumpta e Bibliis* (Leipzig), 1543, in small 8°; V. *Hieremias, trag. nova, ex propheta Hieremia sumpta* (Bâle), 1551, in 8°; VI. *Judas Iscariotes, trag. nova et sacra; adjuncte sunt duæ Sophoclis tragediae, Ajax flagellifer et Philoctetes, carmine versa* (Stuttgart), 1552, in 8°, rare; VII. *Agriculturæ sacræ libri V.*, ibid, 1550, small 8°; VIII. *Regnum papisticum*, 1553, small 8° of 173 pages, original edition; the same, with other works, Bâle, Oporin, 1559, in 8° of 343 pages, without counting 16 unnumbered leaves with the *Errata* and *Index* (see Brunet, Manuel du libraire); IX. *Explanatio Enchiridionis Epicteti*, Strasbourg, 1554, in 8°; X. *Satyrarum libri V priores, his sunt adjecti de animi tranquillitate duo libelli*, Bâle, 1555, in 8°; XI. *De dissidiis componendis libri duo; adjuncta est Satyra in J. della Casa*, ibid, 1559, in 8°; XII. *Annotationes in canoniam Joannis primam epistolam*, 1544, in 8°; XIII. *Confutatio de bello germanico in pedionetum, trimetris scasonibus*; XIV. *De Infantum ac parvulorum salute, deque Christi dicto: “Sinite parvulos venire ad me,” etc. Conclusiones*, 145, Bâle, 1556, in 8°; XV. *Epitome ecclesiasticorum dogmatum, carmine hexametro heroica*. Kirchmaier has translated several of Dion Chrysostom's “*Discourses*” from Greek into Latin, Paris, 1604, fol.; several Pieces of Isocrates, Plutarch (Bâle, 1556, in 8°), and the *Letters of Synesius* (ibid, 1558, in 8°), those of Phalaris, ibid, 1558, in 8°. Some works by him are to be found in the *Deliciae poetarum Germanorum*, vol. 4—*Biographie Universelle*, 2nd edition.]

<sup>1</sup> *Tragedia, in qua, in conspectu ponuntur apostolica et papistica doctrina.*

## APPENDIX.

## The Popish Kingdome.

*The fourth booke.*

[*The Sidenotes of the original are in italics.*]

AS Papistes doe beleue and teach the vaynest things that bee, [leaf 44]  
So with their doctrine and their fayth, their life doth iump  
agree.

Their feasts & all their holidayes they kepe throughout the  
yeare

Are full of vile Idolatrie, and heathenlike appeare :

Whereby though they do nothing teach, but shoulde their doctrine hide,  
(Which yet in volumes more than one, may openly be spide)

Thou easilly mayst knowe whether true Catholikes they bee,

And onely truft in Chrift, and keepe th'affured veritee.

Be therefore here a perfite Iudge, and all things warely way,

With equall ballance, for before thine eyes I here will lay

Most plainly, though not all (for who is able that to tell,)

But such as best are knowne to vs in *Germanie* that dwell.

And first betwixt the dayes they make no little difference,

For all be not of vertue like, nor like preheminence.

But some of them Egyptian are, and full of ieopardee,

And some againe beside the rest, both good and luckie bee.

Like diffrence of the nights they make, as if th'almightie king,

That made them all, not gracious were to them in euery thing.

Beside they giue attentiuе eare to blinde Astronomars,

About th'aspects in euery howre of fundrie shining stars :

And vnderneath what Planet euery man is borne and bred,

What good or euill fortune doth hang ouer every hed.

Hereby they thinke assuredly to know what shall befall,

As men that haue no perfite fayth nor truft in God at all :

But thinke that euery thing is wrought and wholy guided here,

By moouing of the Planets, and the whirling of the Speare.

No vaine they pearſe nor enter in the bathes at any day,

Nor pare their nayles, nor from their hed do cut the heare away : 28

They alſo put no childe to nurſe, nor mend with doung their ground,

Nor medicine do receyue to make their crased bodies found,

Papists' Feasts  
and Holidays are  
idolatrous and  
heathenlike.

4 They don't trust  
in Christ alone.

12

Con. 26. q. 7.  
*Si quis. Non  
obtem. Quis.*  
q. 2. *Nos pla-  
net. Sed & illua-*  
q. 5. *Non licet.*

20 They attend to  
the Aspects of  
the Stars, and  
think folk's for-  
tunes are ruld by  
the Planets.

24

They'll not be  
bled, bathe, or  
take medicine,

324 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.*

without looking  
to the Moon's  
place.  
[leaf 44, back]

Nor any other thing they do, but earnestly before  
They marke the Moone how she is placde, and standeth euermore : 32  
And euerie planet howe they rise, and set in eche degree,  
Which things vnto the perfite fayth of Christ repugnant bee.  
Which first I shewe, leaft in my course I should be driuen plaine,  
To call to minde these foolishe toyes, now to my theame againe. 36

*Aduent.*

On Christmas  
eve, boys and  
girls knock at  
every door, wish  
the inmates a  
happy year, and  
get fruit and  
pence from them.

Three weekes before the day whereon was borne the Lorde of grace,  
And on the Thursday Boyes and Girles do runne in ev ery place,  
And bounce and beate at euerie doore, with blowes and lustie snaps,  
And crie, the aduent of the Lorde not borne as yet perhaps. 40  
And wishing to the neighbours all, that in the houfes dwell,  
A happie yea re, and every thing to spring and prosper well :  
Here haue they peares, and plumbs, & pence, ech man giues willinglee,  
For these three nightes are alwayes thought, vnfortunate to bee : 44  
Wherein they are af rayde of sprites, and cankred witches spight,  
And dreadfull deuils blacke and grim, that then haue chiefeft might.  
In these same dayes yong wanton Gyres that meeet for mariage bee,  
Doe search to know the names of them that shall their husbandes bee.  
Foure Onyons, fife, or eight, they take and make in euerie one, 49  
Such names as they do fanfie most, and best do thinke vpon.  
Thus neere the Chimney them they set, and that same Onyon than,  
That first doth sproute, doth surely beare the name of their good man.  
Their husbandes nature eke they seeke to know, and all his guise, 53  
When as the Sunne hath hid himselfe, and left the starrie skyes,  
Unto some woodstacke do they go, and while they there do stande,  
Eche one drawes out a faggot sticke, the next that commes to hande,  
Which if it st freight and euen be, and haue no knots at all, 57  
A gentle hulband then they thinke shall surely to them fall.  
But if it fowle and crooked be, and knottie here and theare  
A crabbed churlish hufband then, they earnestly do feare. 60  
These things the wicked Papistes beare, and suffer willingly,  
Because they neyther do the ende, nor fruite of faith espie :  
And rather had the people should obey their foolish lust,  
Than truely God to know, and in him here alone to trust. 64

*Christmasses  
daye.*

Some think all  
[leaf 45]  
the wine is turned  
to water, and  
back again.  
Others watch for  
altar-money.

Then comes the day wherein the Lorde did bring his birth to paise,  
Whereas at midnight vp they rise, and euer man to Masse.  
This time so holy counted is, that diuers earnestly  
Do thinke the waters all to wine are chaunged sodainly : 68  
In that same houre that Christ himselfe was borne, and came to light,  
And vnto water st freight againe, transformde and altered quight.  
There are beside that mindfully the money still do watch,  
That first to aualtar commes, which then they priuily do snatch. 72  
The Priestes leaft other should it haue, takes oft the same away,  
Whereby they thinke throughout the yea re to haue good lucke in play,  
And not to lose : then straight at game till daylight do they striue,  
To make some present proofe how well their hallowde pence wil thriue.  
Three Masses every Priest doth sing vpon that solemnne day, 77  
With offrings vnto every one, that so the more may play.

3 Masses are  
sung ;

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- This done, a wooden childe in clowtes is on the altar set  
About the which both boyes and gyrls do daunce and trymly iet, 80  
And Carrols sing in prayse of Christ, and for to helpe them heare,  
The Organs aunswere euery verse, with sweete and solempne cheare.  
The Priestes doe reore aloude, and round about the parentes stande,  
To see the sport, and with their voyce do helpe them and their hande.  
Thus woont the *Coriants* perhaps vpon the mountaine *Ide*, 85  
The crying noyse of *Jupiter* new borne with song to hide,  
To daunce about him round, and on their brasen pannes to beate,  
Leaft that his father finding him, shold him destroy and eate. 88
- Then followeth Saint Stephens day, whereon doth euery man,  
His horses iaunt and course abrode, as swiftly as he can.  
Until they doe extreemly fweate, and than they let them blood,  
For this being done vpon this day, they say doth do them good, 92  
And keepes them from all maladies and ficknesse through the yeare,  
As if that Steuen any time tooke charge of horses heare.
- Next *John* the sonne of *Zebedee* hath his appoynted day,  
Who once by cruell tyraunts will, confrayned was they lay 96  
Strong poysone vp to drinke, therefore the Papistes doe beleuee,  
That whofo puts their truft in him, no poysone them can greeue.  
The wine befide that halowed is, in worship of his name,  
The Priestes doe giue the people that bring money for the same. 100  
And after with the felfe fame wine are little manchets made,  
Agaynst the boyftrous winter stormes, and fundrie fuch like trade.  
The men vpon this solempne day, do take this holy wine, 103  
To make them strong, so do the maydes to make them faire and fine.
- Then comes the day that calles to minde the cruell Herodes strife,  
Who seeking Christ to kill, the king of euerlasting life,  
Destroyde the little infants yong, a beast ynmercileffe,  
And put to death all such as were of two yeares age or leſſe. 108  
To them the finfull wretchesse crie, and earnewſtly do pray,  
To get them pardon for their faultes, and wipe their finnes away.  
The Parentes when this day appeares, doe beate their children all,  
(Though nothing they deserue) and seruants all to beating fall, 112  
And Monkes do whip eche other well, or elſe their Prior great,  
Or Abbot mad, doth take in hande their breeches all to beat:  
In worship of theſe Innocents, or rather as we fee,  
In honour of the cursed king, that did this crueltee. 116
- The next to this is Newyeares day, whereon to euery frende,  
They cofly presents in do bring, and Newyeares gifteſ do ſende.  
Theſe gifteſ the husband giues his wife, and father eke the childe,  
And maister on his men beftowes the like, with fauour milde. 120  
And good beginning of the yeare they wiſhe and wiſhe againe,  
According to the auncient guife of heathen people vaine.  
Theſe eight dayes no man doth require his dettes of any man,  
Their tables do they furniſh out with all the meate they can: 124  
With Marchpaynes, Tartes, & Cuftards great, they drink with ſtarining  
They rowte and reuell, feede and feaſt, as merry all as Pyes: [eyes,
- and a wooden  
Child drest up,  
set on the altar.  
Boys and Girls  
daunce and sing  
round it,  
the Priests roar,  
and the Parents  
clap.
- Saint Steuen.*  
Dec. 26.  
Horses are gal-  
lopt till they  
sweat, to keep  
em well all the  
year.
- Saint John.*  
Dec. 27.
- Priests hallow  
wine, and ſell it,  
and make Man-  
chets with it,  
against storms.
- [leaf 45, back]  
*Childermasse.*  
Dec. 28.
- Parents beat  
their children,  
ſervants and  
Monks beat one  
another.
- Newyeares day.*  
Gifts are made  
to every one.
- For 8 days no  
man asks a debt.  
Great feaſting  
goes on.

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*Twelffe day.*  
January 6.

Every set of  
friends chooses a  
King, and has a  
feast.

Children choose  
a Prince too.

[leaf 46]

Every house-  
holder makes a  
big cake, and  
puts a penny in  
it. It's cut up,

and the man who  
gets the penny,  
is King, and is  
lifted up to the  
roof to make  
crosses on the  
rafters, against  
spirits.

At night,  
Frankincense is  
burnt, and all the  
family smoke  
their noses and  
eyes in it, to keep  
'em sound.

Then they carry  
the pan in pro-  
cession round  
the house, to  
keep witches off.

They foretell the  
year's weather  
too.

As if they should at th'entrance of this newe yeare hap to die,  
Yet would they haue theyr bellyes full, and auncient friendes allie. 128

The wife mens day here foloweth, who out from *Perſia* farre,  
Brought gifts and presents vnto Christ, conducted by a starre.  
The Papiftes do beleue that these were kings, and fo them call,  
And do affirme that of the same there were but three in all. 132  
Here fundrie friendes togither come, and meete in companie,  
And make a king amongst themſelues by voyce or destinie :  
Who after princely guife appoyntes, his officers alway,  
Then vnto feaſting doe they go, and long time after play : 136  
Upon their bordes in order thicke the daintie dishes ftande,  
Till that their purſes emptie be, and creditors at hande.

Their children herein follow them, and chooſing princes here,  
With pompe and great ſolemnitié, they meete and make good chere :  
With money eyther got by feaſth, or of their parents eft, 141  
That fo they may be traynde to knowe both ryot here and theft.

Then alſo euery houſholder, to his abilitie,  
Doth make a mightie Cake, that may ſuffice his compagnie : 144  
Herein a pennie doth he put, before it come to fire,  
This he deuides according as his houſholde doth require,  
And euery peece diſtributeth, as round about they ftand,  
Which in their names vnto the poore is giuen out of hand : 148

But who fo chaunceth on the peece wherein the money lies,  
Is counted king amongſt them all, and is with ſhowtes and cries  
Exalted to the heauens vp, who taking chalke in hande,  
Doth make a croſſe on euery beamē, and rafters as they ftand : 152  
Great force and powre haue theſe agaynst all iniurys and harmes  
Of cursed deuils, ſprites, and bugges, of coniurings and charmes.

So much this king can do, fo much the Croſſes brings to paffe,  
Made by ſome feruant, maide, or childe, or by ſome foolish aſſe. 156  
Twife fiſe nightes then from Christmaſſe, they do count with diligence,  
Wherein echē maifter in his houſe doth burne vp Franckeniſce :

And on the Table fettes a loafe, when night approcheth nere, 160  
Before the Coles, and Franckeniſce to be perfumed there :  
First bowing downe his heade he standes, and noſe and eares, and eyes  
He ſmokes, and with his mouth receyue the fume that doth arife :

Whom followeth freight his wife, and doth the ſame full ſolemly,  
And of their children every one, and all their family : 164  
Which doth preferue they ſay their teeth, and noſe, and eyes, and eare,  
From every kind of maladie, and fickneſſe all the yeare.

When euery one receyued hath this odour great and ſmall,  
Then one takes vp the pan with Coales, and Franckeniſce and all,  
An other takes the loafe, whom all the reaſt do follow here, 169  
And round about the houſe they go, with torch or taper clere,  
That neither bread nor meat do want, nor witch with dreadful charme,  
Haue powre to hurt their children, or to do their cattell harme. 172  
There are that three nightes onely do perfourme this foolish geare,  
To this intent, and thinke themſelues in safetie all the yeare.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 327

To Christ dare none commit himselfe. And in these dayes beside,  
They iudge what weather all the yeare shall happen and betide: 176  
Ascribing to ech day a month, and at this present time,  
The youth in evry place doe flocke, and all appareld fine,  
With Pypars through the streetes they runne, and sing at euery dore,  
In commendation of the man, rewarded well therefore: 180  
Which on themselues they do bestowe, or on the Church, as though  
The people were not plague with Roges and begging Friers enough.  
There Cities are, where boyes and gyrls togither still do runne,  
About the freete with like, as soone as night beginnes to come, 184  
And bring abrode their wassell bowles, who well rewarded bee,  
With Cakes and Cheeze, and great good cheare, and money plentiouslee.

[leaf 46, back]  
Young men  
dress-up, go  
singin thro the  
streets with  
Pipers.

Then commes in place saint *Agnes* day, which here in Germanie,  
Is not so much esteeme, nor kept with such solemnitee: 188

*Saint Agnes.*  
Jan. 21.

But in the Popish Court it standes in passing hie degree,  
As spring and head of wondrous gaine, and great commoditee.  
For in saint *Agnes* Church vpon this day while Massie they sing,  
Two Lambes as white as snowe, the Nonnes do yearlye vse to bring:  
And when the *Agnes* chaunted is, vpon the aultar hie, 193  
(For in this thing there hidden is a soleme mysterie)

Is kept at Rome  
solemnly.

They offer them. The seruaunts of the Pope when this is done,  
Do put them into Pasture good till shearing time be come. 196

2 snow-white  
lambes are offerd  
on the altar,

Then other wooll they mingle with these holy fleeses twaine,  
Wherof being sponne and dreft, are made the Pals of passing gaine:

Three fingars commonly in breth, and wrought in compasse so,  
As on the Bishops shoulders well they round about may go. 200

then put to grass  
and shorn; and  
their wool is  
made into narrow  
Palls,

These Pals thus on the shoulders set, both on the backe and brest,  
Haue labels hanging someting lowe, the endes whereof are dreft,  
And typte with plates of weightie lead, and vesture blacke arayde,

And laft of all to make an ende, with knots are surely stayne. 204

with labels tipt  
with lead.

O ioysfull day of *Agnes*, and to Papistes full of gaine,  
O precious worthie Lambes, O wooll most fortunate againe.

O happie they that spin and weave the same, whose handes may touch  
This holy wooll, and make these Pals of price and vertue such. 208

These Palls,  
Bishops and  
Archbishops are  
forc't to buy at  
high prices.

For by the fame the Bishope haue their full auuthoritie,  
And Metropolitanes are forced, these dearely for to buie.

Bestowing sometime eight, or ten, yea thirtie thousand crownes,  
Ere halfe the yeare be full expirde, for these same pelting gownes. 212

[leaf 47]

Ne can they vse the Pall that was their prediceffors late,

Nor play the Bishop, nor receyue the Primates hie estate,  
Till that he get one of his owne: with such like subtilitie,

The Pope doth all men powle, without respect of Simonie. 216

Perchaunce such force doth not in these same holy Lambes remaine,  
Nor of it selfe the wooll so much, nor all the weauers paine,

As these same powlers feeme to say: for thus these palles being wrought,  
Are freight waiies to S. Peters Church by hands of Deacons brought,

And vnderneath the aultar all the night they buryed lie, 221

Among saint Peters reliques and saint Paules his fellow bie.

The Palls are  
put under the  
altar in St.  
Peter's, among  
his reliques, for one  
night, and thence

are thought to draw heavenly power.

From hence the sacred iuyce they draw, and powre celestiall,  
As if the holy ghost should giue these Clarkes his vertue all. 224

Straunge Reliques sure, and bodies eke of paffing sanctitie,  
That to such lowfie clokes can giue so great auuthoritie.

Who would not more esteeme you nowe then when you here did liue,  
When as no clokes at all you did vnto your Bishops giue, 228

Nor fed so many paunches great, nor shauen companies,  
With foule illussons and deceytes and shamelesse futiltels?

Now filuer do you giue and heapes of golde togither rake  
From euery realme, and for a denne of theeues prouision make. 232

Farre be it from me that I shoulde thus of you beleue or say:  
But what so holy in this worlde hath bene, or is this day,

That this same wicked Papacie doth not conuert to gaine?  
Th'almightie Lord himselfe aboue in safetie cannot raigne. 236

Now here the Papistes do declare from whom at first did spring,  
The vfe of this same pelting Pall, and this vnseemely thing.

And here a thousand lyes they make, from auncient fathers olde,  
They say the first inuention came, ne dare they yet be bolde 240

To burthen Peter with the same, for feare they faint in proove,  
But do reiect, not probably, yet farther of aloofe.

Such folly and ambition great, whereat you wonder may.  
For *Linus* he that Peter first succeeded as they say, 244

And guyded next the sea of Rome, first tooke this same in hande,  
That woollen garment might in stede of lynnyn *Ephod* stande.

But where was *Agnes* at this tyme? who offred vp and how,  
The two white Lambes? where then was Masse as it vsed now?

Yea where was then the popish state, and dreadfull Monarchee? 249  
Sure in saint *Austiens* time, there were no Palles at *Rome* to see:

When Bishops all had equall powre, although as stories tell,  
The romishe Bishop did the reaft in worthiness excell. 252

Thus Papistes never count it shame, nor any fault to lie,  
So they may get great summes of golde, and rayse their kingdome hie.

Then comes the day wherein the virgin offred Christ vnto  
The father chiefe, as *Moyses* law commundaunce hir to do. 256

Then numbers great of Tapers large, both men and women beare  
To Church, being halowed there with pomp, & dreadful words to heare.

This done, ech man his Candell lightes, where chiefeft seemeth hee,  
Whose taper greatest may be seene, and fortunate to bee: 260

Whose Candell burneth cleare and bright, a wondrous force and might  
Doth in these Candels lie, which if at any time they light,

They sure beleue that neyther storme nor tempeft dare abide,  
Nor thunder in the skyes be heard, nor any deuils spide, 264

Nor fearefull sprites that walke by night, nor hurts of frost or haile,  
How easilly can these fellowes all these hurly burlyes quale?

That needleffe is it nowe to put their trust in Christ alone,  
Or to commit all things to him that fittes in chiefeft throne. 268

Then followeth good fir *Blase*, who doth a waxen Candell giue,  
And holy water to his men, whereby they safely liue.

Foul deceits!

What holy thing  
hav'nt the  
Papists turnd to  
gain?

They say these  
Palls were insti-  
tuted by St.  
Peter's successor.

[leaf 47, back]

Candellmasse.  
Feb. 2.

Big Tapers are  
blest in Church,  
then lighted, put  
out, and kept to  
light against  
thunder, devils,  
and spirits that  
walk by night.

*Blase.* Feb. 3.  
The Holy-Water  
man.

I diuers Barrels oft haue feene, drawne out of water cleare,  
Through one small blessed bone of this fame holy martyr heare : 272  
And caryed thence to other townes and Cities farre away,  
Ech superstition doth require such earnest kinde of play :  
But in the meane time no man seekes for Christ and God aboue,  
Nor dare content themselues to haue his fauour and his loue. 276

Barrels of it are drawn thro' one of his bones.

Now when at length the pleafant time of Shrouetide comes in place,  
And cruell fasting dayes at hande approch with solemn grace :  
Then olde and yong are both as mad, as gheftes of *Bacchus* feaſt,  
And foure dayes long they tipple ſquare, and feede and neuer reaſt.  
Downe goes the Hogges in euery place, and puddings every wheare  
Do ſwarme : the Dice are ſhakte and toſt, and Cardes apace they teare :  
In euery house are ſhowtes and cryes, and mirth, and reuell route,  
And daintie tables ſpred, and all be fet with gheftes aboue : 284  
With fundrie playes and Christmaſſe games, & feare and shame away,  
The tongue is fet at libertie, and hath no kinde of stay.

*Shrouetide*  
(Shrove Tuesday varies from Feb. 3 to March 9).  
Is a regular Carnival.  
Drinking and feasting go on for 4 days, with cards, mirth, and revels.

All thinges are lawfull then and done, no pleaſure paſſed by,  
That in their mindes they can deuife, as if they then ſhould die : 288  
The chiefeſt man is he, and one that moſt deferueth prayſe,  
Among the reſt that can finde out the fondeſt kinde of playes.

[leaf 48]  
Every one does as he likes,

On him they looke and gaze vpon, and laugh with luſtie cheare,  
Whom boyes do follow, crying foole, and iſch like other geare. 292  
He in the meane time thinkes himſelfe a wondrouſ worthie man,  
Not mooued with their wordes nor cryes, do whatſoever they can.  
Some ſort there are that runne with ſtaues, or fight in armour fine,  
Or ſhew the people fooliſh toyſ, for ſome ſmall pece of wine. 296

and the best man is he who finds out the ſillieſt games.

Eche partie hath his fauourers, and faythfull friendes enowe,  
That readie are to turne themſelues, as fortune lift to bowe.

Some men get up fights;

But ſome againe the dreadfull ſhape of deuils on them take,  
And chafe ſuch as they meeete, and make poore boyes for feare to quake.

some dress like Devils;

Some naked runne about the freeſteſ, their faces hid alone, 301  
With viſars cloſe, that ſo diſguide, they might be knowne of none.

some run about naked.

Both men and women chaunge their weed, the men in maydes aray,  
And wanton wenches dreſt like men, doe trauell by the way, 304

Girls dress like men, and go and feast at neighbours' houses.

And to their neighbours houſes go, or where it likē them beſt,  
Perhaps vnto ſome auncient friend or olde acquainted gheſt,

Unknowne, and ſpeaking but fewe wordes, the meate deuour they vp,  
That is before them ſet, and cleane they ſwinge of euery cup. 308

Some folk dress up like wild beasts, or

Some runne about the ſtreets attyrde like Monks, and ſome like kings,  
Accompanied with pompe and garde, and other ſtately things.

Some hatch yong fooles as hennes do egges with good and ſpeedie lucke,  
Or as the Gooſe doth vſe to do, or as the quacking ducke.

cranes or apes.

Some like wilde beaſtes doe runne abrode in ſkinnes that diuers bee

Arayde, and eke with lothſome ſhapes, that dreadfull are to ſee :

They counterfeſt both Beares and Woolues, and Lions fierce in fight,  
And raging Bulles. Some play the Cranes with wings & ſtilts vpright,

Some like the filthie forme of Apes, and ſome like fooles are dreſt,  
Which beſt beſeme theſe Papiftes all, that thus keepe *Bacchus* feaſt.

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Some carry  
about a turd or  
a cushion.  
[leaf 48, back]

Some make a  
Guy, and toss  
him in a blanket.

They dance  
lewdly.

They tie folk's  
hands behind  
their backs, and  
dance before  
them, jangling  
basins.

If there's snow,  
they pelt one  
another with  
snowballs.

Rich men and  
their families, in  
waggons with  
fast horses, and  
too jangling bells  
round their  
necks, gallop  
madly thro' the  
streets.

[leaf 49]

This madness  
goes on up to  
midnight.

- But others beare a torde, that on a Cushion soft they lay,  
And one there is that with a flap doth keepe the flies away. 320  
I would there might an other be an officer of thofe,  
Whose roome might serue to take away the scent from euery nose.  
Some others make a man all stuft with straw or ragges within,  
Apparayled in dublet faire, and hosen passing trim : 324  
Whom as a man that lately dyed of honest life and fame,  
In blanket hid they beare about, and freightways with the same  
They hurle him vp into the ayre, not suffring him to fall,  
And this they doe at diuers tymes the Cite ouer all. 328  
I shew not here their daunces yet, with filthie iestures mad,  
Nor other wanton sportes that on these holydayes are had.  
There places are where such as hap to come within this dore,  
Though olde acquainted friendes they be, or neuer feene before 332  
And fay not first here by your leauue, both in and out I go,  
They binde their handes behinde their backes, nor any difference tho  
Of man or woman is there made, but Basons ringing great,  
Before them do they daunce with ioy, and sport in euery streat. 336  
There are that certaine prayers haue that on the Tuesday fall,  
Against the quartaine Ague, and the other Feuers all.  
But others than sowe Onyon feede, the greater to be feene,  
And Persley eke, and Lettys both, to haue them alwayes greene. 340  
Of truth I loth for to declare the foolish toyes and trickes,  
That in these dayes are done by these same popish Catholickes :  
If snoewe lie deepe vpon the ground, and almost thawing bee,  
Then fooles in number great thou shalt in euery corner see : 344  
For balles of snow they make, and them one at another cast,  
Till that the conquerde part doth yelde and run away at laft.  
No Matrone olde nor sober man can freely by them come,  
At home he must abide that will these wanton fellowes shonne. 348  
Besides the noble men, the riche, and men of hie degree,  
Leaft they with common people should not feeme so mad to bee,  
There wagons finely framde before, and for this matter meete,  
And luftie horse and swift of pace, well trapt from head to feete 352  
They put therein, about whose necke and euery place before,  
A hundred gingling belles do hang, to make his courage more.  
Their wiues and children therein fet, behinde themselues do stande,  
Well armde with whips, and holding fast the bridle in their hande,  
With all their force throughout the streetes and market place they ron,  
As if some whirlewinde mad, or tempest great from skies should come.  
As fast as may be from the ft[r]eates, th'amazed people flye,  
And giues them place while they about doe runne continually. 360  
Yea sometime legges or armes they breake, and horse and carte and all  
They ouerthrow, with such a force, they in their course doe fall.  
Much leffe they man or childe doe spare, that meetes them in the waye,  
Nor they content themselues to vse this madnesse all the daye : 364  
But euen till midnight holde they on, their pastimes for to make,  
Whereby they hinder men of sleepe, and cause their heades to ake.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 33<sup>1</sup>

But all this fame they care not for, nor doe esteeme a heare,  
So they may haue their pleasure full, and foolish wanton geare. 388

The Wednesday next a solemne day, to Church they early go,  
To sponge out all the foolish deedes by them committed so,  
They money giue, and on their heddes, the Priestes doth ashes lay,  
And with his holy water washeth all their finnes away : 372

In woondrous sort against the veniall finnes doth profitte this,  
Yet here no stay of madnesse now, nor ende of follie is,  
With mirth to dinner straight they go, and to their woonted playe,  
And on their deuills shapes they put, and sprightish fonde araye. 376

Some sort there are that mourning go, with lantarnes in their hande,

While in the day time *Titan* bright, amid the skyes doth stande:

And seeke their shroftide *Bachanals*, still crying euery where,

Where are our feastes become? alas the cruell fates appere. 380

Some beare about a herring on a staffe, and lownde doe rore,

Herrings, herrings, flincking herrings, puddings now no more.

And hereto ioyne they foolish playes, and doltish dogrell rimes,

And what beside they can inuent, belonging to the times. 384

Some other beare vpon a staffe their fellowes horsed hie,

And carie them vnto some ponde, or running riuier nie,

That what so of their foolish feast, doth in them yet remayne,

May vnderneath the floud be plungde, and washt away againe. 388

Some children doe intife with Nuttes, and peares abrode to play,

And finging through the towne they go, before them all the way.

In some place all the youthfull flocke, with minstrels doe repaire,

And out of euery houfe they plucke the girles, and maydens fayre. 392

And them to plough they ftraitwayes put, with whip one doth them hit,

Another holdes the plough in haunde, the Minstrell here doth fit

Amidde the same, and drounken songes, with gaping mouth he fings,

Whome foloweth one that fowes out sande, or ashes fondely flings. 396

When thus they through the streetes haue plaide, the man *that guideth*

all

Doth drive both plough & maydens through some ponde or riuier  
small :

And dabbled all with durt, and wringing wette as they may bee,

To supper calles, and after that to daunsing lustilee.

The follie that these dayes is vnde, can no man well declare,

Their wanton pastimes, wicked actes, and all their franticke fare.

On Sunday at the length they leaue, their mad and foolish game,

And yet not so, but that they drinke, and dice away the fame. 404

Thus at the laft to *Bacchus* is this day appoynted cleare,

Then (O poore wretches) fastings long approching doe appear :

In fourtie dayes they neyther milke, nor fleshe, nor egges doe eate,

And butter with their lippes to touch, is thought a treispasse great : 408

Both Ling and saltfish they deuoure, and fishe of euery forte,

Whose purse is full, and such as liue in great and welthie porte :

But onyans, browne bread, leekes and salt, must poore men dayly gnaw

And fry their oten cakes in oyle. The Pope deuisde this law 412

*Ashwednesday*  
(varies from Feb.  
4 to March 10).

Priests lay ashes  
on folk's heads,  
and wash all  
their sins away  
with holy water.  
But still they go  
on with their  
larks.

They carry about  
a herring on a  
staff, and sing  
doggrel rymes ;  
or horse a man,  
and heave him  
into a pond.

Others pull girls  
[leaf 49, back]  
out, harness em  
in a plough,

and drive em  
thru the streets

and somestream;

400 and then sup  
and dance.

Even on Sunday  
they drink and  
dice.

For 40 days  
(Ash-Wensday  
the 1<sup>st</sup>) only salt-  
fish,

onions, brown  
bread and leeks  
are eaten.

The Images in  
Churches are  
coverd up, and  
painted cloths  
shown declaring  
God's wrath.

*Care Sunday.*  
Passion or Carle  
Sunday, the 5th  
in Lent.

[leaf 50]  
All folk are  
absolv'd.  
The boys draw a  
guy of Death into  
the country.

They have a  
guys of Summer  
and Winter, and  
make Summer  
beat Winter.

*Palme Sunday*  
(varies from  
March 15 to  
April 18).

They set a  
wooden Ass,  
ridd'n by an  
image, ou wheels,  
before the  
Church door.  
Folk bring  
boughs.

Two lubbers  
sing that the  
Image is Christ,  
and

For finnes, th'offending people here from hell and death to pull,  
Beleeuing not that all their finnes, were earst forgiuen full.  
Yet here these wofull soules he helps, and taking money fast,  
Doth all things set at libertie, both egges and flesh at laft.

416

The Images and pictures now are couerde secretle,  
In euery Church, and from the beames, the roofe and rafters hie  
Hanges painted linnen clothes that to the people doth declare,  
The wrath and furie great of God, and times that fasted are.

420

Then all men are constrainde their finnes, by cruell law to tell,  
And threatned if they hide but one, with dredfull death and hell.  
From hence no little gaines vnto the Priestes doth stll arise,  
And of the Pope the ihambles doth appeare in beastly wife.

424

Now comes the sunday forth, of this same great and holy fast,  
Here doth the Pope the shriuen bleffe, absolueng them at laft,  
From all their finnes, and of the Iewes the law he doth alow,  
As if the power of God had not sufficient bene till now.

428

Or that the law of Moyses here, were still of force and might,  
In these same happie dayes, when Christ doth raigne w<sup>t</sup> heauenly light.  
The boyes with ropes of straw doth frame an vgly monster here,  
And call him death, whom from the towne, with proud & soleerne chere

433

To hilles and valleyes they conuey, and villages thereby,  
From whence they stragling doe returne, well beaten commonly.  
Thus children also beare with speares, their Cracknelles round about,  
And two they haue, whereof the one is called Sommer stout:

436

Apparalde all in greene, and dreft in youthfull fine araye,  
The other Winter, clad in mosse with heare all hoare and graye:  
These two togither fight, of which the Palme doth Sommer get,  
From hence to meate they go, and all with wine their whistles wet.

441

The other toyes that in this time, of holly fastes appeare,  
I loth to tell, nor order like, is vsed euery wheare.

Here comes that worthie day wherein, our saviour Christ is thought,  
To come vnto Ierusalern, on asses shoulders brought:

444

When as againe these Papistes fonde, their foolish pageantes haue,  
With pompe and great solemnitie, and countnaunce wondrous graue.  
A woodenn Ass they haue, and Image great that on him rides,  
But vnderneath the Asses feete, a table broade there slides,

448

Being borne on wheeles, which ready dreft, and al things meete therfore  
The Ass is brought abroade and set before the Churches doore:  
The people all do come and bowes of trees and palmes they bere,  
Which things against the tempest great, the Parson coniures there,

453

And straytwayes downe before the Ass, vpon his face he lies:  
He rising vp, two lubbours great vpon their faces fall,

In straunge attire and lothsomeley, with filthie tune they ball:

456

Who when againe they risen are, with stretching out their hande,  
They poyn't vnto the wooden knight, and singing as they stande  
Declare that that is he that came, into the worlde to faue,

And to redeeme such as in him their hope assured haue:

460

- And euen the same that long agone while in the streate he roade,  
The people mette, and Olyue bowes so thicke before hym stroade.  
This being founed, the people cast the braunches as they passe,  
Some part vpon the Image, and some part vpon the Ass. 464  
Before whose feete a wondrous heape, of bowes and braunches ly,  
This done, into the Church he strayght, is drawne full solemy :  
The shauen Priestes before them marche, the people follow fast,  
Still striuing who shall gather first the bowes that downe are cast: 468  
For falsely they beleue that these, haue force and vertue great,  
Against the rage of winter stormes, and thunders flahing heate.  
Are Idoles worshipt otherwaise, are these not wicked things?  
Euen I my selfe haue earst behelde, both wise and mightie Kings 472  
Defilde with this religion vile, that on their knees haue kneelde,  
Unto these stockes, and honour due to God, to them did yelde.  
In some place wealthie Citizens, and men of sober chere  
For no small summe doe hire this Ass, with them about to bere, 476  
And manerly they vse the same, not suffering any by,  
To touch this Ass, nor to perfume vnto his prefence ny :  
For they suppose that in this thing, they Christ doe highly serue,  
And well of him accepted are, and great rewardes deferue. 480  
If any man shall happe to thinke, them Asses here in this,  
I sure beleue he is not much deceyude, nor thinkes amis.  
When as the Priestes and people all haue ended this the sport,  
The boyes doe after dinner come, and to the Church resort : 484  
The Sexten please with price, and looking well no harme be done,  
They take the Ass, and through the streeetes, & crooked lanes they rone,  
Whereas they common verses sing, according to the guise,  
The people giuing money, breade, and egges of largeft cife. 488  
Of this their gaines they are compelde, the maister halfe to giue,  
Leaft he alone without his portion of the Ass shoulde liue.
- From Thursday then till Easter come, the fondest toyes haue place  
Wherin these cathlikes think themselues, great men of wondrous grace  
First three dayes space the belies are wilde, in silence for to lie, 493  
When from the toppes of hawtie towres, with clappers lowd they crie,  
The boyes in euery streat doe runne, and noyses great they make,  
While as in calling men to Church their wooden clappers shake. 496  
Thre nightes at midnight vp they rise, their Mattens for to heare,  
Appoynted well with clubbes and staues, and stones in order theare:  
The Sexten straightwayes putteth out the candles speedely,  
And straight the Priest with ruskie throte, alowde begins to cry. 500  
Then furious rage begins to spring, and hurlyburly rise,  
On pewes and deskes and seates they bounce, & beate in dredfullwise:  
Thou wouldest suppose they were posseft, with sprightes and deuills all,  
Or fury such as forceth them, that vpon *Baccus* call. 504  
Some beaten downe with clubbes and staues, amongst the pewes do ly  
And others almost brainde with stones, or wounded mortally.  
Well serues the darckenesse for these deedes, and thereto doth agree,  
The fashions like of euery one, that thus enraged bee. 508

the people cast  
their boughs on  
the Image.

[leaf 50, back]  
The Ass is  
drawn into the  
church, and folk  
pick up the  
boughs to pro-  
tect them from  
storms.

(Some rich men  
hire this Ass,  
and take it about  
with em.)

After dinner  
boys drag the  
Ass about the  
streets, and get  
money and eggs  
for it; half of  
which goes to  
the Priest.

*Maundy*  
*Thursday*  
(Day before  
Good Friday).  
For 3 days the  
bells are still,  
and then ring  
lowdly. 3 Mid-  
night services  
are held in  
Church, the  
lights are put  
out, and a  
regular shindy  
follows,  
[leaf 51]

men being  
beaten and  
wounded.

Here wicked *Judas* all to torne, with vile reproches lies,  
And Marie in the darcke is calde vpon with childish cries.

That she be mercifull and helpe, and heale the faultes that bee,  
And through hir powre deliuier them, from hurt and misere. 512

These things vnto these feastes belongs, the candles being light,  
An Image fastned to a croffe is caried all vpright:

A lanterne rounde about his necke, is hangde to shew the way,  
Are not these popish foolish toyes, a pretie kinde of play? 516

This day the oyle and glasse of the Bishop hallowed bee,  
And twise three times saluting them, he lowly bendes his knee.

The Cannons after doe the same, with laughter woldst thou faint,  
And woonder farre to see them make, their specheleife glasse a faint.

Their dinner done, from th'aultar all their costly clothes they take,  
And wash it, rubbing it with bowes, and bromes that they doe make:

Then water on they powre and wine crossewife there on they lay,  
And to the patron of ech aultar, humbly doe they pray, 524

That they vouchsafe to looke vpon theyr seruaunts worshipping,  
And to awfage the furie great, of *Ioue* the thundring King.

And here the Monkes their maundie make, with fundrie solemne rights  
And fignes of great humilitie, and wondrous plefaunt fights. 528

Ech one the others feete doth wash, and wipe them cleane and drie,  
With hatefull minde, and secret frawde, that in their heartes doth lye

As if that Christ with his examples, did these thinges require,  
And not to helpe our brethren here, with zeale and free desire, 532

Ech one supplying others want, in all things that they may,  
As he himselfe a seruaunt made, to serue vs every way.

Then strait the loaues doe walke, and pottes in every place they skinke  
Wherewith the holy fathers oft, to plefaunt damfels drinke, 536

And sure with no dissembling heart, for true as steele they bee,  
And often times they put in proove their great fidelitee.

Two Priestes the next day following, vpon their shoulders bear,  
The Image of the Crucifix, about the altar neare: 540

Being clad in coape of crimozen die, and dolefully they sing  
At length before the steps his coate pluckt of they straignt him bring,

And vpon Turkey Carpettes lay him downe full tenderly,  
With cushions vnderneath his heade, and pillowes heaped hie: 544

Then flat vpon the gronde they fall, and kisse both hande and feete,  
And worship so this wooden God, with honour farre vnmeete.

Then all the shauen fort falles downe, and foloweth them herein,  
As workemen chiefe of wickednesse, they first of all begin: 548

And after them the simble soules, the common people come,  
And worship him with diuers giftes, as Golde, and siluer some:

And others corne or eggis againe, to poulshorne persons sweete,  
And eke a long desired price, for wicked worship mee. 552

How are the Idoles worshipped, if this religion here  
Be Catholike, and like the spowres of Christ accounted dere?

Befides with Images the more, their pleasure here to take.  
And Christ that euery where doth raigne, a laughing strocke to make,

Then candles are  
lighted, and a  
lantern's hung  
round an  
image's neck.

The Bishop's oil  
and glasses are  
blest, and the  
altar-cloths  
washt.

The Monks  
make their  
Maundy, and  
wash each other's  
feet.

Then they take  
to loaf and pot.

[leaf 51, back]

*Good friday*  
(varies from  
March 22 to  
April 25).

<sup>2</sup> Priests lay the  
Image of the  
Crucifix on  
Turkey carpettes,  
and worship this  
wooden God.

The simple folk  
bring gifts, sweet  
to the poll-shorn  
crew.

An other Image doe they get, like one but newly deade,  
With legges stretcht out at length and handes, vpon his body spreade: 557  
And him with pompe and sacred song, they beare vnto his graue,  
His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and filkes and farceneset braue, 560  
The boyes before with clappers go, and filthie noyses make,  
The Sexten beares the light, the people hereof knowledge take: Boys make noises with clappers  
And downe they kneele, or kiffe the grounde, their handes helde vp abrod  
And knocking on their brestes they make, this woodenne blocke a God.  
And least in graue he shoulde remaine, without some companie, 565  
The finging bread is layde with him, for more idolatrie:  
The Priest the Image worships first, as falleth to his turne,  
And franckensence and sweete perfumes, before the breade doth burne: Singing bread is laid with the image in the grave;  
With tapers, all the people come, and at the barriars sthay, 569  
Where downe vpon their knees they fall, and night and day they pray:  
And violets and euery kinde of flowres about the graue  
They straw, and bring in all their giftes, and presents that they haue.  
The finging men their Dirges chaunt, as if some guiltie soule  
Were buried there, that thus they may, the people better poule. 574

On Easter eue the fire all, is quencht in euery place,  
And fresh againe from out the flint, is fetcht with solempne grace:  
The Priest doth halow this against great daungers many one,  
A brande whereof doth euery man with greedie minde take home, 578  
That when the fearefull storme appeares, or tempest blacke arise,  
By lighting this he safe may be, from stroke of hurtfull skyes:  
A Taper great, the pauchall namde, with musick then they bleffe,  
And franckenfence herein they pricke, for greater holynesse: 582 This is the Paschal Taper is burnt day and night.  
This burneth night and day as figne, of Christ that conquerde hell,  
As if so be this foolish toye, suffifeth this to tell.

Then doth the Bishop or the Priest, the water halow straight,  
That for their baptisme is reserude: for now no more of waight 586 Water is made holy for next year's baptisms.  
Is that they vsde the yeare before, nor can they any more,  
Yong children chrisiten with the same, as they haue done before.  
With woodrrous pompe and furniture, amid the Church they go,  
With candles, crossettes, banners, Chrisme, and oyle appoynted tho: 590  
Nine times about the font they marche, and on the saintes doe call,  
Then stille at length they stande, and straight the Priest begins withall,  
And thrise the water doth he touche, and crossettes thereon make,  
Here bigge and barbrous wordes he speakes, to make the deuill quake:

And holome waters coniureth, and foolisly doth dresse, 595  
Supposing holyar that to make, which God before did bleffe:  
And after this his candle than, he thrusteth in the floode,  
And thrise he breathes thereon with breath, that stinkes of former foode:  
And making here an ende, his Chrisme he poureth therevpon, 599 pouring his Chrism on it.  
The people staring hereat stande, amazed every one:  
Beleeuing that great powre is giuen to this water here,  
By gaping of these learned men, and such like trifling geregere.  
Therefore in vessells brought they draw, and home they carie some,  
Against the grieues that to themselues, or to their brestes may come.

The Priests dress and bring an image of Christ.

Boys make noises with clappers

Singing bread is laid with the image in the grave;

flowers are strewn about it and Dirges [leaf 52] sung.

Easter eue. All fires are put out; and a brand blest, to keep off storms.

The Paschal Taper is burnt day and night.

Water is made holy for next year's baptisms.

A Procession marches 9 times round the font, and the Priest hallows the Water. .

Folk carry some home, and

336 Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.*

fasting is over.  
Easter day.

[Leaf 52, back]  
They take the  
buried Image  
out of the grave,

put another on  
the Altar, and  
sing 'Christ is  
risen.'

Pageants are  
playd by  
maskers: as the  
3 Maries at the  
Sepulchre.

Feasting begins  
at midnight.

Friars and  
Priests get fees.

Radishes are  
eaten against  
the quartan ague.

Papists don't  
believe in life by  
Christ alone.

[Leaf 53]  
Then folk fall to  
their old life  
again.

Procesion  
week.  
(Rogation

Then Clappers ceaffe, and belles are set againe at libertee, 605  
And herewithall the hungrie times of fasting ended bee.

At midnight then with carefull minde, they vp to mattens ries,  
The Clarke doth come, and after him, the Priest with staring eies: 608  
The Image and the breade from out the graue (a worthie fight)  
They take, and Angels two they place in vesture white,  
And rounde about ech place appeeres, all voyde of standers by  
Sauo onely that the watchmen there, amazed seeme to ly. 612  
But yet I thinke the trembling of the earth they neuer see,  
Nor of the heauenly messenger, the flaming maiefie.

An other Image of a Conquerour they forth doe bring,  
And on the aultar place, and then, they lustily doe sing, 616  
That Gates of hell a funder burst, and Sathan ouerthrowne,  
Christ from his graue is risen vp, and now aliuie is knowne.  
Which yet they thinke not so to be, as plainely doth appeere,

By their Religion, doubtes, and feare, and by their doings here. 620  
In some place solemne fightes and showes, & Pageants fayre are playd,  
With fundrie sortes of maskers braue, in straunge attire arayd,  
As where the Maries three doe meete, the sepulchre to see,

And John with Peter swiftly runnes, before him there to bee. 624  
These things are done with iesture such, and with so pleaſaunt game,  
That euen the grauest men that liue, woulde laugh to see the fame.

At midnight strait, not taryng till the daylight doe appeere,  
Some gettes in flesh, and glutton lyke, they feede vpon their cheere.  
They roſt their flesh, and custardes great, and egges and radish store,  
And trifles, clouted creame, and cheeſe, and whatſoeuer more

At first they lift to eate, they bring into the temple straight, 627  
That ſo the Priest may halow them with wordes of wondrouſ waight.  
The Friers beſides, & pelting Prieftes, from house to house doe roame,  
Receyuing gaine of every man that this will haue at home.

Some raddiſh rootes this day doe take before all other meate,  
Againſt the quartan ague and ſuch other ſickneſſe great. 631  
What ſhould I ſhew their forced fayth and great hypocriſie,  
When as of Chift they doe receyue the dredfull miferie?

Which they ne woulde if that they fearde not lightnings of the Pope,  
For none of them beleeueth here, nor none of them doth hope 640  
That they receyue eternall life, and euerlaſting ſeatē,  
By death of Iefus Christ, and by his croſſe and triumph great.

For who ſhould teache to them the ſame, ſince euery Popes decree,  
Their doctrine, fayth, and all their rightes, to this contrarie bee? 644  
Straight after this, into the fieldes they walke to take the viewe,  
And to their woonted life they fall, and bid the reaſt adewe:  
Go nowe and laugh the Lewes to ſcorne, and all the Turkes that bee,  
For fayth, religion, lawes, and life, and their Idolatree. 648  
Sure wondrouſ wife and good they be, if that thou wilt compare  
Them with theſe doltiſh Papiftes here, that blinde and beaſtly are.

Nowe comes the day wherein they gad abrode, with croſſe in hande,  
To boundes of euery field, and round about their neighbours lande:

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 337

- And as they go, they sing and pray to euery saint aboue,  
But to our Ladie specially, whom most of all they loue. 653 Sunday is the  
5th after Easter Day.  
Bounds are beaten.
- When as they to the towne are come, the Church they enter in,  
And looke what saint that Church doth guide, they humbly pray to him,  
That he preserue both corne and fruite, from storme and tempeft great,  
And them defend from harme, and send them store of drinke and meat.  
This done, they to the Tauerne go, or in the fieldes they dine, 659 Then folk dine  
Where downe they sit and feede a pace, and fill themselues with wine,  
So much that oftentymes without the Croffe they come away,  
And miserably they reele, till as their stromacke vp they lay.  
These things three dayes continually are done, with solemne sport,  
With many Croffes often they vnto some Church refort, 664 This lasts 3 days.  
Whereas they all do chaunt alowde, wherby there st freight doth spring,  
A bawling noyse, while euery man seekes hygheft for to sing :  
The Priestes glue eare, this madnesse them doth most of all content,  
And wine to them that passe the reaft, is from the Parson sent. 668
- Then comes the day when Christ ascended to his fathers seate,  
Which day they also celebrate, with store of drinke and meate.  
Then euery man some birde must eate, I know not to what ende,  
And after dinner all to church they come, and there attende. 672 Ascension day  
(varies from April  
30 to June 3.)  
Birds are eaten  
(as ascenders).  
The Image on  
the Altar (p.  
336), is heaved  
above the roof.  
One of Satan is  
thrown down,  
and broken to  
pieces.
- The blocke that on the aultar stille, till then was feene to stande,  
Is drawne vp hie aboue the roofe, by ropes, and force of hande :  
The Priestes about it rounde do stand, and chaunt it to the skie,  
For all these mens religion great, in singing most doth lie. 676 [leaf 53, back]  
Then out of hande the dreadfull shape of Sathan downe they throw,  
Oft times with fire burning bright, and dasht a funder tho,  
The boyes with greedie eyes do watch, and on him straight they fall,  
And beate him fore with rods, and breake him into peeces small. 680 Water is let fall  
on people below.
- This done, they wafers downe doe cast, and singing Cakes the while,  
With Papers rounde amongst them put, the children to beguile.  
With laughter great are all things done: and from the beames they let  
Great streames of water downe to fall, on whom they meane to wet.  
And thus this solemne holiday, and bye renommed feast, 685 Whitsunday  
(varies from May  
10 to June 13).  
White Pigeons  
are flown.
- And all their whole devotion here, is ended with a ieaft.  
On Whitunday, whyte Pigeons tame, in strings from heauen flie,  
And one that framed is of wood, stille hangeth in the skie. 688 Corpus Christi  
day  
(Thursday after  
Trinity Sunday,  
May 17 to June  
20).  
Hallowd bread  
is borne about  
the Church under  
a canopy.
- Thou seest how they with Idols play, and teach the people to,  
None otherwise then little gyrgles with Puppets vfe to do.  
Then doth ensue the solemne feast of *Corpus Christi* day,  
Who then can shewe their wicked vfe, and fonde and foolish play?  
The hallowed bread with worship great, in filuer Pix they beare 693 Plays of Christ's  
Passion are  
acted ; of Ursula  
Faire Ursley with her maydens all, doth passe amid the wayes : 700

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and her Virgins;  
St. George and  
the Dragon,

St. Sebastian,  
St. Katherine,  
St. Barbara,  
and other  
Pageants.

St. John walks  
before the  
Hallowd Bread.

[leaf 54]

Strangers fall on  
their knees to it.

Armed men keep  
order, and look  
out for thieves.

Organs play,  
folk fall on their  
faces, the Bread  
is lifted up, &c.

Priests ride  
thro' the corn,  
and read the  
Gospel to keep  
off storms.

Saint Vrban  
(May 25).

And valiant George, with speare thou killest the dreadfull dragon here ;  
The devils house is drawne about, wherein there doth appere  
A wondrous sort of damned sprites, with foule and fearefull looke ;  
Great Christopher doth wade and passe with Christ amid the brooke :  
Sebastien full of feathred shaftes, the dint of dart doth feele ;      705  
There walketh Kathren with hir sworde in hande, and cruell wheele :  
The Challis and the singing Cake, with Barbara is led,  
And sundrie other Pageants playde in worship of this bred,      708  
That please the fooliſh people well : what ſhould I ſtande vpon,  
Their Banners, Crofes, Candelſtickes, and reliques many on,  
Their Cuppes and carued Images, that Prieftes with countnance hie,  
Or rude and common people beare about full ſolemlie ?      712

Saint Iohn before the bread doth go, and poynting towardes him,  
Doth ſhew the ſame to be the Lambe that takes away our finne :  
On whome two clad in Angels ſhape, do ſundrie flowres fling,  
A number great of ſacring Belles, with pleafant ſounde doe ring. 716  
The common wayes with bowes are strawde, and euerie ſtreete befide,  
And to the walles and windowes all, are boughes and braunches tide.  
The Monkes in euery place do roame, the Nonnes abrode are ſent,  
The Prieftes and ſchoolemen lowde do rore, ſome vſe the iſtrument.  
The ſtraunger paſſing through the ſtreete, vpon his knees doe fall : 721  
And earneſtly vpon this bread, as on his God doth call.

For why, they count it for their Lorde, and that he doth not take  
The forme of flesh, but nature now of breade that we do bake. 724  
A number great of armed men here all this while doe ſtande,  
To looke that no diſorder be, nor any filching hande :

For all the Churche goodes out are brought, which certainly would bee  
A bootie good, if euery man might haue his libertee. 728  
This bread eight dayes togither they in preſence out do bring,  
The Organs all do theu refound, and prieftes alowde do ſing :  
The people flat on faces fall, their handes helde vp on hie,  
Beleeuing that they ſee their God, and oueraigne maiestie.

The like at Maffe they doe, while as the bread is lifted well,  
And Challys ſhewed aloft, when as the Sexten rings the bell.  
O bleffed God, why ſuffreſt thou ſuch wickedneſſe to raigne,  
And bringſt them not into the ſteppes of fathers olde againe, 732  
Whereof they do ſo often boaſt ? yet ſo vnlke them be,  
That doctrine, faith, nor life with theirs, doth any whit agree.

In Villages the hufbandmen about their corne doe ride,  
With many Crofes, Banners, and fir John their Prieft befide : 740  
Who in a bag about his necke doth beare the bleffed breade,  
And oftentyme he downe alightes, and Gofpell lowde doth reade.  
This ſurely keeps the corne from winde, and raine, and from the blaſt :  
Such faſt the Pope hath taught, and yet the Papiftes holde it faſt :  
Not taken from the Gofpell, nor the worthie doctors olde, 745  
But from the minde of man, and from blinde reaſon miſtreſſe bolde.

Straight after this comes *Vrban* in, the Vintners God deuine,  
Whose day if that it pleafant be, and Sunne abrode do ſhine, 748

Good lucke to them they count it then, and *Bacchus* holiness,  
His Image and his Church they decke, and curiously do dressē,  
About his necke both cups and bowles they hang in order rounde,  
And fast vpon his head a crowne of vinie leaues is wounde. 752

Then him to Tauerne doe they bring, or to some tipling house,  
With luffie traine, and vnto him they quaffe and drinke carrouife :  
Who for bicause he pledges none, as one that is not drie,

In his behalfe they pledge themselues, and that so handfomly, 756  
Till myfes before their eyes appears, and legges do waxe full weake,  
Their face doth flame, their head doth nod, & feare a word they speake.

But if the day be clowdie nowe, or giuen vnto raine,  
On him they lift not to beftow fuch honour, nor fuch paine, 760  
Poore knaue into fome ryuer than, they caſt him cruelleie,  
And all toſouſe him in the ſtreame, or durtie let him lie.  
And if this madneſſe be not fuch, as may be laught at well,

What thing ſhould mooue vs for to laugh, I ſurely can not tell. 764

The next is *Vitus* fodde in Oyle, before whose ymage faire,  
Both men and women bringing hennes for offring do repaire :  
The caufe whereof I doe not know, I thinke for ſome difeaſe,  
Which he is thought to diuine away from such as him do pleafe. 768

Then doth the ioyfull feaſt of Iohn the Baptift take his turne,  
When bonfiers great with loftie flame, in euery towne doe burne :  
And yong men round about with maides, doe daunce in euery ſtreete,  
With garlands wrought of Motherwort, or elſe with Veruain ſweete,  
And many other flowres faire, with Violets in their handes, 773  
Whereas they all do fondly thinkē, that whoſoeuer ſtandē,  
And thorow the flowres beholds the flame, his eyes ſhall feele no paine.  
When thus till night they daunced haue, they through the fire amaine  
With ſtriuing mindes doe runne, and all their hearbes they caſt therin,  
And then with wordes devout and prayers, they ſolemny begin, 778

Desiring God that all their illes may there conſumē bee,  
Whereby they thinkē through all that yearē, from Agues to be free.  
Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and caſt afide,  
Which couered round about with ſtrawe, and tow, they cloſely hide :  
And caryed to ſome mountaines top, being all with fire light, 783  
They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appeares the night :  
Reſemblēing much the Sunne, that from the heauens downe ſhould fal,  
A ſtraunge and monſtrous fight it ſeemes, and fearefull to them all :  
But they ſuppoſe their miſchieves all are likewiſe throwne to hell,  
And that from harmes and daungers now, in ſafetie here they dwell.

Wherſoeuer *Huldryche* hath his place, the people there brings in,  
Both Carpes, and Pykes, and Mullets fat, his fauour here to win. 790  
Amid the Church there fitteth one, and to the altar nie,  
That ſelleth fish, and ſo good cheepe, that euery man may buie : .  
Nor any thing he loſeth here, beftowing thus his paine,  
For when it hath beeene offred once, tis brought him all againe, 794  
That twife or thrife he ſelles the fame : vngodlineſſe ſuch gaine  
Doth ſtill bring in, and plentiously the kitchin doth maintaine.

He's the Vintners' God, and  
has cups and bowls hung  
round his neck.  
They drink  
[leaf 54, back]  
to him till they're  
drunk.

But if it's a bad  
day, they ſhy  
him into the  
river.

*Vitus* (June 15).  
Hens are offred  
to him. Why?

*John Baptist*  
(June 24).  
Bonfires burn ;  
youths and girls  
dance all day  
with flowers in  
their hands.

At night they  
run thro the  
fires.

Others run a  
wheel ſtuffed with  
blazing straw and  
tow, down a  
mountain.

[leaf 55]  
*Saint Huldryche*  
(Ulric, July 4).  
Fish are offred  
to him.  
A man sits near  
the altar, and  
ſells the ſame fish  
over and over  
again to the  
offerers.

Whence comes this same religion newe? what kind of God is this  
 Same *Huldryche* here, that so desires, and so delightes in fishe? 798  
 Which neuer any heathen God, in offring did receaue,  
 Nor any thing vnto the Iewes the Lorde hereof did leauue.  
 Much folly and iniquitie, in euery place they shewe,  
 But we the chiefeſt will declare, and write but of a fewe. 802

*Assumption of the Virgin Marie*  
 (Aug. 15).  
*Folk bring bundles of Herbs to Church, to be blessed by the priest. These serve as charms.*

The blessed virgin Maries feaſt, hath here his place and time,  
 Wherein departing from the earth, ſhe did the heauens clime:  
 Great bundels then of hearbes to Church, the people fast doe beare,  
 The which againſt all hurtfull things, the Priet doth hallow theare.  
 Thus kindle they and nouriſh ſtill, the peoples wickedneſſe, 807  
 And vainely make them to beleeue, whatfoeuer they exprefſe:  
 For fundrie witchcrafts, by theſe hearbs ar wrought, & diuers charmes,  
 And caſt into the fire, are thought to driue away all harmes, 810  
 And euery painefull griefe from man, or beaſt, for to expell,  
 Farre otherwife than nature, or the worde of God doth tell.

*Martyn.*  
 (Nov. 11).  
*Roast geese are eaten, and wine drunk.*

To belly cheare yet once againe doth Martin more encline,  
 Whom all the people worſhippeth, with roſted Geefe and wine: 814  
 Both all the day long and the night, now ech man open makes  
 His veffels all, and of the Muſt oft times the laſt he takes,  
 Which holy Martyn afterwarde, alloweth to be wine,  
 Therefore they him vnto the ſkies extoll, with prayſe deuine: 818  
 And drinking deepe in tankardes large, and bowles of compaffe wide,  
 Yea by theſe fees the Schoolemaifters haue proſtie great beſide:  
 For with his ſcholers euery one, about do ſinging go,  
 Not prayſing Martyn much, but at the Goode reioyceing tho, 822  
 Whereof they oftentymes haue part, and money therewithall,  
 For which they celebraue this feaſt, with ſong and muſicke all.

[leaf 55, back]  
*Nicholas*  
 (Nov. 13).  
*Motheres hide gifts in their children's ſhoes, &c., and ſay St. Nicholas brought em.*

Saint Nicholas money vſde to giue to Maydens ſecretlie,  
 Who, that he ſtill may vſe his woonted liberalitie 826  
 The motheres all their children on the eeuue doe caufe to fast,  
 And when they euery one at night in ſenſeſleſſe ſleepe are caſt:  
 Both Apples, Nuttes, and peares they bring, and other things beſide,  
 As caps, and ſhoes, and petticoates, which ſecretly they hide, 830  
 And in the morning found, they ſay, that this faint Nicholas brought:  
 Thus tender mindes to worship Saints and wicked things are taught.

*Catheryn*  
 (Nov. 25).

What ſhould I tell what Sophifters, on Cathrins day deuife?  
 Or elſe the ſuperstitious toyes that Maifters exercife. 834

*Andrew*  
 (Nov. 30).  
*All Lovers court him.*

To Andrew all the louers, and the luftie wooers come,  
 Beleeuing through his ayde and certaine ceremonys done,  
 (While as to him they preſentes bring, and coniure all the night)  
 To haue good lucke, and to obtaine their chiefe and ſweete delight.

*Church holyday.*  
 The anniversary of each church's dedication.

The dedicaſion of the Church is yerely had in minde, 839  
 With worſhip paſſing Catholicke, and in a wondrouſ kinde:  
 From out the ſteeples hie is hangde, a Croffe and banner fayre,  
 The pauement of the temple ſtrowde, with hearbes of pleiaſant ayre,  
 The Pulpets and the aultars all that in the Church are ſeenē, 843  
 And euery pewe and piller great, are deckt with boughes of greene:

The church is deckt with boughes.

- The tabernacles opned are, and Images are dreft,  
But chiefly he that patron is, doth shine aboue the rest :  
A borde there standes wheron their Bulles and pardons thick they lay, 848  
That giuen are to euery one that keepes this holy day : A board stands full of Pardons
- The Idol of the Patron eke, without the doore doth stande,  
And beggetteth fast of every man, with pardons in his hande : for every one  
Who for bicause he lackes his tongue, and hath not yet the skill  
In common peoples languages, when they speake well or ill : 852  
He hath his owne interpresor, that alwayes standeth by,  
And vnto euery man that commeth in or out doth cry : who'll buy em.  
Desiring them the Patrone there, with giftes to haue in minde,  
And Popishe pardons for to buie, release of finnes to finde. 856
- The Priest doth other Priestes procure, and willeth euery knaue,  
His harlot for to bring, and all the swarne of Baſtards that they haue : Harlots and their Bastards come; and all the neighbours arm'd; trim [leaf 56]  
On euery fide the neighbours come, and ſuch as dwell not nere,  
Come of their owne good willes, and ſome required to be there. 860  
And euery man his weapon hath, their ſwordes, and launces long,  
Their axes, curriars, pyſtolets, with pykes and darts among.  
The yong men in their beſt array, and trimmeliſt maydes appeare,  
Both Ieaſters, Roges, and minſtreſts with their iſtrumentes are heare.  
The Pedler doth his packe vntruſe, the Hoſt his pots doth fill, 865  
And on the table bread and drinke doth fet for all that will :  
Nor eyther of them their heape deceyues, for of the others all,  
To them th'aduauntage of this feaſt, and gaine, doth chiefly fall. 868  
The feruice done, they eyther to the tauerne fast doe flie,  
Or to their neighbours house, whereaſ they feede vnreafonable : After service, grand feasting and ſuppers go on.  
For fixe or ſeven courses, they vnto the table bring,  
And for their ſuppers may compare with any heathen king. 872  
The table taken vp, they riſe, and all the youth apace,  
The Minſtreſt with them called go to ſome conuenient place : Then the young folk dance,  
Where when with Bagpipe hoarce, he hath begon his Muſicke fine,  
And vnto ſuch as are prepaſte to daunce hath giuen ſigne, 876  
Comes thither freight both boyes and gyrls, and men that aged bee,  
And maryed folkes of middle age, there also comes to ſee,  
Old wrinckled haggis, and youthfull dames, that minde to daunce aloft,  
Then fundrie paſtimes do begin, and filthie daunces oft : 880  
When Drunkardes they do lead the daunce with fray and bloody fight,  
That handes, and eares, and head, and face, are torne in wofull plignt :  
The ſtreames of bloud runne downe the armes, and oftentimes is ſeenē  
The carkaffe of ſome ruffian flaine, is left vpon the greene. 884  
Here many for their louers sweete, ſome daintie thing doe buie,  
And many to the tauerne go, and drinke for compagnie,  
Whereas they foolish ſongs do fing, and noyſes great do make : Lovers buy their sweethearts fairings.  
Some in the meane while play at Cardes, and ſome the Dice do thake.  
Their cuſtome alio is, the Priest into the houſe to pull : 889  
Whom when they haue, they thiſke their game accomplished at full :  
He farre in noyſe exceeds them all, and eke in drinking drie  
The cuppes, a prince he is, and holdes their headeſ that ſpeewing lie, Cards and Dice are playd. The Priest is head reveller, and looks after the ſpewing Drunkards.

And that with such attendaunce good, that often therewithall      893  
 His stomacke turnes, for which his neighbours like and loue him all :  
 Whom if the lyquor that he tastes doe hap to handle so,

*When the Priest can't walk,*  
*[leaf 56, back]*  
*he's carri'd home on horse-*  
*back.*

As on his feeble legges vnto his houfe he can not go :  
 But reele and stagger here and there, as oftentymes is seene,  
 They friendly set him on a horfe, and home they cary him cleene:  
 To shewe their thankfull hearts againe, this Catholike aray,      899  
 Is always vsde vpon this feast, and venerable day.

*All soulne day*  
*Nov. 2.*

For soules departed from this life, they also carefull bee,  
 The shauen sort in numbers great, thou shalt affembled see,      902  
 Where as their seruice with such spedee, they mumble out of hande,  
 That none, though well they marke, a worde thereof can vnderstande,  
 But soberly they sing, while as the people offring bee,  
 For to releauue their Parents soules that lie in miserie.      906

*Folk give fees to free their parents' souls;*

For they beleue the shauen sort, with dolefull harmonie,  
 Do draw the damned soules from hell, and bring them to the skie:  
 Where they but onely here regarde, their belly and their gaine,  
 And never troubled are with care of any soule in paine.      910  
 Their seruice thus in order sing, and payde for Massie and all,  
 They to the Tauerne freightwayes go, or to the Parsons hall,  
 Where all the day they drinke and play, and pots about do walke,  
 Whereas these Cathlicke fathers haue such lewde and beastly talke,  
 As doutlesse would abhorred be, in any stinking stewes,      915  
 And such as any ruffian would, ashamed be to vise.  
 These are their chiefe solemnities, and orders all the yeare,  
 Which with the popish fayth in all agreeing doth appeare :      918  
 And doth declare thou seest the mindes of these same holy men,  
 What vertues great they haue, and what religion lyes in them.

*Churches.*

The like their temples teach, dreft vp in more than Pagan guise,  
 That shines with wicked furniture, before the peoples eies,      922  
 As Idols, aultars, pictures lewde, with armes of men prophane,  
 And Banners, Crofes, burning Lampes, & lightes that alwaies flame  
 Before the Virgins Image fayre, and bread in secret put,  
 That round about with yron grates, and Chauncell clofe is shut :      926  
 That surely not vnworthily the Turkes beleue and say,  
 The Papistes are Idolaters, and haue no perfite way  
 In seruing God, who yet account themselues assuredly,  
 The very Spouse and Church of Christ, that cannot runne awry.      930

*Funerals.*

Seest thou how in their life they doe beleue, and when they die,  
 How doubtfull they ? that shauelings seeke their owne commoditie,  
 Regarding not what happe vnto the simple people falles :  
 For if that any woulde neglect, the woonted funeralles,      934  
 Their finging and their roaring vaine, and onely here commit  
 Himselue to God, his heyre should be constrainde to furnish it,  
 And punisht sore if any thing herein shall wanting bee,  
 Of all the toyes that doth belong, to such solemnitee.      938  
 Thinkst thou they carefull are that soules, the heauens doe attaine,  
 And Purgatorie scape, or rather for their filthie gaine ?

*[leaf 57]*  
*The rites are held only for Shavelings' gain.*

- Some where for children is the like, whom yet they doe confesse,  
For to be iuft, and innocent, and dye in bleifedneſſe: 942 Even for innocent children parents are forced to pay.  
Their parentes for their funeralles, conſtrayned are to pay,  
Leaſt of the Popiſh tyranny, ſhould any part decay.  
No fayth nor perfit godlineſſe doth any where appeare,  
But fraude, and craftie coulourings, and ſuch deceiptfull geare. 946 *Prayers.*
- Beholde againe their prayers and the bookeſ they occupie,  
Wherewith to God, and to the ſaintes, they pray continually:  
And to the Angells vſe the like: which ſuperficiouſ kinde,  
They doe not reade with any ſprite, or zealousneſſe of minde: 950 Are not prayd with zeal, only babbleſ  
No caufe prouoketh them to praye, this onely them affinde,  
To babble much, for otherwife woulde want no wordes nor minde,  
Ne ſhoule they neede ſo many prayers, appoynted them to ſay,  
Nor thus to tire their weerie tongue, with mumbling all the day. 955 and mumbleſ  
Likewiſe before the heapeſ of bones, prepared for the fame 955  
They ftande, and to the ſpiriſts and ſouleſ in graue, they prayerſ frame:  
And for their good eſtate they pray, that meaſure none they know,  
Of fooliſhneſſe, nor wicked deedeſ doe euer ceaſſe to flow: 958  
To Churche they come with beadеſ of bone, or of ſome other thing,  
Whose middles pierceſ through are tide, and ioyned with a ſtrinḡ:  
Thus faſtened, fiſtie Rosarieſ, they ſtill account the fame,  
And thrie ſo many Psalterieſ they accuſtomde are to name. 962 Papiſtſ have Rosarieſ of bone-beadеſ on a string,
- With theſe vnto our Ladie, and to God, and to his ſainteſ,  
They number all their babbleſ wordes, and all their tedious plainteſ.  
So that they number onely ſeeke, not caring for the minde:  
That woman holiest is by much, and of deuoutef kinde, 966 The holieſt woman iſ ſhe who haſ beads to her foot. [leaf 57, back]  
Whose beadеſ vnto hir foote doe reach, and eake whose maydenſ ſo Drefte vp with hir in like attire, vnto the Churche doe go.  
Befides for Charmeſ and Sorſerieſ, in all thiſgſ they excell,  
Both Dardan and the Witches foule, that by Maetis dwell. 970 Charmeſ.
- The reaſon iſ, that yet to truſt in God they haue no ſkill,  
Nor will commit themſelueſ vnto th'almightie fathers will.  
If any woman brought abed, amonſt them hapſ to lie,  
Then every place enchaunter lyke, they cleſne and purifie: 974 When a woman's brought to bed, they purify the place from ſpiriſts.  
For feare of ſprigheſ leaſt harme ſhe take, or caried cleane away,  
Be ſtolne from thence, as though ſhe than in greateſt daunger lay,  
When as hir trauaileſ ouerpafte, and ended well hir paine,  
With reſt and ſleepe ſhe ſeekeſ to get, hir strength decayde againe.  
The like in trauaileſ harde they vſe, and mariages awell, 979  
And eke in all thiſgſ that they buy, and euery thiſgſ they ſell.  
About theſe Catholikeſ necks and handſ, are alway hanging charmеſ, Charms hang about every Papiſt's neck.  
That ferue againſt all miſerieſ, and all vnhappie harmeſ: 982
- Amongſt the which, the threatnynge writ of Michael maketh one,  
And also the beginning of the Goipell of Saint John:  
But theſe alone they doe not truſt, but with thiſ fame they haue,  
Theyr barbrouſ wordes, & croſſeſ drawne with bloud, or painted braue. Crosses drawn with bloud, &c.,  
Theyr ſwordes enchaunt, and horſeſ ſtrong, and fleſh of men they make  
So harde and tough, that they ne care, what bloweſ or cutteſ they take

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keep men from  
hurt by laws.

They shut up  
spirits in crystal  
as charms.

*Holydayes.*  
Folk dress fine,  
and walk in the  
streets or the  
fields.

Others drink as  
long as they can  
stand.  
[leaf 58]

Few go to  
church.

After dinner they  
play at ball, and  
wrestle,

or fence.

Others play  
cards, or back-  
bite.

All drink.

No Sunday is  
without a  
drunken fray.

Some court girls,  
dance, and go  
further.

*Stewes.*  
The Papist  
Priests keep

And vsing Necromancie thus, them felues they safely keepe, 989  
From bowes, or guns; & from the woolues their cattell, lambes & sheepe:  
No iourney also they doe take, but charmes they with them beare;  
Besides in glistering glasse fayre, or else in christall cleare  
They sprightes enclose, and as to Prophets true, so to the same  
They go, if any thing be stolne, or any taken lame, 994  
And when thyr Kine doe give no milke, or hurt, or bitten fore,  
Or any other harme that to these wretches happens more.

Now last behold how they do keepe, their fabboth daies throughtout,  
First in the morning finely drest, they iet the streetes about: 998  
With garments fondly iagde and cut, and prowde and lofty pace,  
And rappyres long about them girt, their great and chiefeſt grace.  
Some others walke into the fieldes, or else at euery gate,  
They talke and laugh, and thus begin the day to celebrate. 1002

An other ſort togither come, and drinking hande to hande,  
They quaffe fo long, till none of them be able for to ftande:  
Yea oftentimes they in their feates, with drinke are strangled quight,  
And yelding vp their dronken ghostes, doe bid their mates godnight.  
But few of them doe care for Mafe, though every one doe faye,  
And thinke it holieſt is, nor to the Church they go to praye: 1008  
But eyther breakefaſtes long they make, at home when they arife,  
Or drinke vntill the euening starre, begin to ſhine in ſkies.  
Or else before the Church doore prate, or in the marketſted.

Now when their dinner once is done, and that they well haue fed,  
To play they go, to casting of the ſtone, to runne, or ſhootte, 1013  
To tolle the light and windie ball, aloft with hande or foote:  
Some others trie their ſkill in gonnes, ſome wreſtle all the day,

And ſome to ſchooles of fence do go, to gaze vpon the play:  
An other ſort there is that doe not loue abroade to roame,  
But for to paſſe their time at cardes, or tables ſtill at hoame: 1018  
Some vſe to fit before their doores, and backbite euery man,  
Or newes deuife, or ſome debate, and ſtrife whereas they can.  
The God of wine doth neuer want, in all their ſportes and play,

Who when he once hath toucht the braine, & drawne the minde away,  
Of euery worde arifeth blowes, their manhoode to affay, 1023  
So that no funday ſhalt thou fee, without ſome dronken fray.  
And thus of custome endeth ſtill, this ſolemne festiuall,

With dronkenneſſe, a plague vnto the braine and members all.  
To Enſong are they called ſtraight, by towling of the bell, 1027  
But from their place they lift nor ſtirre, being occupied ſo well:  
They forwarde with their game doe go, and Church and ſeruice all,  
Commit vnto the ſchoolemaifters, or Vicar generall.  
Some others to their Ladies ſues, being amorous all the while,  
Or frame deceytes or ſubtilties, yong maydens to beguile, 1032  
The wanton youth to daunſing goes, and wickedly doe draw,  
The maydes in ring, and wantonneſſe hath neyther bondes nor law.

And leaſt the youth their pleasure full of whoredome ſhould not take,  
In euery Citiſe common ſtewes, they maintaine and they make:

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 345

- And Bawdes they suffer openly, and cherish them withall,  
Of whome no flender price doe here receyue nor profit small : 1038      Brothels and  
These Catholickes and holy men, and Church of Christ on hie,  
The same that all the worlde reforme, and heritiks destroy.  
To these doe come all those whom here their filthie lust prouokes,  
Both countrie men, and forriners, and poore and welthie folkes. 1042      To these  
Whatsoeuer they be that haue not yet, the yoake of mariage tride,  
No kinde of shame doth drive them hence, nor any care beside.  
For lawfull here they doe it see, and not to be dispisde,  
But with the Popish fort to be, an exercise deuilde. 1046      To these  
Sometime it also hapys, that maried men doe here resort,  
But not without their punishment, if once the youthfull fort  
Perceyue that they doe thither come, for this they dearely pay,  
And oftentimes are vsed ill, and beare the blowes away : 1050      If any maried  
But at this same the rulers laugh, and nothing doe it waye,  
For Papistes, whordome doe alow, and count it but a playe.  
For of the polshorne Priestes they learne, and them they follow still,  
That lawes are not of any force to remedie this ill : 1054  
The lawe *Scatinian* is extinct, and *Julian* laught at now,  
The Papistes, euery kinde of vice, and wickednesse alow :  
And not aloneyn in themselues, they doe the same permit,  
But also vnto all that lift, with Golde to purchase it. 1058      Papists allow  
But here I faine woulde vnderstante, what straunge Apostle hee,  
That gaue vnto the Christian fort, this wanton libertee?  
That where they freely might enioye, and haue them openlye,  
And they themselues to take the hies of beastly lecherye ? 1062      What Apostle  
And notwithstanding this to be true Catholickes in fine,  
The perfitt fernants here of God, and Church of Christ deuine?  
Of their religion, life, and deedes, learne thou their fayth at full,  
That they with emptie shadow thee not into errour pull. 1066  
This was the guise of *Corynth* great, and *Cyprus* eke of olde,  
While darcknesse raind, and Sathan foule, his sceptre there did holde : Their excuse is,  
But with a worthie cloake they couer now this whoredome vyle,  
Leaft that the youth should happe both maydes and matrons to defile.  
Who would not muse to see the witte of these same catholickes,  
Their sharpe inuentions, and deuise, in all their proper trickes ? 1072  
This thing coulde *Moyses* not perceyue, that all things else did see,  
Who wilde that whoremongers shoulde none among the people bee : Deut. 23.  
And banishte all the harlottes quight, as God did him aduise,  
Nor *Paule* it faw being lifted vp, aboue the starrie skyes : 1076 1. Cor. 5. 6.  
Who did forbid that any man, his members framde of right,  
To be the dwelling place of Christ, and of the holy spright : 7. 10.  
Should vnto Harlots giue, and make the same thereby to be,  
The body of a hore, this staine and blot commaunded he } 1080 Heb. 13. [lf. 59]  
To be excluded farre from saintes, and such as christned be.  
But they haue nothing for to doe, with *Moyses* nor with *Paule*, Gal. 5.  
Nor any honest things they will obey, nor lawes at all.  
Themselues they pardon and forgiue, dispensing wondrouslye, Eph. 5.  
} 1. Thes. 4. I. Thes. 4.  
Papists don't care for Moses or Paul:  
they pardon themselves.

As men that onely here possest the keyes of heauen hye.

1084

I many things doe ouer pafle, nor haue they euer where,  
Their customes like, for euery realme hath his deuised geref  
Yea both in Cities great, and in the villages thereby,  
There are that doe iuch doltifh dreames, defende maliciofusly,   1088  
That quight contrary are to Chrift, and to religion right,  
Which neyther canſt thou easilly knowe, nor well in verſe refiſht.

But if we ſay  
these Papists are  
not members of  
Christ,

Now when these Popiſh lothſome limmes, by no meanes we can ſee  
In life nor in their trauaile here, the limmes of Chrift to bee,   1092  
Nor can in anye wife imbrace, the fonde religion vaine,  
And shamefull orders to the worlde, of God contrarie plaine,  
Nor doctrine of ſo wicked fayth, to Christian people giue,  
But rather as the Apoftles teach, doe ſimply ſeeke to liue,   1096  
Reiecting toyſ and mans deuice, as which we ſurely know,  
To be detefted of that Prince, that lightnings downe doth throw:  
We here are called Heritykes, and worthie thought to bee,  
Of halter, fworde, conuuing fire, and ech extremitie.   1100

we're call'd  
Heretics, and  
punifh or  
banift,

We puniſh are, our houses fealde, or from our countrie farre  
We banift be, or elſe oppref at home with ciuill warre:  
Whereas the dreadfull Soulſiour doth confume, and cleane deuours,  
The goodes that here hath gotten bene, by toyle and paine of ours.  
These things theſe Catholikes attempt, when in ſo many yeareſ,  
By ſcriptures ſure they cannot plant, thiſ foolish fayth of theiſ:

and lose our  
goods.

Nor ours with ſcriptures ouerthrow, that now they ſeeke to make  
The Prince of hell and Chrift to ioyne in one, and partes to take.  
For (all aſhamde) they plaine perceyue, that long they cannot ſtande,  
With thiſ religion and thiſ life, if once doe come in hande,   1110  
The worde of God, the heauenly light, and that abrode doe ſhine,  
The twelue Apoftles doctrine, and that bleffed court deuine.

Tho' they ſee  
they can't ſtand  
againſt God's  
word and light,

Nor good it feemeth yet to them (iuch is their wiſdomē hie,)  
To graunt that they haue erd in any thing or gone awrie.   1114

[leaf 59, back]  
they won't con-  
fess they've  
erred,

For ihame it is that learned men, and iuch as famous bee,  
For Mitars and for Croſiar ſtaues, amouſt the Christiantee  
Chrift nor the Apoftles fayth to know, that perfit is and iuft,

but hate us Re-  
formers, and  
pour out our  
blood.

But to be ledde with dreames of men, whome none may ſafely truſt.  
From hence proceedeth all their griefe, and all their cruell hate,  
That with effuſion of our bloud, they ſtabliſh their estate :   1120

And will not here be pacified by any other meanes,  
Except we do alow and like, their lewde and monſtrous dreames :

And altogether runne in one, like flockes for company,  
To false and wicked worshippings, and vile idolatry :   1124

And knowledge them for Lordes of fayth, and rulers of vs all,  
Although they teache no doctrine of the King celeſtiall.

It's often been  
agreed that  
Papist and  
Protestant  
ſhould keep his  
own faith, but

Oft hath it bene agreed that eyther part ſhouleſt freely uſe  
Their owne religion, ſeruing God as beſt they liſt to chufe :   1128  
And neyther part the other for to trouble or moleſt,  
With warres or bookeſ, that Germany might liue in peace or reſt.

Appendix. *Popular and Popish Customs, A.D. 1553.* 347

- But Papistes can no peace abide, continually they write,  
And both with wordes, and wretched deedes, most cruelly doe bite :  
Not onely vs, which might (perhaps) be well enough endurde,  
But also Gods most holy worde, and gospell here asfurde.      1134
- If tumults on our partes arise, or any great ado,  
Or if our men doe armour take, being forced therewith,  
And by the law of armes doe burne, and spoyle their enimie,  
And take the pillage of their foes, immedately they crie :      1138
- The wicked Gospell worketh this, beholde in what a plight  
These fellowes liue, the Deuill brought this Gospell first to light :  
It Turkish is, and not the same, that Luke wrought long ago :  
And spightfully they flaunder it, with many raylings mo :      1142
- As if that any Preacher here, did euer this alow,  
Or any did by worde of Christ, such crueltie auow.  
They know full well themselues that none of ours did euer teache,  
To vse such violence, nor this vnto the people preache :      1146
- Yet with their vile infectiue tonges, and mouthes enuenemde tho,  
With poyson that in hellish lakes, and *Stygian* streames doth flo,  
The Gospell of the Lorde they dee, most spightfully defame,  
And herewithall the Ministers and Preachers of the same.      1150
- But who can Princes gouerne here, or any meanes deuise,  
To keepe them in, from vsing force against their enimies ?  
Why doe they not as well diwade their Catholikes, and blame  
Them for their force and crueltie, that doe the very same ?      1154
- And boldely euery where destroy, and euery man molest,  
Yea euen their very friendes at home, that faine woulde liue at rest.  
What kinde of Gospell teache those men, that euen openly  
With bitter wordes and bookees perswade men to such crueltie ?  
Are these to any man vnknowne ? doth Fraunce and Italy      1159
- Not openly declare the same, and plainly testify ?  
Do not the pulpettes of the Pope, perswade this martiall might,  
And pardons euery man hys finnes that in their quarrell fight ?      1162
- But sure the wallet them beguiles, that hanges behinde their backe,  
And better others faultes they see, than what themselues doe lacke :  
Accounting here for catholickes, themselues and all their traine,  
And others all as heriticke, and wicked people plaine :      1166
- Wherefore the chiefeft members of this holy popish state,  
Their ceremonies and their dayes, they yearlely consecrate.  
Their foolish fayth and beastly life, I openly doe shewe,  
That all the worlde may vnderstante, and euery man may know,  
That neyther Christ nor perfit fayth, they any whit doe way,  
But onely seeke to looke aloft, and boldly for to say,      1172
- That they the booke of Peter are, and holy Catholickes,  
And we vnhappy castawayes, and cursed hereticcs.  
But wherein are they Catholickes ? because they follow here  
The truth ? but what they follow and beleue, doth plaine appere.  
So it is that in number they and countries vs excell,      1177
- So mayst thou both the *Turkes* and *Mores*, call Catholickes as well.

the Papists  
won't be true to  
this compact.

If we take arms  
to protect our-  
selves, the  
Papists say it's  
the Gospel's  
fault, declare the  
Gospel's Turkish,

and they hell-  
ishly defame its  
Preachers.  
[leaf 60]

The Papists

persuade men to  
persecute us.  
The Pope  
pardons those  
who fight us.

They don't care  
for Christ, but  
only to claim  
that they are  
holy, and we  
cursed heretics.

If they are  
Catholicks, so  
are Turks and  
Moors.

Let all true men  
see how right  
we've been in  
giving up this  
monstrous  
Popish faith !

Herewith I judge that euery man, that hath an vpright heart,  
Doth vnderstante how iust our cause hath beene for to depart  
From this their monstrous fayth, and from their lewde ydolatree,  
And for to shonne these popish members all of ech degree : 1182  
As men that neyther Christ doe know, nor euer seeke to finde,  
Nor suffer such as woulde, but keepe them stll in darckneſſe blinde.

FINIS.

p. 328, 335.

*Superstitions about Storms.* Compare part of *The thirde Booke,*  
leaf 41, bk, 42 :—

*Belles*

are rung against  
storms and  
thunder.

*Ratio. divino.*

A Bell

[leaf 42]  
nam'd Mary,  
that said it put  
thunder and  
spirits to flight.

Candles are also  
lighted, and  
Holy Palms  
us'd, against  
storms.

Other folk sit  
out in the open  
air.

Others hide in  
caves.

Where then is  
their trust in  
Christ ?

Are these  
'Catholics,' that  
defend them-  
selves by Bells  
and such hum-  
bug ?

The Heathens  
did the same.

If that the thunder chaunce to rore, and stormie tempeſt ſhake,  
A woorder is it for to fee the wretches howe they quake,  
Howe that no fayth at all they haue, nor truſt in any thing.  
The Clarke doth all the Belles forthwith at once in Steeple ring, 4  
With wondrouſ ſound, and deeper farre, than he was woont before,  
Till in the loftie heauens darke, the thunder bray no more.

For in theſe Crifted belles they thinke, doth lie fuch powre & might,  
As able is the tempeſt great, and ſtorme, to vanquifh quight. 8

I fawfe my ſelfe at Numburg once, a towne in Toring coaſt,  
A Bell that with this title bolde, hir ſelfe did proudly boaſt,  
“By name I *Mary* called am ; with ſound I put to flight 11  
The thunder crackes, and hurtfull ſtormes, and euery wicked ſpright.”  
Such things when as theſe Belles can do, no wonder certainlie  
It is, if that the Papiftes to their tolling alwayes flie,  
When haile, or any raging ſtorme, or tempeſt comes in fight, 15  
Or thunder boltes, or lightning fierce, that euery place doth ſmift :

Befides, they Candles vp do light, of vertue like in all,  
And Willow braunches hallow, that they Palmes do vſe to call.  
This done, they verily beleue, the tempeſt nor the ſtorme, 19  
Can neyther hurt themſelues, nor yet their cattell, nor their corne.  
But ſome there be, and not a few, that dare not well commit  
Their liues to this, but vnderneath the ſtarres they ſeeke to ſit ;  
For there (they ſay) the lightning can no kinde of creature ſmift,  
Nor fall vpon the feeble corſe of any fearefull wight. 24

There are, that hide themſelues in Caues, and vnder ground do lie,  
When as they heare the roring ſound, and rumbling in the ſkie.  
Where here appears the confidence, and truſt vnto the hiefte ? 28

And hope in all aduerſtie caſt wholy vpon Chrift ?  
Where doe they here commit themſelues, and all that they doſeffe,  
Vnto the will of God, as in theyr wordes they do exprefſe ?  
Are not theſe Papiftes, Catholikes, and men appoynted well,  
That are defended in the ſtormes, by founde of brasen Bell ? 32  
And ſteps of ſtayres, and braunches burnt, with flames encompaſt round,  
And Candels light, and Caues, & dennes made vnderneath the ground ?  
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To whom, in all their daunger they did flie, themſelues to faue. 36

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 Amongest, 22, *prep.* among. ‘And note that this phrase “*amonge,*” maybe referred to fewe, or one, &c. And also that “*amongest*”

† *A Looking Glasse for Englande.* Wherein these enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene, which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Common-wealth . . London, 1590, is a disappointing book, as being only an englishing of an “old tract in S. Cyr. *de 12 abusionibus seculi*” (MS. note on title), and containing nothing special on England, tho’ it was the “dailie and hourlie looking glasse” of “noble Fraunces, Earle of Bedforde,” and its englisher “long did trauaile to gette a copie of this famous worke.” sign. (ij.). The 12 Abuses are: 1. A wise man without works; 2. An olde man without deuotion and godlie feare; 3. A young man without obedience; 4. A rich man without charitie; 5. A woman without shamefastnesse; 6. A Maister or a Ruler without vertue; 7. A Christian man full of brawling and contention; 8. A poore man proude; 9. A wicked and an vnjust King; 10. A negligent Bishop; 11. A people without discipline; 12. A people without Law. The treatment of all is quite general.

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- Baggage, 58/19, filthy matter; 103, rubbish, stuff. 'Baggage, lumbor, or trumperye, solde for necessity. *Scruta.*' 1552. R. Huloet.
- Bagpipe, dancing to the, 340
- Balaam and his ass, 121
- Balaunded, 119, stufft, weighted; 171, laden, F.

- Ball, games at, 344  
 Ballads and sonnets, bawdy, 171, 185, sung at brides' bed-room doors, 309; list of, 314, 320  
 Ballads, filthy, and scurvy rymes, 171  
 Bandless hats, 51, 243. ‘Bande or lace of a cappe or hatte. *Spira.*’ 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*  
 Bandogs, 178, *s.b.* *pl.* Mastiffs; also called Tie-dogs, from being tied or bound on account of their fierceness. See Harrison, *Descript. of England*, II. 44-5  
 Bands, peasants' stately, 52, 53  
 Bankside, Southwark, a place for brothels, 281; and Bear baiting, 79\* *n.* ‘Bawdy house, or house of bawdrye wythout the walles of a towne. *Summaenium*, 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*  
 Banning, 107; Bannynge, 112, *v.* 199, *s.b.* swearing, cursing  
 Bar, pitching the; a game, 316: see *Games* below  
 Bare breasts, women's, 78, 255, 267 *t.*, 94\*  
 Barley-break, a game, 316 *‡*  
 Barns, Puritans meet in, 41\*  
 Base, a game, 316  
 Basilicock, 109/27, *s.b.* basilisk. ‘Basiliske, a beaste full of poyson, whiche some men do thyncke to be a coketeatric.’ *Catoblepas.* 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*  
 Bastards: the getting 2 or 3, a needful sign of being a man, 96. ‘Bastard begotten betwene base and gentle, or betwene conjugate and single. *Spurius.*’ 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*
- † K. Henry VI. was “So continent, as suspition of vnchast life neuer touched him: and hauing in Christmasse a shewe of yong women with their bare breasts laide out, presented before him, he immediately departed, with these wordes, ‘fie, fie, for shame; forsooth you bee to blame.’” 1605. Jn. Stow, *Annales*, p. 705. See too ‘A Just and Seasonable Reprehension of Naked Breasts and Shoulders, written by a grave and learned Papist, translated by E. Cooke, with a Preface, by Richd. Baxter,’ 12mo, 1678.
- ‡ Huloet has a good compound of Barley: ‘*Barley bunne* gentleman, whyche is by circumlocution meaned by suche ryche nigardes as lyue wyth barley breade, or otherwise hardlie. *Hordiarus, ij.*’
- § Mr. Haweis's declaration that the Sabbatarian Ring must be broken up has been echoed with remarkable boldness by the Rev. Robert Eyton, at the annual meeting of the West London District Church Union. This gentleman discussing the subject of Sunday Recreation, said:—“I allow, at the little institute under my management, bagatelle, draughts, dominoes, &c., to be played on Sunday afternoons, after my Bible-class is over. I fail to see any line to be drawn between such harmless diver-

- Bastardy, causes of in England, 96  
 Bawdy songs, 171, 185, 314, 319  
 Bear-baiting, on Sundays, 137, 177, 296-7; this ‘sweet and comfortable recreation’ for the rabble, justified, 79\*  
 Beareward, 178, *s.b.* Bear-keeper  
 Bear-Garden, accident at the, 179, 319  
 Bear in hand, 49/20, entertain with hopes; 118 *I.*, persuade  
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 Become, 35/13, adorn  
 Bee: “As quick as a bee,” 96  
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 Beggerye baggage, (roots, &c., not meat) Englishmen can't eat, 288  
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- Blase, St., the Holy-Water man : customs on his day, 328-9  
 Blaunch, 180, *vib.*, whitewash, represent bad as good  
 Bleake, *a.*, light, faint (colour), 77\*, *n.*  
 Bleeding, hair-cutting, &c., only done at certain times of the moon, 323  
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 Blockheads : why Englishmen are calld, 77\*, *n.*  
 Blockhowses, 176, forts, strongholds  
 Blockish ydols, 154; as blockish as beasts, 151  
 Bloodiest oath-maker, counted the bravest fellow, 132  
 Bloody swearers, 133/6; 134  
 Boalling, 286, swilling, drinking  
 Bocardo, 126, *sb.* debtors' prison. Properly "the old North gate at Oxford, taken down in the last century. It was formerly used as a prison for the lower sort of criminals, drunkards, bad women, and poor debtors." Halliwell  
 Bolstred heir, 67, *pp.* propt-up hair ; bolstered breasts, 256  
 Bombasted, 55, *adj.* stuff, padded with bombast, or cotton  
 Books, infidel and wanton, in Ailgna, 185  
 BOORDE, Andrew, his cut of an Englishman, 249, 77\*, &c.  
 Boothby, Lincolnshire, 58\*  
 Boothose, 61, 251  
 Boots of Spanish leather, 242; with frindg tops, 248  
 Bottell-arse bummes, 264, sticking out like a truss of hay  
 Bowable, 76/14, *adj.* easily bent  
 BOWCER, Oswald, of Donnington : the judgment on his wife Joan, 58\*
- Bowers and arbours in Church-yards for games, 147  
 Bowling, 173, 174; bolling, 372; playing at bowls  
 Branded with a hot iron, Swearers should be, 134  
 Brase, 75, *sb.* brace, couple  
 Braue, 41, *adj.* fine, showy  
 Breeches like Brewers' Hopsacks, 241, 246  
 Brewer's washing beetle, be beaten with, 307, get drunk  
 Bribery, Bp. Babington against, 92\*  
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 BRUISTAR, W., his death, 282  
 Brush on the Beard, a Fop's, 78\*, note  
 Brust, 85, *pt. s.* 188, burst. A.S. *berstan, brestan*  
 Brustyng, 112, *pr. p.* bursting  
 Buffin gown, 264, ?coarse stuff : see Nares  
 Bugges and sprites, Crosses good against, 326/154  
 Bugled cloaks, 61  
 Bugles, 61, 67, *sb. pl.* beads, ornaments of glass, &c.  
 Bumbd like a Barrell, men, 239, women, 264, 271. See note on *Codpieces* below  
 Bunches, 243 *n.*, bumps, swellings  
 BURBAGE, James, his Theatre in Shoreditch, 143, 299, 300  
 Busks, women's, in stays, 262, 259, 272  
 Bussing, 147, *vib.* kissing

sions and looking at *Illustrateds* or *Punches*, which is the extreme limit allowed, I am told, in neighbouring institutes." And he concluded with a startling story of St. Charles of Borromeo, at which some people will, no doubt, be greatly shocked :—"St. Charles of Borromeo was playing chess with his brethren one Sunday afternoon, and the question arose, if the Day of Judgment came now, what should each one do? One said, 'I should begin to pray,' another 'I should go to church,' and so on, till at last it came to the saint's turn, and his answer really gives us the conclusion of the whole matter: 'I should go on,' he said, 'with my game of chess; for the glory of God I commenced it, and to the glory of God I hope to finish it.'"*—Echo.* Feb. 10, 1879, p. 4, col. I.

- Butter-flies (and wrists), 126, *sb. pl.*  
apparently wrists, executions
- Buttocks : lye there (in prison)  
till his heels rot from his but-  
tocks, 127
- Buttons, great and small, 239
- Buxome, 75/27, *adj.* yielding (met).  
A.S. *būhsom* from *bigan*, to bow
- Buzzing dronets and idle lubbers,  
Players are, 145
- Cabbage shoestrings, 240
- Cable hatband, 242
- Caduke, 103/27, *adj.* crazy, frail.  
Lat. *caducus*, from *cadere*, to fall
- Cake, a big one made on Twelfth-  
Day (Jan. 6), 326
- CAMDEN's account of John Stubbess'  
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- Canions, 56/15, 231, 246, rolls at  
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- Caps, women's, 69/3 ; 238 ; 282 n.
- Carding, 174, playing at cards
- Cards, dice, tables, bowls, 131, not  
to be playd by any Christian,  
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- Care or Carle Sunday, customs on,  
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- Carefull, carfull, 120, *adj.* anxious,  
full of care
- CARTWRIGHT, Thomas, the Puritan, praised by G. Harvey, 43\* ;  
married John Stubbe's sister, 54\*
- Carzies, 32/11, *sb. pl.* kersies. Har-  
rison, *Descript. of Engl.*, ed.  
Furnivall, I. 172, tells us that  
an Englishman "was knowne  
abroad by his owne cloth," and  
at home wore "his fine *carsie*  
hosen and a mean slop"
- Casting-bottle, 271, for sprinkling  
perfumes : see Nares
- Cato's opinion on Usury, 125
- Caveate, 113, *sb.* caution
- Cawles, 69/18 ; 258, *sb. pl.* silk nets  
for the hair. "A kelle, *reticu-  
lum.*" *Cath. Anglicum*, "Kelle,  
*reticulum, retiaculum.*" *Prompt.  
Parv.*, on which see Mr. Way's  
note
- Cemeteries or Churchyards, 147,  
margin
- Chafe, 72, *sb.* rage, heat
- Chamber-pots, gold, 235
- Chamlet, 32, 56, *sb.* camelot
- Character, 76, *sb.* mark, sign
- Charges, 21, *sb. pl.* expense. Cf.  
*All's Well*, &c., II. iii. 131
- Charity cold in England, 59, 104,  
105, 249, 288
- Charms, absurd Papist ones, 343 ;  
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- CHAUCER, on the poor, 44\* ;  
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Gentility, 237 ; Dress, 238
- Cheape, 16, 45/6, prices, cost. A.S.  
*Cēap*
- Cheapside ; Stubbess lodgd near,  
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- CHESTER, Col., notes on Stubbess's  
marriage and his wife's mother,  
51\*-53\*
- Childbirth, superstitious customs  
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- Childermas (December 28), customs  
on, 325
- Children tightly swathd and hurt,  
263 ; neglect their duties to  
Parents, 82\* : see *Parents*
- Chitterlynges, 69, *sb. pl.* some kind  
of ornamental fringe, so called  
from its resembling the small  
entrails, which is the literal  
meaning of the word
- Chopines, 265, high court shoes
- Christmas, great wickedness practised  
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- Church, Lords of Misrule at, 147  
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- Church-ales, 137, *sb. pl.* Feasts in  
commemoration of the dedication  
of a church ; 340
- Church-ales or Whitsun-ales, 150,  
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- Churches, bad state of the, 151
- Church-stock, 150, the money for  
the repair of the church, &c., in  
the Churchwardens' hands
- CHURCHYARD the poet, praised by  
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- Churchyards, games and dancing in, 147, 305  
 Cingling, *sb.* 77\*, note, pulling in at the waist  
 Cipher, 26, *v. describe*  
 Circumgyring, 67, *pr. p.* encircling  
 Cuilest, 38, *adj.* most civilised  
 CLARKE, Stubbes's friend; T. Nashe's tale about, 37\*  
 Clipping (and culing at plays), 144, *sb.* embracing  
 Cloak's, fashions in, 60, 61, 242  
 Clocks, 57, *sb. pl.* ornamental work worn on various parts of dress, especially on each side of a stocking  
 Clogged, 61, 101, *pp.* heavily embroidered or coverd  
 Clothes, the value of good ones (cp. Cloten in *Cymbeline*), 39/7, 237, 75\*  
 Cloots, 97, *sb. pl.* clothes; 219, rags  
 Cloyshe, Coyles, Coytynge; games, 316 (see Brand's *Pop. Antiq.*)  
 Coach, lady's; 271, 283  
 Coast, 87, *sb.* country  
 Coats and jerkins, 58, 248  
 Cockering, 76, *sb.* indulgence. Tussur speaks of "cockering mams and shifting dadds"  
 Cock-fighting in England, on Sundays, 137, 180, 79\*  
 Codpiece, 55, 237, 243, an artificial protuberance on the breeches, well explainid by its name.† See Cotgrave, *s. v. esguillette*  
 Cogge, 'cogge, lye, and falsifye,' 145, *vb.* cheat, load a die.  
 "Casser. To cogge a dye." Cotgrave  
 Collars, standing, 240, 241, 243  
 COLLIER, Mr. J. P., 55\*, 60\*, account of Stubbes's *Motive to Good Works*, 67\*, opinions of his about Stubbes disputed, 61\*, 70\*  
 Combinata, 44, *pp.* combined. See Ingernerate
- Comedies: their ground bawdy, their agents whores, 143  
 Comfortative, 78/11, comforting  
 Commodity, 58, *sb.* advantage  
 Commons, enclosure of by the rich, 116, 45\*  
 Commorante, 22; 46/23, dwelling, residing. Lat., *commorantem*  
 Completion, 103, *sb.* constitution, temperament  
 Complices, ix; 84/28, *sb. pl.* accomplices, associates  
 Computist, v/15, *sb.* reckoner, calculator  
 Concions, 163, *sb. pl.* addresses, sermons  
 Concoct, 103, *vb.* digest  
 Conculcate, 183, trodden under foot  
 Concupiscuous, baudie, and beastiall love: dancing induces, 156  
 Conducible, 62/18, conducive  
 Confortatiue, 78, *adj.* comforting, strengthening  
 Confuteed, 57, *pp.* reprovd  
 Congratulate . . . with, 153  
 Contentation, 72/14; 87/13, contentment, delight, satisfaction  
 Contrarely, 41; Contrarylye, 44, *adv.* : *e contrario*, in the contrary way  
 Contrarie, 199, *vb.* thwart, oppose  
 Conuented, 101, *pp.* summoned; 126, brought to court  
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 Corroborate, 107/25, strengthen  
 Corroboratiue, 78/11, *adj.* strengthening  
 Corrosive, *sb.* 156/156\*

† They were also worn by women: see Harrison, I. 170. "What should I saie of their doublets with pendant codpeeses on the brest full of iags & cuts, and sleevees of sundrie colours? their galligascons [to beare out their bums & make their attire to sit plumb round (as they terme it) about them? their fardings, and diuersel] coloured nether stocks [of silke, ierdseie,] and such like, whereby their bodies are rather deformed then commended?" [ ] means, inserted in 1587, into ed. 1577.

- CORYAT, Tom, referred to, 44\*, 234  
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 Costly, xii, *adv.* in a costly manner  
 Cotes, 45, *sb. pl.* coats; ‘swyne coates,’ 151, pigsties  
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 Couched, 65, *pp.* mixed, laid  
 Counterpease, 70, 22, counterpoise, weight equal to  
 Courtes and leets held on Sundays, 137, 183  
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 Covetous men buying up poor men’s land, 119, 290, 291  
 Covetousness in England, 114, 119, 92\*  
 Cowlstaffe, 148, *sb.*, a staff used for carrying a tub or basket that has two ears. “Ride the cowl-staff,” to ride the stang, ride a rail†  
 Cowtails, sleeves hanging like, 74  
 Craking, *sb.*, boasting, 42\*  
 Crasie, 51, *adj.* crazy, fragile  
 Creatures, God’s, not to be abusd, by bear-baiting, 178; hunting, 182  
 Creditors, cruel to debtors, 127, 293, 46\*  
 Crewell, 57, *sb.* fine worsted wool  
 Cross and Pile, a game, 316  
 Crosses of blood as charms, 343  
 Cuckoldry in England, 45\* (see Dyce’s *Skelton*, l. 418)  
 Culling, 144, *sb.* embraces  
 Cupple, 100, *sb.* pair, couple
- Curious, 71, *adj.* dainty, nice  
 Curiousness, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeamishness  
 Curry-knave, Cuthbert, ? Thomas Nashe, on Stubbis, 37\*, 39\*  
 Curtain Theatre, The, 143, 279, 299, 301, 308  
 Cutte, 49, *pp.* cut, slasht  
 Cypher foorth, 138/16, sketch, outline  
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 Cyuet, 77, *sb.* civet  
 Cyuilian, 23/2, a man of culture
- Dag, 66\*, a pistol  
 Daggers, 62, 250, 252  
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 Damnable, 132, to be condemnd, wrong‡  
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 Danish sleeve and codpiece, 243; rousa, 286  
 DANTER, the printer, 42\*  
 Dasht, 88, *pp.* spoilt  
 Dastard, Cowarde, Asse, Pesant, Clowne, Patche, 132

† *Woman.* “In some places with vs, if a woman beat her husbande, the man that dwelleth next vnto her, shal ride on a *cowlstaufe*: & there is al y\* punishment she is like to haue.” 1580, T. Lupton. *Sivqila*, p. 50.

‡ “If I see my brother sinne, I may betwene hym and me rebuke him, and *damne* his deede.” —*Tyndale* (1573), f. 144.

“O ȝee wites men of galathie who deceyuued ȝou for to not bileyue to the/ treuhe before whos yȝen ieu crist is *dampnyde* (or exilde)!” —*Epistle to the Galatians*, cap. iii, 6, *Pickering’s Rp. of Wycliffe’s Test.* (1858).

“Agayne in some partes of the lande theis seruyng men (for so be thies *damned* persons called) do no common worke, but as every priuate man nedeth labours, so he cometh into the markette-place, and there hiereth some of them for meate and drynke, and a certeyne limityd wayges by the daye, sumwhaat cheper then he shoulde hire a free man.” —*Sir T. More’s Utopia*, trans. by Raphe Robinson, 1551, sig. D. vi, verso.—R. Roberts.

- Daughters let as hackneys for hire, 278  
 Daunger, 153, *sb.* power of any person. This is the original meaning of the word from Lat. *domigerium*. So "out of debt, out of danger," i. e. independent of all, out of everyone's power. See Wedgwood, *s. v.*  
 David's dancing, 164  
 Day of the Lord. of Judgment, near, 187  
 Dealers, cheating, 46\*  
 Dearlynge, 88, *sb. pl.* paramours, favourites. 'Darlynge, a wanton terme vsed in veneriall speach, as be these: honycombe, pyggisnye, swetehert, trueloue. *Adonis . . . delitie . . . suarium sauium.*' 1552. Hulcet  
 Dearth and scarcity in 1583, 118. 'Dearth or scarsitye. *Caritas.*' 1552. Hulcet  
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 Debtors, cruel treatment of, 127, 293  
 DECKER, T., on men's absurd Dress, 77\*; on letting men die in the fields, 91\*; on Creditors' cruelty, see note to *Dice* below.  
 Decline, 55, *v.* bend, bow  
 Decore, *vb.* 35, footnote 6, orna- ment; 'decored,' 64/3, ornamented, improv'd  
 Decorum, still regarded as a Latin word, 30/20  
 Dehorter, 142, *pt. s.* dissuaded  
 Delicates, 87, delicacies, *sb. pl.* dainties  
 DELONEY, Thomas, defended by G. Harvey, 42\*  
 Deneger, 115, *sb.* denyer  
 Denigrate, 78/20, *v.* blacken, darken  
 Depainted, ix/6, depicted; Cp. Thynne's *Emblemes*, E. E. T. S., 10 (7) 24  
 Deuerginat, 145, *vb.* seduce  
 Devil, the maier of new fashions, 77/11 : his band in the temple of God, 147  
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 'Dice of his bones, I will make,' 119, 127, 290, 293, 46\*, + 89\*  
 Dice, Wine, and Women, make men beggars, 89\*  
 Dicing and gambling, bad, 174, 317, 89\*-91\*  
 Diogenes, opinion of, on dress, 46  
 Disallowe, 153, *i pr. s.* disapprove  
 Discrasies, 103/21, *sb. pl.* ailments, disorders, discomforts. 'Discraysed. *Egrotus.*' 1552. Hulcet  
 Disgesture, 103/15 ; 106/15, *sb.* digestion  
 Dishcloute, 51, *sb.* rag, dishcloth  
 Dishonesteth, 99/9, dishonours,

+ "You haue another cruelty in keeping men in prison so long, til sicknes and *Against* death deal mildly with them, and (in despite of al tyranny) baile them *cruell* out of all executions. When you see a poore wretch, that, to keep life *Creditors.* in a loathed body, hath not a house left to couer his head from the tempestes, nor a bed (but the common bedde which our Mother the earth allowes him) for his care to sleepe vpon, when you haue (by keeping or locking him vp) rob'd him of all meanes to get; what seeke you to haue him loose but his life? The miserable prisoner is ready to famish, yet that cannot moue you; the more miserable wife is readye to runne mad with dispaire, yet that cannot melt you: the moste of all miserable, his Children, lye crying at your dores, yet nothing can awaken in you compassion: if his debts be heauie, the greater and more glorious is your pitty to worke his freedome; if they be light, the sharper is the *Vengeance* that will be heaped vpon your heades for your hardenes of heart. Wee are moste like to God that made vs, when wee shew loue one to another, and doe moste like the *Dieuil* that would destroy us, when wee are one anothers tormenters. If any haue so much flint growing about his bosome, that he will needes *make Dice of mens bones*, I would there were a lawe to compell him to make drinking bowles of their Sculs too: and that euerie miserable debtor that so dyes, might be buried at his Creditors doore, that when hee strides ouer him he might thinke he still rises vp (like the Ghost in *Ieronimo*) crying *Reuenge.*" 1606. T. Decker. *Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London* (Arber, 1879), p. 45.

- ruins the character of. ‘Dishonesten or make dishoneste.  
*Collutilo, as. Contaminio, as..*  
 Dishonest or defyle a woman.  
*depudico.*’ 1552. Huloet  
 Disparcle, 78/17, *v.* spread, scatter abroad  
 District, 46/9, strict  
 Due, 52, *v.* steep  
 Document, 100/13, lesson, cp. *Hamlet*, IV. v.  
 Doen, 66, *pp.* done  
 Dogs kept as pets, 202, 268  
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 Droye, 78/2, *sb.* droil, drudge, slavey, common girl. ‘Drudge or drugge, or vile seruaunt in a house whych doth all the vyle seruice. *Mediastimus, a, um.*’ 1552. Huloet  
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 Duetie, 112, *sb.* duty  
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- Enterludes, viii, *sb. pl.*, interludes  
 Entierly, 117, *adv* earnestly, heartily.  
*See* Intirielie
- Equivalent, 144, of equal weight  
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- Evibrate, *vb.* 108, footnote 7, shake  
 Exaggerate, 58/18, 116, *vb.* heap up, gather. ‘Heapely, in a mungleyn, wythout order. *Aceruatim, Aggestim.*’ 1552. Huloet Examples against drunkenness, 109-112
- Exorable, 75/29, *adj.* gain'd over by entreaties, ready to yield to solicitation
- Extenuate, 54/25, *v.* lengthen out  
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- Faggots: husbands’ natures guesst by, 324
- Fairs and markets on Sundays, 299: see p. 149  
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- False breasts, &c., 257; hair, 257-8
- Familiars, 87, *sb.* intimate friends
- Fangles, new, 80/20; 82/25, fanciful inventions
- Fans, and flaps of feathers, 261
- Faraginie, 103, *margin*, Lenten diet  
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- Farmers’ silken geere, 244
- Farthingales and dress, 261, 272
- Fashions, 243, 256, *sb.* a disease in a horse, farcy
- Fashions in bands, 52, 243; in coats and jerkins, 58, 248, 250; in cloaks, spurs, &c., 51, 60, 241; in feathers, 51, 79, 240, 241, 270; in hats, 50, 240, 241; in hose, 56, 246; in netherstocks (stockings), 57; in rapiers, swords, and daggers, 62, 252; in ruffs, 51, 52, 240, 242; in shirts, 53, 245; in shoes, 58, 248; of women, 71, 259; change every day, 76
- Fashions of dress frequently changed in Ailgna, 31, 76
- Fauchone, 110/19; 162, *sb.* a sword or falchion
- Feade, 62, *vb.* please, feed
- Feeare, 98, *v.* frighten
- Feathers and hats, 50, 241, 243
- Feight dog, feight bear! the deuill part all! 178 (at Bearbaiting)
- Felles, 36/21; *sb. pl.* skins
- Fellowship of Animals’ Friends, 50\*, note<sup>1</sup> i, 331. ‘Felowshyppe, brethren or companye, whych be all of one brotherhode, corporation, fraterternitie, guilde, or misterye. *sodales.*’ 1552. Huloet.
- Felowes, 48, *sb. pl.* companions; A.S. *fēlagi*
- Femenine, 161, 170, *vb.* effeminate, or, as just below, womannisheth
- Filides, 256, *foot* (?)
- Fine living hurtful, 105
- Fish: all is fish that comes to the net, 117/23; offerd to St. Huldryche or Ulric, ,39
- Fixnet, 35/5; *sb.* shower-off, upstart; ‘Thraso’ in later editions

† Huloet says under ‘Alume . . . whereof bene three kyndes . . . The iii. *Zuchari-num* made wyth alume relented, rosewater, and the white of Egges, lyke a Suger lofe, the whiche, harlottes and strumpettes do communely vse to paynte their faces and visages wyth, to deceave menne; but God graunte they deceave not them selues.’

‡ Next the entry of Udal’s *Rauf Ruyster Duster* (Ralf Roister Doister) in the Stationers’ Register for 22 July 1566-7, is “Receyvd of thomas hackett for his lycense for the prynytng of a playe intituled *farre fetched and Deare bought ys good for lad[es].*” Arber’s *Transcript*, i. 331.

- Flaunes, 148, *sb. pl.* custards, pancakes  
 Flaunt, 34, *vb.* to make a show  
 Fleas and gnats gnaw Stubbes in bed, 221; Mr. Grove's chaffing recipe for killing, †  
 Fleer, 145, *vb.* grin, make faces  
 Flip flap, 51, *phr.* flapping  
 Flipping and flapping, 58, 17; flopping, floundering  
 FLOIDE (the poet Lodowick Lloyd) praised by G. Harvey, 42\*  
 Flower in a fop's ear, 78\* note, 94\*  
 Flowering, ix, *adj.* mocking. "Bro-carder, to quip, cut, gird, reach ouer the thummes; ieast at; flout, moche, scoffe, deride, or gibe at." Cotgrave. Cp. *As You Like It*, I. ii. 42  
 Fluter, 172  
 Foist, 71, footnote 8; 1. barge or pinnace, 2. sharper, pickpocket' (see Nares); here, a fart, L. crepitus. *Foist*, to smell musty. Halliwell's Gloss.  
 Fond, 81, *adj.* foolish  
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 Foot saunte without cards, 304; toying with girls' feet?  
 Fop: one describd, 241; another with a Rose in his ear, 77\* note, 94\*: see *Dress, Fashions*  
 Forceth, 52/27, 'is material,' B. F.;
- 97, *impers. pr.* matters, is of importance. The expression, "it is no fors" = it is of no importance, is common in Early English. 'Force or care little or nothinge. . Susque .. ferre .. Vacat.' 1552. Huloet.  
 Foreign fashions in dress, 31, 60, 234, 239, 240, 250, 251  
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 Fornication, prevalence of in England, 101, 282  
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 FRAUNCE, Abraham, the poet, praised by G. Harvey, 42\*  
 French fashions in dress, 60, 251, 77\* note  
 Frizes, 32, *sb. pl.* friezes  
 Frontiers, 67, *sb.* foreheads  
 Funeral rites held only for shavelings' gain, 342  
 Furdest, 56, *adj.* furthest, most removed  
 Fyled, 23, *pp.* filed down, polished, refined. Harrison, *Descript. of Britain*, 1587, p. 26, has—"great shew of learning and boast of filed utterance;" and Ben Jonson, "Shakspere's well-turned and true-filed lines"

† *Fleas*.—Matthew Grove (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 344) gives the following humourous recipe for flea-bane in his "most famous and Tragical Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia. Whereunto are adjoynd sundrie pleasant devises, Epigrams, Songes and Sonnettes, 1587:" (Written 4 years before. A copy at Bridgewater House. Hazlitt's *Handbook*).

"A perfect tricke to kill little blacke flees in ones chamber."

"Take halfe a quart of barley graine,  
 A quart of strongest beere,  
 And boyle withall in earthen pot  
 A pint of water cleere,  
 Till all these three consumed be  
 To ounces twelve or lesse,  
 And then the place to which you will  
 These fleas in heaps to presse,

Anoynt with that; this water hath,  
 In it this verture raw,  
 That all the fleas will thither come.  
 Then take a slender strawe,  
 And tickle them on the small ribs,  
 And when you see one gape,  
 Thrust then the straw into his mouth,  
 And death he ne shall scape."

The last Yankee one I've heard of, is a shilling packet, 'not to be opend till wanted for use.' When opend, it shows 2 little squares of wood, with the direction, 'Place the flea on one block, and press the other closely to it. Instant death will ensue.'

- Gallant's dress, cost of, 245  
 Gallows, Three Steps and a half to the : Ruffs so called, 53  
 Gally-hose, or gally - gascoynes, 56<sup>1</sup>; 246, *sb.* wide, loose hose; bombasted, like women's bustles: see the Index note on *Codpiece*.  
 Gambling and dicing, 174-6; the outcome of, 175, 317; 89\*-91\*  
 Games and sports, 316†  
 Garagantua breeches, 247  
 Garded, 60, *pp.* trimd, edgd. See *Henry VIII*, Prologue 16, and *Merchant of Venice*, II. ii. 143  
 Gardens, places of bawdry, 88, 279  
 Gardes, 74, *sb. pl.* trimmings, edgings‡  
 Garnishe, 33, *v. adorn*: ‘Garnish. *Adorns*,’ 1552. Huloet  
 Garters, French, 243; of Granada silk, 244, 265; given by harlots to amorous fools, 280; poniards hung in, 280  
 GASCOIGNE the poet, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*  
 Gascoynes, 242, breeches: “*Guer-guesses*: f. Wide Slops, or Gallo-gaskins, great Gascon, or Spanish hose. 1611.” Cotgrave  
 Gawld backes, vi/10, 231, *pp.* galled  
 Gear, 97, *sb.* matter, business  
 Geese, roast, eaten on St. Martin's Day, 340  
 Generoseous, *a.* 132  
 Gentilism, 142, faith and deeds of Gentiles  
 Gentleman of the first head, 122, upstart: ‘Gentleman of the first head, or *Ironice* to be applyed to such as would be esteemed a gentleman, hauing no pouyt or qualitie of a gentleman, nor gentleman borne. *Filius terra*.’ 1552. Rich. Huloet. *Abcedarium*  
 Gentlemen sheepmongers and graziers, 290
- Germans not given to change their customs or dress, 31  
 Geugawes, 62, *sb. pl.* baubels, trinkets  
 Giese, 111, *pr. noun*, Gehazi  
 Gingered breasts & spiced stomachs, 106, last line  
 Gingerlynes, 78/26, *sb.* affected nicey, dainty manners  
 Girls and men at theatres, 304  
 Girls dress like men at Shrovetide, 329/304; are harnesst in ploughs on Ashwensday, 332/392; seduced at thirteen, 232  
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 Glistering, 79, *pr. p.* shining, glittering  
 Globe Theatre (Shakspeare a sharer), Southwark, 252, 303  
 Glory of, 155/2, glory in  
 Gloves, scented, worn by women, 79  
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 GOLDING, Arthur, on Sabbath breaking, 80\*, 81\*, note  
 Goldsmiths' Row, Cheapside, 275 (see *Harrison*, Part II. Forewords)  
 Good Friday, customs on, 334-5  
 ‘Good Men’: brawlers and fighters wrongly calld, 88\*, note  
 GOOGE, Barnabe, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*; his englising of Book IV of *The Popish Kingdome* of T. Kirchmaier or Nao-georgus, 323

† ‘Active parson, or a man expert in all feates of actiuitie, as castyng of the barre, daunsinge, leaping, runnyng, shotyng, shyping. *Pancratiastes*. *Et pancratius: tij*, ang. he that doth exercysse suche actiuitie.’ 1522. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

‡ ‘Garde, purfle, or trayle of anye garment, or it may be sayde, any bourders or trayles fyndly wrought with small pieces fastened thereto, be it mettall or tymber. Or it may be esteemed, that sorte of garde or welte whyche, besides the garde, is edged with a small lace, flatte or round vpon the garde, *Segmentum*; and that whiche is also garded, purfled, traysed, dressed, edged or trimmed, is sayde, *Segmentatus*, *a. um.*’ 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*.

- Goose: he may go shooe the goose, 110, l. 7 from foot, go on a vain, idle errand; undertake impossibilities
- Got-money, drunken, not spent on the church, 152
- Gourmandice, 102/13, fastidious gluttony
- GRAFTON** The Chronicler, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*
- Grime, 67, *adj.* grim, fierce
- Grograins, 32, *sb. pl.* a coarse kind of silk taffety, usually stiffend with gum. Harrison, II. 6, mentions, "mockados, baies, vellures, grograines," &c., 231
- Groping and vncleane handling in dancings, 155
- Grosly, 23, *adv.* plainly, unre finedly
- Grosser, 53, *adj.* thicker
- Guage, 123, *sb.* security, pledge
- Guilte, xii, *pp.* gilt
- Guise, 31, *sb.* manner, habit. "The Norman *guise* was to walke and get up and downe the streets." Lambarde's *Peramb. of Kent*, 1826, p. 320. See also my Harrison, *Descript. of England*, I. 168
- Gull, 173, l. 3 from foot, drink
- Gulling, 107/12; 112/22, guzzling
- Gun-shooting, game at, 316
- Guy's carrid about on Saints' Days, 332. 'Images caried aboute in pageauntes wthy greate chekes and wyde mouthes. *Manduces.*' 1552. Huloet.
- Gyses, 63, *sb. pl.* customs
- Gyrdlestead, 60/24, *sb.* waist. "Gyrdell stede, *faulx du corps.*" Palsgrave
- Habits of the young men, 252
- Hainous, 80, *adj.* hideous, odious.  
See Haynous
- Hair, fashions in wearing†, 67-69;
- sham, 254-5, 258; dyed, 68, 258
- Hampshire fair, good and bad side of, 47\*; cp. 149
- Hand-baskets a cloak for sin, 88
- Hand, bear in, 49, bring forward, set forth to
- Hangers, gay, for a rapier, 242
- Harbers, 88, *sb. pl.* arbours
- Hard fare wholesomest, 103
- Harde-quilted, 55, *adj.* padded stiffly
- Harlots and brothels, 280
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- Harlots‡ use face-painting, (*q. v.*) 65; their impudence, 75, 280; their great number, 88; punishment of, 281
- HARVEY**, Gabriel, on Stubbis and other writers, 42\*; chafft by T. Nashe, 308; abuses Nashe, 42\*-43\*
- Hasardour§, Chaucer's, made 'dise sour,' dicer, by Bp. Babington, 90\*
- Hatbands, rose, 240; of goldsmith's work, 246
- Hats, diversities of, in England, 50, 240, 241; new fashion of wearing no bands to them, 51, 243; dish-crowned, 252
- Hautie, 63, *adj.* proud, haughty
- Hawking and Hunting in England, 181; harm done by, 182
- Haynous, 28, *adj.* heinous, odious. "Haineux. Hatefull, detestable, most odious."—Cotgrave
- 'He' pleonastic, 154. Cp. Shakespeare, in *Rich. II, III, Cymb.* &c. 'The king he,' &c.
- Head-dress of women, 253
- Heare, iv; Heyre, v, *sb.* hair; Heir, 67
- Heathens an example to Christians in dress, 81, 273; detest whoredom, 92

† For bushy hair, and with feathers in it. See Dekker's *Guls Hornbooks*, 1609, ch. 3, p. 17-19, ed. 1862.

‡ 'Boyes which do attende vpon commune harlottes, called "apple squires." *Aquarioli.*' 1552. R. Huloet. 'Harlote whyche medleth wthy a man for a farrhyngue. *Quadrantaria.*' 'Hoores whiche paynt theyr faces. *Zucarinata mulieres.*'—ib.

§ Besides Hasarder, *Aleator*, Huloet has 'Hasarder, which sleapeth all daye, and watcheth the nyght. *Vide in Lurker.*' 'Lurkers in the hye way, to robbe or sley men, *Grassator.* Lurkers, called hasarders. *Vide in hasarders.*' 1552, *Abcedarium*.

- Hell, the reward of pride, 39  
 Heithfuller, 103, *adv.* more healthily, with better health  
 Hens offerd to St. Vitus, 339  
 Herbs blest in church on the Virgin Mary's Assumption Day, 341  
 Hermaphroditi, 73  
 HERRICK, on May-games, 305  
 Herring carrid on a pole on Ash-Wensday, 331  
 Hethnical, 177, *adj.* heathenish  
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 Hoast, 84, *sb.* host, company  
 Hobbyhorses, 147, 231  
 HOLINSHED the Chronicler, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*; one of Stowe's insertions in his Chronicle, 65\*, *note*  
 Holsome, 65, *adj.* wholesome: 'Holesome, *in columnis* . . . *saluber*.' 1552. Huloet.  
 Holy Days, how spent by folk, 344; see *Sabbath*  
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 Howleglasse, 41\*, a rough jester  
 Howsinge, 283, dwelling, tenement  
 Hufcap, 150, 307, *sb.* strong ale  
 Huftie-tuftie,† 307, hooray, boys! let's be jolly; 308, swaggeringly  
 Huggle, 97/13; 281, *v.* hug, cuddle  
 HULDRYCHE, St. Ulric, customs on his Day, 339  
 Humaine, iii, *adj.* human. 'Humayn, as of man, *Humanitus, humanus.*' 1552. Huloet.  
 Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, not so calid till 1603, 72\*; Q. Elizabeth's procession to it, 71\*. See too engraving and woodcut by the title-page  
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 Illegitimates, 97, illegitimate children  
 Imbrodered, 77, *pp.* embroidered  
 Immured, 23, *pp.* surrounded as with a wall  
 Impale, 124, *vb.* inclose, fence in  
 Impe, 111, *sb.* child  
 Implicate A, entangled F., 139  
 Impolished, vi/24, *pp.* unpolish't, unrefined  
 Importable, 58/19, insupportable  
 Impotionate, 31, footnote 6-6; 105, footnote 2-2, made up as a potion, *adj.*  
 Impugne, 106/22, fight against, disagree with  
 Incident, 90, *adj.* proper, suitable  
 Inclosures, 117, 289  
 Incorporate, 44, *adj.* incorporated, united. See Ingenerate  
 Indented, 77, *pp.* with the edges worked  
 Indifferentlie, 35, *adv.* without distinction: 'Indifferently, *indiscriminatim, Passim.*' 1552. R. Huloet  
 Inferreth, 168, *pr. s.* brings in, induces

† "Master Wyldgoose, it is not your *huftie tuftie* can make mee afraid of your bigge lookes: for I saw the Play of Ancient Pistoll, where a Cracking Coward was well cudgeld for his knauery: your railing is so neare the Rascall, that I am almost ashamed to bestow so good a name as the Rogue on you."—N. Breton, *A Poste with a Packet of Mad Letters (Part I. 1603).* [A "coy Jame's" answer to a "Letter of scorne."] p. II, col. 2.

- Infirm, 95/31, *vb.* weaken: ‘In-fyrmēd. *Infirmus.*’ 1552. Hul-  
loet
- Ingerate, 44, *adj.* engendred.  
In English the *adjective* in -ate  
formd directly from the Latin  
*pp.* preceded the *verb* in -ate,  
which was formd from the *pp.*,  
and the final -d was added to  
the already-existing *adjective*  
from a mistaken idea that it was  
a *pp.* formd from the *verb*.  
Thus in Shakspere we find *con-*  
*secate* (*Titus And.* I. i. 14);  
*create* (*Midsumm. N. Dream*,  
V. i. 412); *articulate* (*Hen. IV.*,  
V. i. 72); *felicitate* (*Lear*, I. i.  
66), &c.
- Ingrate, 23, *adj.* ungrateful
- Ingrauen, xii, *pp.* engraved
- Ingurgitate, 104/2, *v.* drink heavily,  
swamp, fill to excess: ‘Ingur-  
gitation of meate and dryncke,  
or beastely feadyng. *Alogia.*’  
1552. Huluet
- Inkhorn terms in the 1st ed. of  
the *Anatomie* (1583) simplified  
in the 6th (1595), 62\*, 63\*
- Inough, Ynoughne, 46, *adv.* enough.  
A.S. *genoh.*
- Insaciablist, 102, *adj.* most insati-  
able
- Insolency, 57, *sb.* excess, outrage-  
ousness
- Intellective, 107, *adj.* intellectual
- Interest or usury should not be  
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- Intestine, 24/5, *adj.* inward, in-  
nate
- Intirrelie, 225, *adv.* heartily, ear-  
nestly. *See Entierly*
- Inuegled, 68, *pt. s.* inveigled, en-  
ticed
- Inuisories, 80/5, *sb. pl.* masks
- Invested, 38, *pp.* clothed
- Irish, a game, 316
- Irish costumes in Q. Elizabeth's  
time, 95\*
- Irrationable, 92, *adj.* without reason,  
not rational
- It, 44/8, its
- Jaques & Orlando, 50\*
- Jarnsey, 57/7, *adj.* Guernsey  
(yarn); cp. Gearnsey, 76/22
- Jephthah's daughter's dancing, 161
- Jew who died in a privy rather  
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- Jewellery, excessive use of by  
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- KIRCHMAIER (or Naogeorgus),  
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- Kissing, 260, 313; kissing and bus-  
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- Kissing hands in saluting friends,  
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- Knacks, 74, *sb. pl.* tricks
- Korked, 77, *adj.* corkt (shoes)
- Kyrtles, 75, *sb. pl.* gown, jackets
- Lace, use of, 74, 264
- Laced, 49, *adj.* coverd with lace
- Laced mutton, 240, whores
- Lacedomians, the, on Dicing, 176
- Lacing of women, tight-, 264, 77\*
- LAMBERT, (? a poet, or Wm. Lam-  
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- Lambs, 2, offerd on St. Agnes Day,  
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- Land turnd into apparel, 245
- Landlords, hard, denounst, 76\*,  
note: see *Poor*
- Largeous, 105/17, *adj.* free, open-  
handed, liberal
- LATIMER, Bp, on dicing, 317
- Latrones, 119/21, *sb. pl.* thieves

- Latter-Day-Pamphlets* (T. Carlyle's), commented on, 49\*
- Lattice, 69, *sb. as adj.*
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- Lawrell pall, xviii, the laurel crown
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- Lazy habits of women, 274
- Leapfrog, the game, 316
- Learning is a jewel, my maisters, 38\*
- Leather, 37/20, 38/4, 48/5, 237; skin; *En cueros*, in leather, in buff; usd by Cervantes and Quevedo: see Dict. of Spanish Academy
- Leaudie, 89, *adj.* lewd
- Legitimats, 97, children born in wedlock
- Lent, fasting and customs in, 331
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- Light-brain, *sb.* 250, idiot, goose
- Litter, Queen Elizabeth carrid in one, by 6 Knights, 71\*, and engraving by Title-page. 'Litter or lyghter to carye a noble personage, *Lectica*,' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*
- Liveries and Retainers, evils of too many, 86\*
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- Lothsom, 111, *adj.* loathsome, filthy
- 'Love me, love my dog,' 178.
- Cotgrave, under both *aimer* and *chien*, gives *Bertrand* for Stubbes's *Jean*: 'Qui aime Bertrand aime son chien': Prov. Love me, love my dog; (say we.)'
- Lovers court St. Andrew, 341
- buy girls fairings, 340; give em pippins at the theatre, 304; green gowns on Mayday, 305
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- Lubricious, 71 margin; wanton, fickle
- LUPTON, T., on grasping landlords, 76\*, note; on cruel using of the poore, 288; drunkenness, 285
- Lurdens, 138, *sb. pl.* idle vagabonds
- Lyllie-white, 53, *adj.* purely white
- MACHIAVEL'S instructions to his son, 276-9
- Madrid(Spanish leather)gloves, 251
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- Maistered, 122, calld 'Master,' 122/4
- Malmetie, 112/3, Malmsey
- Maltbugs lugging at liquor, 307
- Manchets made with holy wine, 325
- Mandilians, 58, 240, a kind of loose garment without sleeves, or if with sleeves, having them hanging at the back. S. Rowlands (*Knave of Harts*, 1613) mentions "short cloaks, old mandilians." See also Harrison, I. 168
- Manure, 36, *v. work by hand*
- March paynes, Tartes & Custards, 325
- Margarets, 70, *sb. pl.* pearls. "Mellery, perle. *Margarita*." Prompt. Parv.: see Mr. Way's note
- Markets and Fairs on Sundays, 182-3
- Marriage, the object of, 91
- Marrid men thrasht if caught at Brothels, 345

+ London:—See 'A Larume Belle for London, with a caueat or warning to England . . . by John Carre, Citizein of London . . . 1573. 8vo. bk. lr. xi leaves,' Collier's Bibl. Cat. i. 108.

- Martin chain, 250  
 — St., his day, 340
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- Master : every Tinker and Swine-herd must be calid so now, 122
- Mastives and bandogs, 178
- Material Hell, 188
- Mault-wormes, 107 9, *s. v.* pl. drunkards. *See* Nares, *s. v.* comp. I Hen. IV. II. i.
- Maundy Thursday, customs on, 333
- Maw, a game, 316
- Mawmets, 75/8, *s. v.* pl. puppets, dolls (cp. Rom. & Jul. III. v.). *See* Prompt. Parv. (Mawmet, *Ydolum, simulacrum*) and Wedgewood, *s. v.*
- Maycocks, 101/11, *s. v.* pl. meacockes, effeminate, spiritless fellows. *See* Shakspere, *Taming of the Shrew*, II. i.
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- Maypole, its bringing from the woods, 149, 306
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- Mincedness, 78/25, mincing manners
- Mingle-mangle, 34/17, mixture, variety
- Minions, 70, *s. v.* pl. affected minxes
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- Minstrels pipe up a dance to the devil, 172
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- Mizzeled, 87/19, *pp.* muddled, confused, fuddled
- Mockadoes, 231, 244
- Moe, 66, *adj.* more
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- Momentaine, 115, *adj.* short-liv'd, brief
- Mopsies, 147, *s. v.* pl. sweethearts
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- Mow, 145, *v. b.* grin scornfully, mock
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- MUNDAY, Anthony, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*
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- Nether-stocks, fashions in, 57, 76, 77, 247, 265, *s. v.* pl. stockings
- Newfanglednesse, 31, *s. v.* love of new inventions

- Newfangles, 31, 80, 235, *sb. pl.*  
new fashions. ‘Louer of newe  
fangels, and trifles. *Elucus.*’  
1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*  
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Nice, 158, *adj.* foolish  
Nicelings, 79, 14, *sb. pl.* dainty crea-  
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for strong liquor, especially ale.  
*See Nares, s. v. ‘Pain benist de*  
*la S. Cy.* Wine, good liquor.  
Nippitatte.’ 1611. Cotgrave  
Nisitie, 103, *sb.* daintiness, squeam-  
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Nusseled, 54, *pp.* nuzzled, cuddled,  
pampered  
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Obnubilate, 78/16, *v.* cloud, darken  
Obtestation, *sb.* 131, calling to  
witness. ‘Obtestation. *obiesta-*  
*tio, onis*, it is properlye wher one  
taketh God to wytnes, *Et obtes-*  
*tor, aris*, to take God to wyt-  
nes.’ 1552. Huloet  
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Orlando and Jaques, of *As you*  
*like it*, 50\*
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Ostenting, 30/7, *sb.* showing off,  
boasting, Lat. *ostentans*  
Ostrich feathers, 253, 270-1  
Othersome, 60, *adj.* some others  
Ouches, 67, *sb. pl.* ornaments,  
jewels. See Mr. Way’s note in  
*Prompt. Parv.*, s. v. Nowche  
Ouermuche, 34, *adj.* excessive
- PAGE, Wm., his right hand cut off,  
54\* note  
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Easter-Day, 336, and Corpus  
Christi Day, 337-8  
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271, 273: see *Sibbersawces*  
Palled, 88/8, *adj.* surrounded with  
palings  
Palls of St. Agnes’s lambs’ wool:  
Bishops forct to buy, 327  
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Paned, 56, *adj.* formed of stripes,  
with small panes or squares of  
silk or velvet  
Panther smells sweet to beasts  
only, 40\*  
Pantoffles, 53, 57, 58, 77, 239,  
*sb. pl.* slippers, patterns. ‘A  
shooe called a pantofle, or a  
slipper, *crepida, sandalium.*’ —  
Baret’s *Alvearie*, 1580. Baret  
also gives the form *Pantaffle*.  
‘Short-heeld pantoffles,’ 37\*16  
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- Paris Garden, Southwark, 296  
 PARRY, Dr., treason of, 1585, 65\*  
 Parsons, unfit, appointed to livings, 93\*  
 Parted, 76\* *n.* having good parts or abilities, clever  
 Particularities, 56, *sb.* details, minute items  
 Partlets, 70, *sb. pl.* ruffs or bands worn by women. “*Amiculum. A neckercher or a partlet*”  
 Withals. *Partlet*, an old kind of band, both for men and women; a loose collar, a woman’s ruff. *Dunton’s Ladies’ Dict.* 1694, in *Nares*, ed. 1859; with other quotations. ‘*Partlet, Strophium.*’ 1552. Huloet  
 Paste, 112, *pp.* past  
 Pastyme themselves, 131, amuse  
 Patrociny, vii, 27, patronage  
 Peacemeale wise, 39\* (at foot), in pieces, tatters  
 Peaking, 51, *pr. p.* running to a peak or point  
 Pearking, 50, *pr. p.* (? peaking), rising into a peak  
 Pedagogie, 37/32, *sb.* instruction, example, guidance  
 Pelts, 36/21, *sb. pl.* fleeces.  
 Peftyng, 72/9, *adj.* violent, furious  
 Pendices, 35/11, 67; *sb. pl.* hangings, vails, pendants  
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 Perpended, 124, *pp.* weighed, considered  
 Perriwincles, 69, *sb. pl.* periwigs, wigs  
 Pesteruing, 102, *pr. p.*? = pestering, crowding  
 Pestiferouse, 45, *adj.* pestilent  
 Pet dogs, 268  
 Pezants, 40, *sb. pl.* peasants  
 Phantasies, 50, *sb. pl.* fancies  
 Philip’s, K., leather, 243, Spanish leather (boots)  
 Pick, *vb.* 184, pitch, throw  
 Picktooth in a fops’s mouth, 78\* *n.*  
 Pies, 87, *sb. pl.* magpies. ‘*Pye byrde. Citta, æ, Pica, æ.*’ Huloet  
 Pigeons, white, flown on Whitsunday, 337  
 Pillage and pollage, 116  
 Pinched, 50, *adj.* with the edges notcht or cut in various patterns. The term is still in use under the form *pinked*  
 Pinions, 73, *sb. pl.* skirts  
 Pinsnets, Pinsons, 57, 77, 247, 266, *sb. pl.* small thin-soled shoes.  
 ‘*Pynson, Calceamen, inis; calceamentum, ti; Osa, æ; Tenella, æ. Pynson wearer. Osatus, a, um.*’ 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*  
 Pipers and bawdy Minstrels thought more of than Divines, 172  
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 Pirrus, 46, *pr. ncun.* Pyrrhus  
 Pithonicall Hidraes, 130  
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 Plash, 115, 168, *sb.* pool, puddle  
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 Pleated, 59, *pp.* plaited  
 Plowman’s fine dress, 244  
 Pluresie, 108, *sb.* pleurisy  
 Poals, 97, *sb. pl.* poles, trees  
 Poll, 116, *pr. pl.* plunder, rob  
 Pollage, 116, *sb.* plunder, robbery. ‘*Pollynge or pillynge. Exactio.*’ 1552. Huloet  
 Polonia heels to shoes, 240; boots, 77\*, *note*  
 Pomanders, 77, 266, *sb. pl.* A kind of perfume generally made in the form of a ball, and carried about the person. For recipes for their manufacture, see Notes, 266, and Halliwell, *s. v.* ‘*Pomander or sweete perfume. Dia-pasma.*’ Huloet

- Pope of Rome, that Italian Philis-  
tin, and archenemy of all trueth,  
161.<sup>3</sup>
- Poor, bad treatment of, 59, 105, 116,  
169; house and land got from  
them, 119; 249, 250; lie dead  
outside London walls, 288
- Port, 117, *sb.* state, behaviour
- Potestates, 33/21, *sb. pl.* those in  
authority, the powers that be, men  
in high places
- Powlyng, 117, *pr. p.* robbing, cheat-  
ing
- Pozie, 134, *sb.* inscription, verse
- Prayers, Stubbes's, 224-230; bab-  
bled by Papists, 343
- Preacherz sumwhat too sour, 69\*
- Prejudicing, 182, doing harm to†
- Preparaunce, 72/21, *sb.* preparations
- President, 118, *sb.* precedent (see  
Huloet below)
- Pretely, 87, *adv.* pretty well, toler-  
ably
- Preter time A, former ages F, 166/2
- Pretie pussie to huggle withal, 97
- Prices, rise in, 118-119; cp. Staf-  
ford and Harrison I., New Sh.  
Soc.
- Pride, 26; the cause of all evils,  
27, 234; is tripartite, 27, 28,  
234; vainglorious, 29; in Eng-  
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apparel, 44; punishment of, by  
God, 85, 86
- Priests, the head revellers at the  
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- Primacie, 94, *sb.* headship, priority
- Prisoners 'lying in lothsome dung,  
wurse then anie Dogge,' 127, 293
- Prittle-prattle, the evils of it, 93\*
- Procession or Rogation Week,  
beating the bounds in, 336-7
- Profanation of the Sabbath and its  
results, 137, 297, 298, 344
- Profluous, 105, footnote 13, boun-  
teous, extravagant
- Promulgate, 48, *pp.* promulgated,  
published. See *Ingernerate*
- Proper, 72, *adj.* fine, handsome:  
' Proper, feate, and well fash-  
yoned. *Conciinus . . Elegans . .*  
Proper man. *Graphyrus uir:*  
1552. Huloet.
- Proud apparel deformeth man, 40;  
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41; abhorred by the godly, 45;  
condemned by our Lord, 48
- Proverbs and proverbial phrases:  
A dunghill gentleman (*upstart*),  
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trauayle withall, is in-steade of a  
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151; as drunk as rats, 151/3 *n.*; as  
mad as March hares, 151; as quick  
as a Bee, 96/61; as round  
as a ball, 126; maie saie blacke is  
their eye (*impute blame to*), 96,  
130, 152; butter would not melt  
in their mouthes, 89; by hooke  
or crooke, 75; dance the wilde  
Moris in a needle's eye, 171;  
farre fetched and deare boughte,  
33; feight dog, feight beare, the  
deuill part all, 178; go together  
by the eares (*come to blows*),  
118; laugh in their sleeues, 118;  
loue me, loue my dog, 178;  
make bones of anie thing, 178;  
more is the pytie, 41; shooe the  
goose (*undertake impossibili-  
ties*), 117; stand on their pan-  
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43; three steppes and a halfe to  
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- Pseudo-christian, *sb.* 182
- Puff-wings, 260
- Puffs, ruffs, cuffs, muffs; women's,  
255
- Punishment of whoredom, 98, 99,  
282
- Puppits, 75, *sb. pl.* dolls
- Puritan embroidresses, 245; laun-  
dresses, 260

† 'Prejudice, *præiuditium, ij*, whyche is a mere [pure] wronge contrayre to the lawe. ¶ It maye be also taken for a sentence once decided and determined, whych iemayneth afterward for a generall rule and example, to determinye and discusse semblablye; Or els it maye be as the ruled cases and matters of the lawe be called bokecases, recited in the yeres [Year-Books] whiche be as precedences; and thereof commeth thys verbe *præiudico.*' 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium.*

- Puritans abusd by T. Nashe, 39\*
- Pursie, 107, *adj.* fat, bloated
- Pusels and fusles, of women's dress, 255
- Pusle (*pucelle*), 78/3; 266, *sb.* a maid, girl, drab, *I Hen. VI.* I. iv. "A Pusle, A Puzzle [prob. of *poesele*, Du.], a dirty slut." *Bailey's Dict.*, ed. 1737, vol. ii. s. v.
- Puttockes, 116, *sb. pl.* kites, avaricious persons
- Quaile, 124, *vb.* sink, fail
- Quasie, 169; Queasie, 103, *adj.* squeamish, dainty
- Quavemire, 115, 168, *sb.* quagmire, bog
- Quirks, 57, *sb. pl.* the same as clocks, *q. v.*
- Rabbied, 122, *pp.* addressed as *Rabbi*, master
- Racktrentes, 76,\* note: see Landlords
- Radishes eaten on Easter-day, 336/636
- Ragged-School anecdote, 49\*
- Rapiers, gay, 62, 252
- Rattes, as dronke as, 113/18; 151/3, notes
- Ravished in (with) her behaviour, 163
- Rayling, ix, *adj.* railing, mocking
- REARDON, J. P., reprinted two of Stubbes's tracts, 58\*
- Rebato, 255, 309; rebating-prop, (S. Gosson), 258; "Porte-fraise, m. A Rebato, or supporter for a Ruffe; wrought, or imbrodered, and cut into diuers panes." 1611. Cotgrave. See Supportasse
- Redintegration, 90, *sb.* renewal
- Reduce, 25/19, bring back
- Refelled, 40/21, refuted
- Refelletth, 160, *pr. s.* refutes
- Refrain men from, 137, restrain, rein back: 'Refrayne, *Cohibeo, contineo, reprimō.*' 1552. Huloet
- Reguilde, xii, *pp.* regilt
- Relics, Saints' ridiculed, 328
- Renowned, 167, renowned
- Repentance, not to be put off, 190
- Repentants, who are true, 189
- Reproched of, 176, reproacht by Resolute, 79, *v. solve*, answer, explain
- Retainers, evil of too many, 86\*
- REYNOLDS, John, poet, &c., praisd by G. Harvey, 43\*
- RICH, Barnaby, praisd by G. Harvey, 42\*
- Rich men eat vp poore men as beasts doo grasse, 117
- Rich men grind down the poor, 169, 291
- Rich men, in Germany, gallop thro the streets at Shrovetide, 330
- Rich, the benefit of being, 238, 291-2
- Riches, that thick clay of damnation, 116
- Rueleth, 95/33, *pr. s.* wrinkles: Ryuelde, 74/26, pleated
- Robin Hood, telling Tales of, on Sundays (cp. Latimer), 300
- Rogation Week, beating the bounds in, and feasting afterwards, 336-7
- Roisteth, 41, *pr. s.* acts riotously. *Harrison*, ed. Furnivall, I. 77. "They ruffle and *roist* it out." *Tusser, Five Hundred Points*, &c., ed. Herrtage, ch. 98, st. 3, has "roister-like."
- Rosaries to count prayers on, absurd, 343
- Rose in a dandy's ear, 77\*, 94\*
- Rose shoestrings, 240
- ROWLANDS, S., quoted, 232, 240, 243, 270, 274, 275, 280, 283, 284, 293, 314, 316
- Ruffle, 45, *pr. pl.* dress grandly. See *Roist*.
- Ruffs, men's, 52, 240-2; women's, 70-73, 243, 244; worn even by yeomen, 52; extravagance in, of women, 70, 258, 259; Queen Elizabeth's, 71\*
- Rugges, Ruggs, 33, *sb. pl.* rough cloths
- Running, play at, 316
- Rushbearings, 310, n.
- Russet, 50, *adj.* reddish-brown; russet boots, 253
- Ryall, 57, *sb.* a coin (gold) of the value of about 15s.

- Ryot, 39, *sb.* profligacy  
 Ryuled, 74, *pb.* wrinkled
- Sabaoth, xi, 136, *sb.* (really 'Hosts,' armies), a mistake for Sabbath. The same mistake occurs in Bacon, *Advance of Learning*, II. 24; and in Spenser, *Faery Queen*, VIII. 2. Dr. Johnson, in the first edit. of his Dictionary, treated the two words as identical, and Sir W. Scott commits the same mistake in *Ivanhoe*, ch. x.
- Sabaothlike, 173, Sabbath-like
- Sabbath, profanation of in Ailgna, 137; God's judgment on the profaners of it,† 179; fairs and courts held on the, 183, 296, 298, 312, 344, 78\*; works to be done on, 140
- Sabbath-breaking,† 136-140, 177; God's judgment on, 179, 180, 182; shaving held to be, 313
- Saciete, 104, *sb.* excess
- Saints' Days, customs on :—  
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 St. Andrew (Nov. 30), 340  
 St. Blase (Feb. 3), 328  
 St. Catherine, (Nov. 25), 340  
 St. John the *Apostle* (Dec. 27), 325  
 St. John the *Baptist* (June 24), 339  
 St. Stephen (Dec. 26), 325  
 St. Ulric or Huldryche (July 4), 339  
 St. Urban, 338-9  
 St. Vitus (June 15), 339
- Saints, Pageants of :—  
 St. Barbara, George and the
- Dragon, Katherine, Sebastian, 338; and Ursula and her Virgins, 337, on Corpus Christi Day
- Sarcenet, 32, *sb.* a thin, slight kind of silk
- Satan abus'd by Phillip Stubbes's young wife, before her death, 205
- Sate, 77, *pb.* sat
- Saturday Review* and swearing, 46\*, note; on Stubbes's name 'Philip,' 50\*, note
- Scabbed and scuruy companie of dauncers, 167
- Scarfs worn by women, 79; by men, 243
- Scarsly, 60, *adv.* scarcely
- Scents, 77, 266, 269; the use of, injurious, 78
- SCHARF, Mr. G. on Q. Elizabeth's Procession in 1600, 71\*
- Schoolmasters and Boys, sing on St. Martin's Day, 340
- Scoffingly, flowtingly, and jibingly, 140
- Scotch daggers, 250
- Scriveners, the Devil's tools, 128, 294
- Secret baptisms and marriages among Papists, 311-312
- Seelie, xix, *adj.* simple. A.S. *selig*
- Semblable, vi, *adj.* like, similar : 'Semblable, *Idem*. the neutre gendre of *Isdem*, and some time signifieth the same man, or the same thynge.' 1552. Huloet
- Sempronians, 70/1; 259, lewd women: 'Sempronia, that renowned whore,' 167, l. 2 from foot
- Sereous, 88, *adj.* serious, important

† Among the punishments appointed by the Justices at Bury, Suffolk, in Feb. 1578-9 (printed in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43-4) are these :—"If anie person in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie or other holiedaies, shall be found in the alehouse or taverne, or otherwise evill occupied or idle in the streetes, churcheyard, or other places, these are to be the first time punished accordinge to the statute; and, againe offendinge, to be bounde to their good behaviour. If they be boyes above the age of tenne years, that shall in this point offend, their fathers and their mothers that shoulde have better looked to them, shall be punished thus, and the boy offendinge, by his father or mother whipped, the constable seeinge the performance therof.

"If anie person shall in the time of comon prayer, or of the sermon, on the Lords daie, or other holie daie, keepe open his shoppe, or at all on the Lords daie sell anie wares, except it be such as must necessarie be had, he is to be punished accordinge to the statute."—From the *Cecil Papers* in the 27th Volume of the *Lansdowne Collection* in the British Museum.

- Sermons, an excuse for meeting lovers, 276
- SHAKSPERE: on men's dress, 44\*; his Cuckoo-song, and Wordsworth's contrasted, 45\*; he hated women's face-painting and sham hair, 257; his *Venus and Adonis* carrid in girls' bosoms, 268
- Shirts, 53, 245
- Shoes, extravagance in, 58, 248, 77
- Shoestrings, cabbage, and rose, 240
- Shooting out of doors, turnd into gulling and whoring indoors, 317
- Shoreditch bawdy-houses, 252
- Shove-groat, a game, 316
- Shrovetide, customs at, 329-30
- Shurts, 53, 245, *sb. pl.* shirts
- Sibbersawces, 67, *sb. pl.* washes and unguents for women's faces, rouges, cosmetics: also Slubber Sawce †
- Sidenes, 56, *sb.* width. 'Sideness, Length,' 1530. Palsgrave: 'Syde, or longe, downe to the ankle. *Talaris.*' 1552. Huloet
- Sielie, 225, *adj.* simple
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- Sledge-hammer, throwing the, 316
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- Slut, 51, *sb.* a sloven
- Sluttered sutes, 40\*/6
- Small, 105, *adj.* poor, weak (drink)
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- Smouching, 155, 165, *sb.* loud smacking kisses
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- Sodometrie, 31/15, shame, evil pride, &c.
- Sodomites, 145, fornicators
- Sodomitical, 153
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- Somedeal, 53/8, *adv.* somewhat, rather
- Spagnolized (*pincht-in*) body, 77\* note
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- Sour sauce, 96, 98
- Spanish fashions in dress, 60, 251
- Spare, 105, *adj.* stingy, sparing
- Sparkled, 71, *pp.* sprinkled: 'Sparkle here and there, *segredo . . spargo.*' 1552. Huloet

<sup>†</sup> *Slubber sauce:* this word occurs also in a scolding of Englishwomen in "The English Ape, the Italian imitation, the Foote-steppes of Fraunce." Wherein is explained the wilfull bloudnesse of subtill mischiefe, the striuing for Starres, the catching of Mooneshine, and the secret sounde of many hollow heartes. By W. R. *Nulla pietas prouis.*—At London, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Feter Lane neere Holborne, 1588." (4to, B. L. 19 leaves.)

"It is a woorder more than ordinary to beholde theyr periwigs of sundry colours, theyr paynting potts of perlesse perfumes, theyr boxes of *slubber sauce*, the sleaking of theyr faces, theyr strayed modesty, and theyr counterfayte coynesse. In so much that they rather seeme Curtyzans of Venyce then matrones of Englande, monsters of Egypt then modest maydens of Europe, inchaunting Syrens of Syrites then diligent searchers of vertue: these inchaunments charme away theyr modesty, and entrap fooles in folly; bewitcheth themselves wyth wanton wyles, and besoteth other with these bitter smyles."—Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 28.

- Speare, sphere (*note*), 50, *sb.* spire, steeple  
 Spicke and spanne, *adv.* quite, entirely  
 Spirits shut up in Crystal, as Charms, 344  
 Splendente, 39/11, splendid  
 Splendishe, 35, footnote 5, *vb.* garnish  
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 Stinking pump and loathsome sink of carnall affection, 156  
 Stint, xiv, *vb.* cease, stop. A.S. *astynstan*  
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† On the 'Godly simplicity of our forefathers' that Stubbes alludes to in his side-note here, See Chap. XXVIII, "Of the rudenesse and rusticities of our Ancestors in sundrie things," p. 232-239, of R. C.'s englisning of Stephen's *World of Wonders*, 1607 : "we will easily graunt these gray beards, that in their younger yeares the world was not so wicked [and wasteful] : so that they yeld to our greene heads, that it was more rude and rustical ; and that it was not so witte, because it was not so wicked."

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*Two wonderful and rare Exam-ples* (1581), 58\*  
*View of Vanitie*, 1582 (no copy known), 60\*
- Stut, 107/15, stutter: 'Stut or stammer. *Balbucinor* . . . Stuttynge. *Tertiatio uerborum:*' Stutter [one who stuts] *Balbus* . . . Stutter [one who stuts] in readyngne, whyche staggereth, and can pronounce no good Englysh, &c. *Offensator*. 1552. Huloet. He has also 'Stamber, *Titubo*; Stambler, *Titubator*; Stammer and stamber, *Idem*.'
- Successe, 41, sb. succession: 'Successe. *Processus, us; successus.*' 1552. Huloet.
- Succinctorie, 48, sb. girdle. Lat. *succingere*, to gird
- Summer halls, bowers, and arbours for the devil's agents, in the Churchyard, 147
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- Superiall, supernall, 126
- Supportasse, 52/11, sb. wire-frame to support folk's ruffs: see wood-cuts, and Rebato
- Surcease, vii, 114, vb. leave off,
- cease. Not connected with to "cease," but from "sursis," which is from *surseoir*, Lat. *supersedere*. It is a legal term meaning the arrest or stoppage of a suit, or superseding a jurisdiction. Cf. *Macbeth*, I. vii. 4, and *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. i. 97
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- Tarantara, Christ's, 24, sb. a word used to represent the blast of the trumpet
- TARLTON, Dick, the clown, and his big slops or breeches, 246, 247. (He is Spenser's comedian 'pleasant Willy,' in *Teares of the*

† "If anie person shall be convicted to be a blasphemor or comon swearer, and after one admonition openlie, shall not reforme himselfe, he shall bee sett in the stocks the space of three days and three nights, havige only duringe that tyme allowed unto him breade and water."—Punishments appointed by the Justices of the Peace at Bury, Suffolk, Febr. 1578-9, from the Cecil Papers in vol. 27 of the Lansdowne Collection, Brit. Mus., quoted in the *Monthly Mag.*, 1813, Aug. 1, vol. 36, p. 43.

- Muses, 1590, according to the nearly contemporary entry in Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's folio, Spenser)
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- Theare, iii, there
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- Thrapple, 153/10, *vb.* labour hard
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- Too too, 75, *adv.* exceedingly, over : see *Tellthro*, 37/8, 82/16, &c.
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- Tutched, vi, *pp.* touched
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- Vnconcluded, 176
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- Vnlest, 43, *conj.* unless
- Vnreasonable, 92/27 *adj.* unreasoning, incapable of reasoning, not endowd with reason
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- Vaile, 51, *sb.* veil
- Velvers, viii/18, 231, a kind of woollen velvet

† 'In this lande I did see an ape plaie at *ticke-tacke*, and after at Irishe [see Irish above] on the tables with one of that lande.'—1573. Bullein's *Dialogue*, in Wheatley's *Dict. of Reduplicated Words*: 'Ding-Dong Dictionary,' the 2nd ed. is to be call'd.

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+ 'Want onwordes. *Bellatula*: as iolye, pretye, fayremayne, minyon, swete herte, pyggesnye,' &c. 1552. R. Huloet. *Abcedarium*. See 'Dearlynge's,' p. 356, col. i.

† "It happered that a yong priest very deuoutly in a procession bare a candel before the crosse for lying with a wenche, and bare it light all the longe way. Wherin the people tooke suche spiritual pleasure and inwardre solace, that they laughed a pace. And one mery mechaunt sayd vnto the priestes that folowed him: *sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus*: Thus let your light shine afore the people. Forsooth, quod we take suche a wretched pleasure in the hearing of their sin, and in the sight of their shame." —Sir T. More's Works, p. 26, ed. 1557. —R. Roberts.

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† Cp. Huloet's explanation of the word *Honeymoan*,—because its sweetness is sure to change, like the moon does:—"Hony mone, a terme prouerbially applied to such as be newe maried, which wyll not fall out at the fyrske, but thone loueth the other at the beginnyng excedyngly: the likelyhode of they rexeadynge loue appearing to aswage, the whiche time the vulgar people col the hony mone. *Aphrodisia, feriae, hymena.*" 1552. *Abcedarium Anglico-latinum pro Tyrunculis.*

‡ "I was alone among a Coach full of women, and those of the Electors Dutchesse Chamber forsooth, which you would haue said to haue been of the blacke guard. It was a Comedy for me to heare their discourse; now declaiming against Caluenists, now brawling together, now mutually with teares bewailing their hard fortunes: and they fel into all these changes, while the wind blew from one and the same quarter. *Is anything lighter than a woman?*" 1617. Fynes Moryson. *Itinerary*, p. 13.

PHILLIP STUBBES'S ANATOMY  
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PART II.  
The Display of Corruptions.



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PART II.

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TO

MY FRIEND AND HELPER

Teena (Mary Lilian) Rochfort-Smith.



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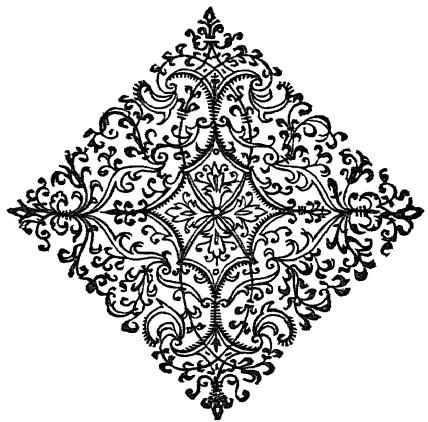
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This Second Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* is partially described, after the First Part, in Sir E. S. Brydges's *Restituta*, i. 530-5, and quotations are given from the opening, the description of Q. Elizabeth (p. 7 below), the Ruff, Starching House and Poking-Stick bits (p. 35-6), and the scene in the Barber's Shop (p. 50-1). On p. 527 Haslewood says "that a limited impression of the whole work would materially assist the spirit of modern researches." A note on p. 530 states that "Copies of this edition [Part II] are attached to the third edition [1585] of the first part."

There is a copy of Stubbes's *Motive to good Workes*, 1593 (see Forewords to *Anatomie*, Part I, p. 67\*), in Emmanuel College, Cambridge.—W. C. Hazlitt. *Bibliog. Collections and Notes*, 2nd Series, 1882. I hope we may be able to print it some day in our *Shakspeare's England* Series.

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Anthony Stapley, of Framfield, Sussex, grandfather of "Anne Stapley, 9 years olde, a<sup>o</sup> 1634," had for his 4th wife a "widow of Mr. Stubbes, but no issue." Harl. MS. 6164 (Visitation of Sussex, 1634), lf. 22, bk.



☞ The Committee of the *New Shakspere Society* give express notice  
that the Editor of any of the Society's Books is alone responsible  
for the opinions exprest in it.

## FORE TALK.

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| <p>§ 1. <i>Stubbes still earnest, and finding fault only with real Evils</i>, p. xi†</p> <p>§ 2. <i>Proofs of the Abuses he complains of in Education and Trade, from Elizabeth's and James I's Statutes, &amp;c.,— Colleges and Benefices, 1588-9, p. xiii† Clothiers, 1592-3, 1597-8, p. xiv†; Tanners and Shoemakers, 1603-4, p. xv† Brokers, 1603-4, p. xviii†</i></p> | <p><i>Registrars of Corn, and Failers to keep up Hospitality, 1596, p. xx†</i></p> <p>§ 3. <i>Poor Law and other Reforms called for by Stubbes, since wrought</i>, p. xxii†</p> <p>§ 4. <i>Sum fresh news of Stubbes p. xxiii†; none of his Family, p. xxv† A few Notes from Latimer, &amp;c. p. xxix† Corrections and Notes for Part I. p. xxxiii†</i></p> |
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§ 1. IN the Forewords to my edition of the First Part of Stubbes's *Anatomie* for the New Shakspere Society in 1877-9, I said that I meant to reprint this Second Part, and I gave a list of the subjects treated in the first Division of it, that describing the Corruptions of the Temporality. Of Stubbes's dealing with the Spirituality, I gave only a mention at the foot of p. 35. Now pages viii-ix of the Contents above sufficiently sketch it.

Readers must not, as I warnd them before, expect to find in this Part II as much amuzement and interest as they found in Part I<sup>1</sup>. The only lively bit in the book is the scene in the Barber's shop, p. 50-1 below, the humour of which I commend to those who look on Stubbes as "a mere bitter narrow-sould Puritan." But the Men and Women who are in ernest themselvs now, will find Stubbes in like ernest in this Second Part, as in his First, dealing with real abuses in the Life of his time, demanding that Justice be dealt to the Poor as

<sup>1</sup> The pages against Ruffs, those Cartwheels of the Devil, is as fierce as anything in Part I. See too the beastly Ruffians who wear long hair, p. 35-6, p. 50.

xii† § i. *Stubbes's Fault-finding, & liberal Church-views.*

fairly as to the Rich ; that endowments be kept for the Poor who deserve them, and not jobd in favour of the monied folk who abuse them ; that Tradesmen shall deal honestly with their Customers,—Drapers and Clothiers not cheating, Butchers not selling diseazd meat ;—that rich men's Pleasures and Profit shall not, by Parks and Sheep, eat up poor men's Homes and Lives ; that Landlords shall not rack their Tenants to their ruin ; that strong and able Beggars shall be made to work, or be hung, while an Almshouse shall be set in every Parish for the sick and aged Poor ; that Doctors shall tend the Poor as well as the Rich, and that a Parish-Doctor shall be provided for the Poor ; that the evils of Forestalling shall be checkt, Astrologers punisht,<sup>1</sup> and that in every act of dealing, Right shall be done through the land.

As to the Spiritualty and Church matters, the view that Stubbes was a mere narrow Puritan utterly breaks down. He comes out as a preacher of implicit obedience to the Sovereign even when he orders what is wrong (p. 17-18) ; he accepts Bishops, ‘My Lord Bishop’ too (p. 104-5), Surplices, Forkt Caps, and other externals which the Puritans held as signs of the Whore of Rome (p. 109—112) ; and his advice about all the trifles of garments about which men then, and since have, made such a needless fuss, is (p. 116) :—

“And seeing we do all agree togither, and iump in one truth  
“having al one God our father, one Lord Jesus Christ our Sauiour,  
“one holy Spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith,  
“one hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the  
“kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree togither in these ex-  
“ternall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to  
“agree about the marrow, and to striue about the bone? to contend  
“about the karnell, and to vary about the shell? to agree in the  
“truth, and to brabble for the shadow?”

This is surely as much a proof of his good sense, as are his demands that every Congregation shall have the Patronage of its own living (p. 79), and nominate its own Pastor—presenting two

<sup>1</sup> The 5 Eliz. ch. 15, A.D. 1562-3. “An Act agaynst fonde and phantastical Prophecyes” only applies to folk who put them forth “to thintent therby to make anye Rebellion, Insurrection, Dissention, losse of Lief or other Disturbance within this Realme and other the Quenes Dominions.”

or three to the Bishop that he may pick the best (pp. 90-2, 100), that the abuses of private Patronage shall be stopt (p. 80-2), Pluralism (p. 75-6) and Simony abolisht, and that every Church shall have power to alter its form of external government from time to time (p. 101).

On the whole then, I claim that this Part II of the *Anatomie* more than bears out the favourable opinion of Phillip Stubbes that I uttered in my Forewords to Part I.

§ 2. In proof that Stubbes was not inventing the Abuses of which he complaind, I've thought it right to make some extracts from the Statutes and a Proclamation of Queen Elizabeth, and the Statutes of James I, 1. on the corrupt Presentations to Scholarships and Benefices; 2. on the tricks of Clothiers; 3. the bad work of Tanners and Shoemakers; 4. the thefts and evils (which we still know so well) arising from the wrongly-named 'Brokers'—our Pawnbrokers and Marine-Store Dealers;—and 5. from the practice of Regrating. As of old, I quote mainly the words of the Statutes. Any one who finds em too long and tedious, will skip em.

(I.) A.D. 1588-9, 31 Eliz. chap. VI. "An acte against Abuses in Election of Scollers and presentacions to Benefices."

"Whereas by the intent of the Founders of Colledges, Churches Collegiat, Churches Cathedrall, Scoles, Hospitals, Halles, and other like Societies within this Realme, and by the Statutes and good Orders of the same, the Eleccions, presentacions and Nominacions of Fellowes, Schollers, Officers and other Persons to have roome or place in the same, are to be had and made of the fittest and most meete persons beinge capable of the same Eleccions, presentacions, and Nominacions, frelye without anye Rewarde, Guyste, or thinge given or taken for the same; And for true perffaunce whereof, some Electors, Presentors and Nomynators in the same, have or should take a Corporall Oathe to make their Eleccions, Presentacions and Nominacions accordinglye; Yet notwithstandinge it is sene and found by experiance that the saide Eleccions, Presentacions and Nominacions be many tymes wrought and brought to passe with Monye, Guyfes and Rewardes, whereby the fytest persons to be presented, elected or nominated, wanting Money or Friendes, are sildome or not at all preferred, contrarie to the good meaninge of the saide Founders, and the saide good Statutes and Ordynaunces of the saide Colledges, Churches, Scholes, Halles, Hospitalls and Socityes, and to the great prejudice of

Learning and the Common Wealthe and Estate of the Realme: For Remedye whereof, Be it enacted"—that all Elections effected by Bribery of any kind shall be void, and that the Queen or other Presenter shall appoint fresh persons to the void Offices. § 2 enacts that any one bribing to procure the resignation of a Fellowship or Office, shall lose the place, and that the Resigner accepting the bribe shall forfeit double its value.

§ 4 declares Simoniacal Presentations to Benefices, Dignities, &c. void; and that the Presentations shall devolve to the Crown, both Briber and Bribee paying a fine of double the amount of the Bribe.

§ 5 fines any one corruptly instituting a man to a Benefice, double the yearly value of it; declares the Institution void, and empowers the Patron to present some one else.

(II.) As to Cloth, the 35 Eliz. c. 10, A.D. 1592-3, recites the Queen's Proclamation of the year before "for the Reformacion of thinsufficiencies growen in the Clothes called Devonshire Kersies or Dozens,"—cloths "of late marvailouslie discredited by the Inventions and newe Devises of the Weavers, Tuckers, and Artificers"—and "forbiddinge all other Deceiptes in Weaving, and all dymynishinge and unreasonable drawinge, stretchinge, and other Deceiptes in Tuckers," and then enacts that the Cloths shall be properly made, of good wool, and "without rackinge, stretching, streyning, or other Devise to increase the Lengh therof."

In 1597-8 "An Act aginst the deceitfull stretching and tainterung of Northerne Cloth," 39 Eliz. c. 20, is passt, because "the said Northern Clothes and Karsies doe yeerely and daylie growe worse and worse, and are made more light and muche more stretched and strayed . . . which great Enormities your faythfull Subjectes doe chieflye impute to the great nomber of Tenters and other Engins daylie used and practized in the said Countys for the stretchinge and strayninge of the said Clothes and Karsies." So the Act forbids this stretching, and puts a penalty of £20 on any one who "shall have use or occupie any Tenter, of what sorte or kynde soever, or any manner of Wrinche, Rope, or other Engins to stretch or strayne any Clothes, Kersies, Dozens, Penystones, Rugges, Frises, Cottons, Kighley Whites, Plaine Grayes, or any other Clothes" made within the said Countys. (By the next-quoted Statute this Act is extended to all English Cloths.)

The abuse stretching over other Cloth Districts, and adulteration also prevailing, in 1601 "An Acte for the true workinge and making of Wollen Clothe" was past, saying that the former Acts "for the true makinge and workinge of Wollen Clothe" had been

"frustrated and deluded by strayninge, stretchinge, wante of weighte, Flocks, Sollace, Chalke, Flower, deceitfull things, subtil sleightes and untruethes,<sup>1</sup> soe as the same Clothes beinge put in Water are founde to shrincke rewhey, pursey, squallie, cocklinge, baudy, lighte, and notable faultie, to the great dislike of forraine Princes, and to the hynderance and losse of the buyer and wearer."

It is therefore enacted that

"no persone or persons shall put any Haire, Flocks, Thrummes or Varne made of Lambes Wooll, or other deceivable thinge or things into or upon any broade Woollen Clothe, Half Clothe, Kersey, Frize, Dozen, Pennystone, or Cotton, Taunton Clothe, Bridgewater, Dunston Cotton . . . or other Clothe . . . upon paine to forfeit every suche Cloth. . . And that no persone . . . shall . . . have use or occupye . . . any Tenter, Instrumente, Engine, or other Device . . . with any lower Barre, Pynne, Ringe, or other Engine or Device . . . wherebie . . . any rough and unwroughte Woollen Broad Clothe, Halfe Clothe, Kersey, Cotton, Dozen, Pennystone, Frize, Rugge . . . shall or may be stretched or strayned in breadthe," under a penalty of £20.

(III.) The Statute i James I. chapter 22 (A.D. 1603-4), not only confirms Stubbes's complaints about Leather-sellers, but also names another fault of theirs:—

§ x. "Much dammage hath redounded to the Common Wealth by reason that divers Tanners for their private lucre have used to convert to Sole Leather suche Hides as are altogether insufficient for that use, which Hides they doe raise in the workmanshipe by divers Mixtures, therbie making the same to seeme verie stronge and substantiall Leather, whereas the same doeth in the wearinge proove hollowe, deceitfull, and altogether unprofitable for the Common wealth,"—and enacts that all such raizd and converted Hides shall be forfeited.

<sup>1</sup> Compare in A.D. 1592-3, the 35 Eliz. ch. 8. "An Acte agaistne deceitfull making of Cordage": the makers of 'Cables, Halsers and other kinde of Cordage' made em of 'oulde, caste, and overworne' stuff, tard em, and sold em as new, whereby not only Ships of the Queen and her Subjects "but also the Lyves of diverse of her saide Subjectes have bene loste, perished and caste awaye."

xvi†    § 3. *Stubbes's complaints against Tanners.*

About the not-enuf tand Leather with which Stubbes finds fault on p. 36, the Statute says (1 Jac. 1, c. 22,<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1603-4 Record Statutes, vol. iv. Pt. 2, p. 1041):

§ xii. "... if any person or persons usinge, or which shall use, the Misterie or Facultie of Tanninge, shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter offer or put to sale any kinde of Leather which shalbe insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or which shall not then have beeene, after the tanninge thereof, well and thorowlie dried, so that the same by the Triers of Leather lawfullie appointed accordinge to this present Acte for the tyme beinge shalbe founde to be insufficientlie or not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dried, as aforesaide, that then all and everie suche person and persons so offendinge shall forfeite and loose so much of his or theire said Leather as shalbe soe founde insufficientlie and not throughlie tanned, or not throughlie dried as aforesaide . . ."

Then, as to what Stubbes says of the Tanners taking "vp their hides before they bee halfe tanned," the Statute goes on in § xiii:

"And whereas divers Tanners, for greedines of gaine, doe overmuch hasten the tanning of their Leather, and for that purpose doe use divers craftie and subtile Practises, sometimes layinge theire Leather in theire Fattes set in theire old Tanhils, where it may be tanned in the hott Woozes, takinge unkinde heate in the same Hill, and sometimes by putting of hot Woozes into their Tanne Fats where the same Hides or Leather lie, by which and other like Fraudulent Practises they make theire Leather to seeme bothe faire and well, and sufficientlie tanned within a very short space.<sup>2</sup> For Reformation whereof, be it enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That after the saide Feaste of St. Bartholomew next comminge, no person or persons shall sett their Fattes in Tanhils or other Places where the Woozes or Leather that shall be put to tanne in the same, shall or may take any unkinde heates, or shall put any Leather into any hottie or warme Woozes, or shall tanne any Hide, Calve Skinne or Sheep Skinne, with any hote or warme Woozes whatsoever, upon paine that everie person so offendinge shall forfeite for everie such Offence, Tenne Poundes; And shall also, for everie such Offence, stand upon the Pillorie three severall Market Dayes in the Market Towne next to the Place where the saide Offence shall be committed."

<sup>1</sup> Compare its clauses with those of 5 Eliz. ch. 8, from which some are, more or less, taken.

<sup>2</sup> The right time is enacted by § ix: "Nor shall suffer the Hides for utter Sole Leather to lye in the Woozes any lesse tyme then Twelve Moneths at the leaste, nor the Hides for upper Leathers in the like Woozes any lesse time than Nyne Monethes at the leaste . . ."

The Shoemakers, and their selling Horse hide for Ox-hide, &c. (p. 37, Stubbes), are dealt with in § XXIII. (p. 1043).

And forasmuch as Leather well tanned and curried, may, by the Negligence, Deceite, or evill Workmanshippe of the Cordwainer or Shoemaker, be used deceitfullie, to the hurte of the Occupier or Wearer thereof: Be it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaide, That no person or persons which, after the saide Feast of St. Bartholomew next comminge, shall occupie the Misterie or Occupation of a Cordwainer or Shoemaker, shall make or cause to be made any Bootes, Shoes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or any parte of them, of Englishe Leather, wet curried (other then Deere Skinnes, Calve Skinnes, or Goate Skinnes, made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanish Leather) but of Leather well and truelie tanned and curried, in manner and forme aforesaid, or of Leather well and truelie tanned onelie, and well and substantiaillie sewed with good Thred well twisted and made, and sufficientlie waxed with waxe well rosoned, and the stiches harde drawn with Hand Leathers, as hathe bene accustomed, without mixinge or minglinge Overleathers, that is to say, parte of the Overleathers beinge of Neates Leather, and parte of Calves Leather, nor shall put into anie parte of anie Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, any Leather made of a Sheepe Skinne, Bull Hide or Horse Hide, nor into the upper Leather of any Shooes, Startups, Slippers, or Pantofles, or into the neither [nether] parte of any Bootes (the inner parte of the Shooe onlie excepted) any parte of any Hide from which the Sole Leather is cutte, called the Wombes, Neckes, Shancke, Flancke, Powle, or Cheeke, nor shall put into the utter Sole any other Leather then the beste of the Oxe or Steere Hide, nor into the inner Sole any other Leather than the Wombes, Necke, Poll, or Cheeke, nor in the Treswels of the double soled Shooes, other then the Flancks of any the Hides aforesaide: nor shall make or put to sale in any yeere, betwene the laste of September and the twentieth of April, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles, meete for any person to weare exceedinge the age of foure yeeres, wherein shall be any drie English Leather (other than Calve Skinnes or Goate Skinnes made or dressed, or to be made or dressed like unto Spanishe Leather, or any parte thereof); nor shall shew, to the intent to put to sale, any Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers or Pantofles upon the Sunday; upon paine of forfeiture for everie paire of Shooes, Bootes, Buskins, Startups, Slippers and Pantofles made, solde, shewed or put to sale contrary to the true meaninge of this Acte, three shillings and fourepence, and the juste and full value of the same."

(IV.) Against the evil of miscald 'Brokers'—really our Pawnbrokers and Marine-Store Dealers—buying stolen goods, and thus

xviii† § 3. *Stubbes's complaints against Brokers.*

inciting folk to pilfer, which Stubbes condemns on p. 38-40, an Act was past twenty years later:—

i James I, chap. 21 (A.D. 1603-4; p. 1038). "An Acte againste Brokers." This Act recites that "of large and ancient tyme by divers hundred yeeres . . . certaine Freemen of the Citie" of London had been appointed "to be Brokers within the saide Citie and Liberties of the same, and have taken theire Corporall Oaths before the saide Mayor and Aldermen from tyme to tyme . . . to use and demeane themselves uprightlie and faithfullie betweene Merchant Englishe and Merchant Strangers and Tradesmen, in the contrivinge, makinge, and concluding, Bargaines and Contractes to be made betweene them concerning their Wares and Merchandizes to be bought and solde and contracted for within the Citie of London, and Moneys to be taken up by Exchange betweene such Merchant and Merchantes and Tradesmen, and these kinde of persons so presented, allowed, and sworne to be Brokers as aforesaide, have had and borne the name of Brokers, and bene knownen, called, and taken for Brokers, and dealinge in Brokerage or Brokerie, who never of any ancient tyme used to buy and sell Garmentes, Houshold stuffe, or to take Pawnes and Billes of Sale of Garmentes and Apparel, and all thinges that come to hand for Money, laide out and lent upon Usurie, or to keepe open Shoppes, and to make open Shewes, and open Trade, as now of late yeeres hathe [bene] and is used by a number of Citizens assuminge unto themselves the name of Brokers and Brokerage, as though the same were an honeste and a lawfull Trade, Misterie, or Occupation, teamringe and naminge themselves Brokers, whereas in truthe they are not, abusinge the true and honeste ancient name and trade of Broker or Brokerage: And forasmuch as many Citizens Freemen of the Citie, beinge Men of Manuall Occupation, and Handicrafteſmen and others inhabiting and remayninge neere the Citie and Suburbes of the same, have lefte and given over, and daylie doe leave and give over, their handie and manuell Occupations, and have and daylie doe set up a Trade of buyinge and selling, and taking to pawne of all kinde of worne Apparel, whether it be olde or little the worse for wearinge, Houshold Stuffe and Goods of what kind soever the same be of, findinge therebie that the same is a more idle and easier kinde of Trade of livinge, and that thereriseth and groweth [p. 1039] to them a more readie, more greate, more profitable and speedier Advantage and Gaine then by theire former manuall Labours and Trades did or coulde bringe them: And Forasmuch as the said kinde of counterfeitt Brokers, and Pawnetakers upon Usurie, or otherwise for readie Money, are growne of late to many Hundreds within the Citie of London, and other places next adjoyninge to the Citie and Liberties of the same, and are like to increase to farre greater Multitudes, being Frierers, and no Brokers, nor exercisinge of any honest and

lawfull Trade, and within the memorie of many yet livinge, such kinde of persons Tradesmen were verie fewe and of small number: And forasmuch as there are not any Garmentes, Appareil, Housholde Stiffe or other Goods of any kinde, whatsoeuer the same be of, either beinge stollen or robbed from any, or badlie or unlawfullie purloyned or come by, but these kinde of upstart Brokers, under colour and pretence they be Freemen of the saide Citie of London, or inhabitinge in Westminster, where they pretende to have the like overt Market, as the Citie of London, and therebie presuminge to be lawfull for them to use and set up the same idle and needlesse Trades, being the verie meanes to uphold, maintaine, and embolden all kind of lewde and bad persons to robbe and steale, and unlawfullie to get and come by true Mens Goods, knowinge and findinge that no sooner the same Goods can be stollen or unlawfullie come by, but that they shall and may presentlie utter, vent, sell and pawne the same to such kinde of new upstart Brokers for readie Money: For Remedie whereof, and for the avoidinge of the saide Mischiefes and Inconveniences, and for repressinge and abolishinge of the sayd idle and needlesse Trades, and upstart Brokers, and for the avoidinge of Theftes, Robberies and Felonies, and bad People, and for the repressinge of such kinde of Nourishers and Ayders of Theeves and bad People, and for the defence of honest and true Mens properties and Interestes in theirre Goods: Be it enacted . . . That no Sale, Exchange, Pawne or Morgage of any Jewell, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stiffe, or other Goods . . . that shall be wrongfullie or unjustlie purloyned, taken, robbed or stollen from any person or persons or Bodies Politicke, and which at any tyme hereafter shall be sold, uttered, delivered, exchanged, pawned, or done awaie within the Citie of London or Liberties thereof, or within the Citie of Westminster in the Countie of Middlesex, or within Southwarke in the Countie of Surrey, or within two miles of the saide Citie of London, to any Broker or Brokers, or Pawne takers, by any way or meanes whatsoever, directlie or indirectlie, shall worke or make any change or alteration of the propertie or interest, of and from any person or persons or Bodie Politicke from whome the same Jewels, Plate, Apparell, Houshold Stiffe or Goods were or shalbe wrongfullie purloined, taken, robbed or stollen: Any Lawe, Usage of Custome to the contrarie notwithstanding."

§ 2 enacts that Brokers and Pawntakers who refuse to produce Goods to the owner from whom they've been stolen, shall forfeit Double the Value of them.

§ 3, that the Act shall not affect those folk 'using and exercising the ancient Trade of Brokers betweene Merchant and Merchant.'

(V.) The evil of, and continued struggle of folk and lawmakers

xx† § 2. *Queen Elizabeth against Regraters.*

against Regratering or Ingrating,—that is, buying-up all the get-at-able Corn or other produce, and then selling it out at a large profit—are so well known that confirmation of Stubbes's complaints is hardly needed; but as the Dearth of 1594-6 has appear'd before in our *Stafford*, p. xiv, and elsewhere with regard to the suppozed date of *Midsummer Night's Dream* and otherwise, I give here short extracts from Elizabeth's Proclamation of 1596 relating to Regraters, and the duty of continuing Hospitality:—

“ BY THE QUEENE.

*The Queenes Maiesties Proclamation, 1. For obseruation of former Orders against Ingrossers, & Regraters of Corne, 2. And to see the Markets furnished with Corne. 3. And also against the carrying of Corne out of the Realme. 4. And a prohibition to men of hospitalitie from remoueing from their habitation in the time of dearth. 5. And finally a strait commandement to all Officers hauing charge of Forts to reside thereon personally, and no inhabitant to depart from the Sea coast.*

THE Queenes Maiestie hauing had of late time consideration of great dearth growen in sundry parts of her Realme,<sup>1</sup> iudging that the Rich owners of Corne would keepe their store from common Markets, thereby to increase the prices thereof, and so the multitude of her poore people hauing no graine growing of their owne, to sustaine great lacke, caused speciall orders to be made and published to all parts of her Realme, in what sort the Iustices of peace in every quarter should stay all Ingrossers, Forestallers, and Regraters of Corne, and to direct all Owners and Farmers hauing Corne to furnish the Markets ratably and weekly with such quantities as vsually they had done before time, or reasonably might and ought to doe: By which orders, many other things were prescribed to be obserued for the staying of the dearth, and relife of the people: Yet neuerthesesse, her Maiestie is informed, that in some parts of her Realme the dearth doth not diminish, but rather increase for lacke of due execution of the sayd orders, and specially by the couetousnes of the Owners, forbearing to furnish the Markets, as reasonably they might do, and by secretly selling

<sup>1</sup> On July 31, 1596, in consequence of the scarcity of Corn, the Queen issued her Proclamation from Greenwich, forbidding Starch to be made of home-grown Corn, or even from Bran by the holders of the Patent for the manufacture of it from Bran.

In 1598 (May A.D. 40) she granted the sole right to import Starch to John Packington for 8 years.

§ 2. *The Queen on Hospitality.* § 3 *Poor Relief.* xxii†

out of their houses to a kinde of people that commonly are called Badgers, at prices vnreasonable, who like wise do sell and regrate the same out of the Markets at very high and excessive prices. For remedy whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all officers to whom the obseruation of the sayd orders hath bene directed, presently as they haue any naturall care of their Christian brethren & Countreymen, being in need, to cause all and euery part of the sayd orders from point to point to be executed, and the offenders against the same to be seuerely punished, to the terrorre of others. . .

Finally her Maiestie is particularly informed of some intentions of sundry persons, of abilitie to keepe hospitalitie in their Countreys, to leauie their said hospitalitie, and to come to the Cite of London, and other Cities and townes corporate, thereby leauing the relieve of theire poore neighbours, as well for foode, as for good rule, and with couetous minds to liue in London, and about the Citie priuately, and so also in other Townes corporate, without charge of company ; for notwithstanding whereof, her Maiestie chargeth all maner of persons, that shall haue any such intention during this time of dearth, not to breake up their housshoulds, nor to come to the said Citie, or other towns corporate : and all others that haue of late time broken vp their housshoulds, to returne to their houses againe without delay. And whilst her Maiestie had thus determined, for relieve of her people, to stay all good householders in their Countreys, there is charitable sort to helpe hospitalitie, her Maiestie hath had an instant occasion giuen her to extend her commandement euen for the necessary defence of her Realme . . .

The obseruation of all which, her Maiesties commandement, is to be performed vpon paine of her Maiesties heauie indignation.

Giuen at her Maiesties Mannour of Richmond the second day of Nouember 1596, in the eight and thirtieth yeere of her Maiesties regne.

*God save the Queene."*

§ 3. On the subject of the Relief of the Poor, and Stubbes's reasonable demands on it, I refer the reader to Sir George Nicholls's *History of the English Poor Law* (1854), i. 161—239. Among these reasonable demands I shoud not now include hanging a man who *can* work and won't; but before Stubbes's time, in 1547, the 1st of Edward VI, chapter 3, enacted that every idle person who ran away from work set him shoud be branded with the letter V, and be adjudgd a slave for 2 years to any person who should demand him ; then, if he ran away again, he should be branded in the cheek with the letter S, and adjudgd a

xxii† § 3. *Stubbes's changes in the Poor-Laws.*

slave for life; and lastly, if he ran away a third time, he was to suffer death as a felon. This act was repeal'd in 1549-50, by the 3 and 4 Edw. VI, ch. 16; but in 1572-3, measures almost as harsh were re-enacted: beggars and vagabonds were to be grievously whipt, and burnt thro the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about, unless any honest person would take them into service for a year. If he would, and the beggar ran away, then he was to be whipt, and burnt thro the ear; for a second offence to be treated as a felon, unless some honest person would take him into his service for 2 years, and he continued in it; while for a third offence he was adjudgd to suffer death, and loss of land and goods as a felon, without allowance of benefit of clergy or sanctuary. Stubbes was then, in 1583, only asking that the actual law shoud be allowd to take its course, when he wisht that sturdy Beggars who wouldn't work, shoud be hangd.

The same Act of 1572-3 orderd 'abiding places' to be provided for the aged and infirm poor, appointed Overseers to raise and apply taxes for their benefit, and sanctioned a rate on richer neighbours in aid of poor parishes who couldn't support their own poor. This legislation was developt by 18 Eliz. ch. 3, A.D. 1575-6, which enacted that a competent stock of wool, hemp, flax, iron, or other stuff should be got, by taxation, to set the poor on work, and if they wouldn't work, they were to be sent to 'houses of correction' and made to work.

After Stubbes wrote in 1583, came the 39 Eliz. chaps. 3 and 4, in 1597-8; 3 for the Relief of the Poor, and 4 for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds and Sturdy Beggars. Chap. 3 makes the appointment of Overseers in every parish compulsory, empowers them to tax inhabitants—and to levy a rate in aid on richer parishes—in orderto get material to support the idle poor at work, and provide for the sick and aged, and the care and apprenticing of children. This Act establishes the mutual responsibility of parents and children to maintain one another.

It also, by § 5 (vol. iv, Pt. 2, Record Com. Statutes, p. 897), empowers the Churchwardens and Overseers 'to erect, buylde, and sett upp in fit and convenient Places of Habitacion . . . at the

general Chardges of the Parishe . . . convenient Howses of Dwellinge for the sayde ympotent Poore ; and also to place Inmates or more Famylies than one in one Cottage or Howse.'

Chap. 4 provides for the whipping of sturdy Beggars who won't work, and their committal to gaol, their banishment beyond seas, or their death, in case they won't give up their roguish kind of life.

'We are now arrived,' says Sir Geo. Nichols, i. 192, 'at the im-  
portant period when by *The 43rd Elizabeth, cap. 2* (A.D. 1601), the  
principle of a compulsory assessment for relief of the poor was  
fully and finally established as an essential portion of our domestic  
policy.' This Act, 'the great turning-point of our Poor-Law Legis-  
lation, is still the foundation and text-book of English Poor Law'  
(i. 194). It carries out more effectually, and extends, the pro-  
visions of the prior Acts, and again sanctions the Rate in Aid. In  
1610 the 7th of James I, chapter 4, provides for the building of  
Houses of Correction in every county; but not till 1624 does the  
21 James I—'An Act for the erecting of Hospitals and Working-  
houses for the Poor'—carry out what I take to be Stubbes's demand  
for an Almshouse in every parish; while not till 1834 does the  
Poor Law Amendment Act provide for the Poor the proper Medical  
Relief which Stubbes cald for in 1583.

As to Education, Harrison (see my Part I. p. 77), Latimer before him (*Sermons*, Parker Soc. edn. i. 186, 290, 291, 349), and many others, but uttered the same complaints about the jobbing of Scholarships, Fellowships, &c. that Stubbes makes, page 19; and not yet has the jobbing of the nominations of Bluecoat Boys to Christ's Hospital been done away with.

The hardship to the poor of wholesale enclosure of Commons—  
another complaint of Stubbes's—has been long admitted, and is  
now partially stopt by the Law. That Stubbes was right in calling  
for proper examination and licensing of Doctors, the keeping out of  
tag, rag, and quacks (p. 53), no one will deny. And that he took  
a reasonable and moderate view of the religious topics disputed in  
his day, I think every one will admit. His Part II, then, supports  
the character that I drew of him from his Part I.

xxiv† § 4. *Stubbes's possible 2nd Marriage, and Bond.*

§ 4. Of Phillip Stubbes himself I have some fresh tidings ; of his family, none.

1. He may have married again in 1593, when he wrote his *Motive to good Workes*. I have a melancholy interest in printing the late Col. Chester's letter to me on the point :—

124, Southwark Park Road, London, S.E.  
18 Nov. '79.

"MY DEAR MR. FURNIVALL,

Did I ever send you the following Marriage from the Registers of St. Olave, Southwark ?

1593, April 3, Philip Stubbes and Elenor Powell—by License.

It has this moment met my eye in one of my volumes that has recently been indexed.

It would have been only 3 years after the death of your Author's wife Katharine Emmes.<sup>1</sup>

Or, were there 'two Richmonds in the field'?

A search for the License would, I fear, be hopeless, as those for that date issued from the Faculty and Vicar General's Offices are not in existence, and one from the Bp. of London would not have availed in Southwark.

Sincerely yours

JOS. L. CHESTER.

"The Powell Wills of the period might reveal the Connection.

The marrying by license, at that period, indicates that they were certainly not of the lower orders."

2. Our Phillip Stubbes may be the man of that name at Benefield in Northampton, who in July 1586 executed a Bond of which Mr. Henry Stubbes of Danby, Ballyshannon, got hold in 1879. He writes on 13 Nov. 1879 :—

<sup>1</sup> Katharine Stubbes is alluded to in George Powell's 'Very Good Wife, a Comedy. London. S. Briscoe, 1693,' p. 21, Act III. sc. i.

"Well. Death, fight now, or you'll die infamous, was your Mother a Whore?"

*Squeez.* Comparatively she might be in respect of some Holy Women, as the late Lady Ramsey, Mrs. Katherine Stubbs, and such, ha, ha, is that a Cause!"

'I have now very little doubt that I have in my possession the Autograph of the Author of the "Anatomie," and it may besides furnish a clue to his family, and perhaps bring to light some particulars of his life hitherto unknown. The following is the reason of my forming this opinion: The Bond relates to a "messuage or tenement" in Congleton, Cheshire, which Phil. S. is granting to Will. S. to hold for ever, and the former binds himself to leave the latter in undisturbed possession. The Bond itself is in Latin, the Conditions in English—Now, coupling this with what the Author of the "Anatomie" says of knowing a man "for a dozen or sixteene yeares togither" in Congleton (Part I. p. 136), whose death he relates as a warning to swearers, makes, I think, a very good case to show that they were one and the same person; and the house referred to in the Bond was in all probability where the Puritan spent a good many yeares of his life. He is described in the Bond as "Philippus Stubbes de Benefield al[ias] Beningfeilde in Com. Northt. generosus," and the other as "Willelmus Stubbes de Ratcliffe in Com. Midd. generosus"—

'I conjecture Phil. in the course of his rambles had settled for a time at Benefield, as he did afterwards at Burton-on-Trent. It is not stated whether Willm. was any relative, but it seems probable he was; perhaps brother. I enclose two extracts from the Chancery Proceedings relating to Willm., but I am not certain that the second extract refers to the same person. These I got the other day. I have made no searches at Congleton, Chester, or Benefield.'

#### 'CHANCERY PROCEEDINGS.

1 Nov. 1584. Bill filed by Robt. Wright, Citizen and Goldsmith of Lond. against William Stubbs of Ratcliff, Co. Middx., Gent.

23 Nov. 1598. Bill filed by William Stubbes of Radcliff, Co. Middx., Ropemaker (who about 4 years now last past inhabited and dwelt at Boston, Co. Linc., being unmarried and having a great family household by reason of his trade) against Thomas Strangrushe of the same town, Fuller.'

As to Phillip Stubbes's family, Prof. Stubbs felt sure that Phillip

xxvi† § 4. *Stubbes folk and Wills in Cheshire.*

came from Congleton, and that a gentle family of the name was still in that neighbourhood. So I wrote there, and found that no Stubbes was known but a sweep. Still, Mr. J. P. Earwaker says in his *East Cheshire*, ii. 362: "In 1654 I find it stated in a MS. at Capesthorne that "Nell, Nan, and Bess Stubbs, being mother and two daughters, were hanged [at Chester] for bewitching to death Mrs. Furnivall, wyfe to Mr. Anth. [a mistake for Ralph] Furnivall, daughter to Mr. J. Fellowes." Prof. Stubbs sent me this bit, and he finds that in 1595, William Stubbs of Congleton, gentleman, presented to the living of Gauseworth. The Congleton Records are, he says, full of Stubbeses; he has traced three generations of Congleton Jurors in the Town book—Ralph or Reynold, from 1540 onwards; John from 1565 or so; and then another Ralph at the beginning of James I's reign. He also found a Randall Stubbes in the first year of Elizabeth, who would do for our Phillip's father. He thinks the Astbury registers will most likely settle the matter. There is an account of some Stubbeses, he says, among the Rawlinson MSS. I paid for a search of the Chester Indexes, with the following result:

Chester Registry. List of Wills proved and Admons granted in the names of Stubbs and Stubbes from the earliest date of the Indexes, 1540 to 1630 both inclusive

- 1586 Will of Geoffrey Stubbs of Ludlow
- 1591 Will of Willam Stubbs of Gawsorth, County of Chester
- 1595 Admon of Lawrence Stubbs of North Rode, Co. of Chester
- 1597 Will of Hugh Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1603 Admon of Thomas Stubbs of Allostock in the County of Chester
- 1617 Will of George Stubbs of Lower Tabley, County of Chester
- 1617 Admon of John Stubbs of Heaton, County of Chester
- 1621 Will of Nicholas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of Hulse
- 1622 Will of Thomas Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester
- 1623 Will of George Stubbs of Knutsford, County of Chester
- 1624 Will of John Stubbs of Merton
- 1630 Will of Ann Stubbs of North Rode, County of Chester

None of these look likely.

Mr. Walter Rye felt sure that he'd find some traces of Phillip Stubbes at Donnington in Lincolnshire (where there's a town of that name as well as in Leicestershire): see Forewords to Part I. p. 59\*),—but diligent search shoud none, tho' the Will of a Richard Stubbes of Donnington in 1622 is in the Lincoln Consistory Court.

It is clear that our Phillip was not the son of Ralph Stubbes of St. Mary le Wigford in the City of Lincoln, whose will is dated 4 April 1558, prov'd 29 July 1559, and of whose estate a *de bonis non* grant was issued on Jan. 29, 1562-3. Ralph's will was registered twice over, being in 36 Chaynay and 5 Chare (Somerset House). It mentions his children John, Henry, Justinian, and Elizabeth Stubbes, &c. &c., of whom Justinian may well be the M.A. of Gloucester Hall, Oxford, mentiond by Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, in the note on p. 53\* of my Forewords to Part I. In the Chancery Proceedings temp. Eliz., S. s. 25, no. 31, Ralph Stubbes's executors claim £11 6s. 8d. of one Edmund, and in S. s. 23, £4 17s. 11½d. of Thos. Burton's executor.

The Essex Stubbeses yield no result either. There was a Philip Stubbes of Little Clacton, Essex, Will dated 19 June 1551, to whose estate the first Letters of Administration were granted on Sept. 25, 1555, and the second Letters on Oct. 31, 1561. He had an only son John, and a daughter Margaret. This John Stubbs of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex, and Cotton Hall, Suffolk, made his will dated in 1587, but his son Phillip was not then of age. The Will was prov'd in the Commissary Court of Essex and Hertfordshire on Sept. 10, 1596. The right of Administration to this Philip Stubbs, then late of Clacton Parva deceasd, was renounced by Elizabeth, his Relict, in March 1626; and in May 1627, Administration was granted to Edward Luckin of Tiltey, one of Philip Stubbes's Creditors.

In the Chancery Proceedings of the time of Elizabeth are notes of other Stubbeses:

Richard Stubbe, and Anne his wife, Norfolk. G. g. 4, no. 59.  
John Stubbs of Norfolk. C. c. 14, no. 57.  
Richard Stubbs of Norfolk and Shropshire in vol. 3.

xxviii† § 4. *Divers Stubbeses in divers Parts.*

John Stubbs of Rutland, with sons William and Thomas, and  
a grandson Henry, 2<sup>1</sup> Eliz. 1579.

Wm. Stubbs of Radcliffe, Ropemaker, 23 Nov. 1598.—S. s. 5.

Alexander Stubbes of Codsall, Staffordshire yeoman. S. s. 6.

Richard Stubbs of Southwark, yeoman. S. s. 13.

Christopher Stubbs of Berkshire and Hampshire.

Edward Stubbs of Norfolk.

William Stubbs of Devonshire.

The name Stubbes occurs in a book dated 1626. John Gee.  
*New Shreds of the Old Snare*:—p. 121, “Factors employed for the  
conveying ouer of the said Women to the Nunneries . . .

Master Peeters  
*Stubbes.*”

Then Mr. Ellacombe hoped that he'd hit on traces, in his  
parish, Bitton, Glo'stershire, of our Stubbes, and he sent me up  
his Register; but the only Stubbes entries in it show that the Rev.  
Henry Stubbes or Stubbe, when doing duty at Bitton—not being  
Vicar of it, had a daughter and a son baptized there:

“Mary daughter of Henry Stubbs, Clericus, was baptised  
February xith 1643.”

“John the sonne of Mr. Henrie Stubbs, was babb. October  
xxvii. 1647.

There is no entry of the burial of any Stubbes from 1594 to  
1643 (and a few years later).

Whether our Phillip Stubbes had anything to do with any of  
the folk above-named, I must leave to some future searcher to  
decide.

I have not tried to get up many Notes for this 2nd Part. Those  
to Part I. cost so much, that a second set, even were one possible,  
must not be indulged in. The text is reprinted from the copy  
of *The Display of Corruptions* in the Grenville Library, British  
Museum.

What have Books like the present one to do with Shakspere?  
They help us to realize the England of his day, and the social  
evils that he must have seen.

3, St. George's Square, N.W.

July 18, 1882.

## NOTES FOR PART II.

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p. xxvii† Wills of John and Phillip Stubbes of Essex, and Ralph Stubbes of Lincoln:—

*Jn. Stubbes, 1587.*

(In Room 32) Will of John *Stubbes* of Cocks, Little Clacton, Essex (and Cotton Hall, Suffolk), dated 1587, gives Cocks and appurtenances, and lease of Cotton Hall to his son Phillip (under age) when he attains 21. If he dies under 21, then to testator's wife Agnes for life, and then over. Provision for boy Phillip's maintenance, &c. Prov'd in Com. Court of Essex and Herts, 10 Septr. 1596. (Phillip livd. Admōn to him ab. 1622.—Grigson.)

19 June, 1551.

(P. C. C. Bucke, quire 25) *Will of Phillip Stubbes* of Little Clacton, Essex—most lands to wife Johane for life, part to son John on attg. 21—if he doesn't, then to daughter Margret. If she dies under 18, then her share of personality to son John. Evidently, only son John, and daughter Margret. No son Phillip.

25 Septr. 1555, authority to administer Ph. Stubbes's goods, granted to Rd. Blaxton, Ed. Assheman, and Edw<sup>d</sup>. Shorte, the exor Jn. Hockett having died.

31 Octr. 1561, Commission to Rd. Godfrey and Alice his wife to administer the goods not administered.

*Ralph Stubbes*, Alderman of *Lincoln*, April 4, 1558 (of the parish of St. Mary's, Wygford, in the suburbs of the City of Lincoln). Will proved, July 29, 1559:—

Gives all his property, less legacies and special bequests, to his 4 children, *John*, *Henry*, *Justynyan*, and *Elizabeth*. If any die without issue—they're evidently under age—his share is to go to the survivors.

Gives Christabell *Bartram* his sister, to her marriage, 20*£*; and if she die or she be marayed, then 16*£* to go to his 4 children, and 4*£* ‘to my thre bretherne, *Henry* Stubbes, *John* Stubbes and *Thomas* Stubbes’.

Gives to his ‘father *Bartrame* xij li. to bye the rest of the said house whiche he shulde purchase. And I wille . . . that John *Bartrame* shalhaue the said house’ in fee . . . (As to children’s bringing-up) ‘I will that my mother in lawe [Margarete Smythe] shall haue the kepinge and bringyng vppe of my children durynghe her lif, and after her death I will that John Stubbes and

xxx† Notes on p. xxviii†. *Two Henry Stubbeses.*

Justynyan Stubbes, with theire partes and portions shalbe in the Rule, ordre, and kepinge of Mr. John Hutchinson, and Henry Stubbes . . of Thomas Dawson my brother-in-lawe' (Eliz<sup>th</sup>. not given to any one). Residue to 4 children Exōrs. 4 children, and "Margarete Smythe my mother in lawe."

p. xxviii† *Henry Stubbes.* See Ant. Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, 1817; 125:—

HENRY STUBBE, son of a father of both his names of Bitton in Gloucestershire,<sup>1</sup> was born in that county, became a student in Magdalen hall in the latter end of 1623, aged eighteen years; admitted bachelor of arts the 26th of January 1627, & master of arts the 8th of July 1630, took holy orders, and became a curate or vicar, sided with the puritans in the beinning of the rebellion, took the covenant, preached seditiously—took the engagement, and as a minister of the city of Wells was constituted one of the commissioners for the ejecting of such whom they then (1654) called scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters. After his majesty's restoration, he lost what he had for want of conformity, retired to London, and lived there. He hath, among several things pertaining to divinity, written

*Great Treaty of Peace, Exhortation of making Peace with God.* Lond. 1676-77, oct.

*Dissuasive from Conformity to the World.* Lond. 1675, in oct.

*God's Severity against Man's Iniquity.* Printed with the *Dissuasive.*

*God's Gracious Presence, the Saint's great Privilege—a farewell Sermon to a Congregation in London, on 2 Thes. 3, 16.* Printed also with the *Dissuasive.*

*Conscience the best Friend upon Earth: or the happy Effects of keeping a good Conscience, very useful for this Age.* London 1678, 8vo.; 1685 in twelves, and other things which I have not yet seen; among which is his *Answer to the Friendly Debate*, an. 1669 in octavo. When he died, I know not; sure I am that after his death, which was in London, his books were exposed to sale by way of auction the 29th of Nov. 1680.

[See a very amiable character of this writer in Calamy, who adds

1. *A Funeral Sermon for a Lady in Gloucestershire.*

2. *A Voice from Heaven; with his last Prayer.*

Granger, who mentions a small head of Stubbe, gives us the title of a third book omitted by Wood :

3. *Two Epistles to the professing Parents of baptized Children,* written a little before his death.

Calamy says that Stubbe was of Wadham college, which I cannot believe. He was certainly matriculated of Magdalen hall, April 16 [18, Col. Chester], 1624. See *Reg. Matric. Univ. Oxon.* PP. fol. 299, b.] He died on July 7, 1678, aged 73, and was buried in Bunhill Fields.—(Col. Chester.)

Of this Henry Stubbes, Richard Baxter says in his *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, Part III. (written in 1670) p. 189 [After his *Answer to Mr. Dodwell and Dr. Sherlock, &c.*], § 66. In a short time I was called on, with a grieved heart,

<sup>1</sup> He was born, says Calamy [wrongly], at Upton in this county, upon an estate that was given to his grandfather by king James I, with whom he came from Scotland. *Ejected Ministers*, ii. 319.

Notes on p. xxviii†. *Two Henry Stubbenses.* xxxi†

to Preach and Publish many Funeral Sermons, on the Death of many Excellent Saints.

Mr. *Stubbes* went first, that Humble, Holy, Serious Preacher, long a blessing to Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, and other parts, and lastly to London. I had great reason to lament my particular Loss, of so holy a friend, who oft told me, That for very many years he never went to God in solemn Prayer, without a particular remembrance of me: but of him before.—*Reliquia Baxterianæ*, 1696.

Part III. p. 95, § 205 (written 1670). But because there are some few who by Preaching more openly than the rest, and to greater Numbers, are under more Men's displeasure and censure, I shall say of them truly but what I know . . .

ii. Old Mr. *Stubbs*, who joineth with him [Mr. *Turner*], is one of a Thousand, sometimes Minister at Wells, and last at *Dursley* in *Gloucestershire*, an ancient grave Divine, wholly given up to the Service of God, who hath gone about from place to place Preaching with unwearied Labour since he was silenced, and with great Success, being a plain, moving, fervent Preacher, for the work of converting impenitent sinners to God: And yet being settled in peaceable Principles by aged Experience, he every where expresseth [= presses out, excludes] the Spirit of Censoriousness, and unjust Separations, and Preacheth up the ancient zeal and sincerity with a Spirit suitable thereunto. *Reliq. Baxt.* 1696.

Ant. Wood gives an account of another Henry Stubbes, whose father was a clergyman at Parterey in Lincolnshire, where he was born on Feb. 28, 163<sup>1</sup><sub>2</sub>. He was at Oxford, and ultimately turn'd Doctor. He was drownd on July 12, 1676, and buried in the Abbey Church at Bath. Him, Baxter mentions in the following passage of his *Relig. Baxterianæ*, 1696: *Life*, Part I. (written 1664), p. 75-6, "being writing against the Papists, coming to vindicate our Religion against them, when they imparte to us the Blood of the King, I fully proved that the Protestants, and particularly the Presbyterians, abhorred it, and suffered greatly for opposing it; and that it was the Act of *Cromwell's* Army and the Sectaries, among which I named the *Vanists* as one sort . . . Hereupon, Sir Henry *Vane* being exceedingly provoked, threatened me to many, and spake against me in the House, and one *Stubbs* (that had been whipt in the Convocation House at *Oxford*) wrote for him a bitter Book against me, who from a *Vanist* afterwards turned a Conformist; since that, he turned Physician, and was drowned in a small Puddle or Brook as he was riding near the Bath."

*Chaucer and Stubbes.* In a short poem 'The | Laurel, | and the | Olive': | Inscrib'd to | George Bubb, Esq; | By Geo. Stubbes, M.A. | Fellow of Exeter-College in Oxon. | London, | Printed for Egbert Sanger at the Post-Office at the | Middle Temple-Gate in Fleetstreet .M.DCC.X. are some lines 'To the Author' ending thus:

So when revolving Years have run their Race,  
Bright the same Fires in different Bosoms blaze;  
Known by his glorious Scars, and deathless Lines,  
Again the *Hero*, and the *Poet* shines.  
In gentler *Harrison*, soft *Waller* sighs,  
And *Mira* wounds with *Sacharissa's* Eyes.

*Achilles* lives, and *Homer* still delights,  
Whilst *Addison* records, and *Churchill* fights.  
This happy Age, each Worthy shall renew,  
And all dissolv'd in pleasing Wonder, view  
In ANN—*Philippa, Chaucer* shine in you. }

p. 6. *Papal Plots, Jesuits, &c.* Stubbes may allude specially to Campion's conspiracy two years before, of which Stowe—or Antony Munday—gives the following account in his *Annales* (ed. 1605, p. 1169), and a longer one in his additions to Holinshed's (or Reginald Wolfe's) Chronicle:—

[1581]. “On the 20. of Nouember, Edmond Campion, *Jesuit*, Ralfe Sher  
*Ant. Monday.* wine, Lucas Kerbie, Edward Rishton, Thomas Coteham, Henrie  
Campion and others Orton, Robert Johnson & Iames Bosgraue, were brought to the  
arraigned. high bar at Westminester, where they were seuerally, & al  
together indicted vpon high treason, for that, contrary both to loue & duty,  
they forsooke their native country, to liue beyond the seas under the Popes  
obedience, as at Rome, Rheimes, and diuers other places, where (*the Pope hauing  
with other princes practised the death and depriuation of our most gracious princesse,  
and vitter subuersion of her state and kingdome*, to aduance his most abominable  
religion), these men, hauing vowed their allegiance to the Pope, to obey him in  
all causes whatsoeuer, being there, gaue their consent, to aide him in this most  
traitorous determination. And for this intent & purpose, they were sent ouer  
to seduce the harts of her maiesties louing subiects, & to conspire and practise  
her graces death, as much as in them lay, against a great day set & appointed,  
when the generall hauocke should be made, those onely reserued that ioyned  
with them. This laid to their charge, they boldly denied; but by a iurie  
they were approued guilty, and had iudgement to be hanged, bowelled &  
quartered.

Campion and others      The first of December, Edmond Campion, *Jesuit*, Ralfe Sherwine and  
executed. Alexander Brian, seminarie priests, were drawne from the Tower of  
London to Tiborne, and there hanged, bowelled & quartered.  
Looke more in my continuation of Reine Woolfes Chronicle.”

p. 9, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister Latimer hath said in a sermon  
made before King Edward the sixt. This is ‘The seconde Sermon of Master  
Hugh Latemer, whych he preached before the Kynges maiestie, wythin hys  
graces Palayce at Westminster y°. xv. day of Marche M.CC[C]CC. xl ix.’ Sign. E. I.  
“I must desyre my Lorde protectours grace to heare me in thyss matter, that your  
grace would heare poor mens suetes your selfe. Putte it to none other to heare, let  
them not be delayed. The saying is nowe, that mony is harde every wher: if  
he be ryche, he shall soone haue an ende of his matter. Other ar fayn to go home  
with weeping teares, for ani help they can obtain at ani Judges hand. Heere  
mens suets your selfe, I requyre you in godes behalfe, & put it not to the hering  
of these velvet cotes, these vp skippes. Nowe a man can skarse knowe them from  
an auncyent Knight of the countrey.

“I can not go to my boke, for pore folkes come vnto me, desirynge me that I  
wyll speake that theyr matters maye be heard. . . . I am no soner in the garden

Notes on pp. 9—24. *Angel. Clothiers' Tricks.* xxxiii†

and haue red a whyle, but . . . some one or other . . . desireth me that I wyll speake that hys matter myght be heard, & that [Sign. E. ii.] he hath the layne thys longe at great costes and charges, and can not once haue hys matter come to the hearing . . . [E. ii. back]. I beseche your grace that ye wyll loke to these matters.

“Heare them your selfe! Vieu your Judges! And haire pore mens causes. And you proude Judges, herken what God sayeth in hys holy boke. *Audite illos, ita parum ut magnum.* Heare theym, sayeth he, the small as well as the greate, the pore as well as the ryche. Regarde no person, feare no man—Why? *Quia domini iudicium est.* The iudgment is Goddes.

“Marcke thys sayinge, thou proude Judge! The deuyl will [E. iii.] bryngē thys sentence at the daye of Dombe. Hel wyl be ful of these Judges, if they repente not and amende.

“They are worse then the wicked Judge that Christe speaketh of, that neyther feared God nor the worlde. There was a certain wyddowe that was a suter to a Judge, & she met hym in euery corner of the streete, cryinge: ‘I praye you haire me, I besech you haire me, I aske nothyng but ryght.’ When the Judge saw hyr so importunate, ‘though I fear neyther God, sayth he, nor the worlde, yet bycause of hyr importunatenes I wyll graunte hyr requeste.’

“But our Judges are worse then thys Judge was. For [Sign. E. iii. back] they wyll neyther haire men for Gods sake, nor feare of the worlde, nor importunatenes, nor any thyngē else. Yea, some of them wyll commaund them to ward, if thei be importunat.”

p. 12, *an angell, (for that is called a counsellors fee).* The well-known lawyer’s ‘six and eightpence.’ Miss Rochfort Smith sends me the following Epigram, 594, from *Wits Recreations* :—

“Upon Anne’s marriage with a Lawyer.  
Anne is an angel : what if so she be?  
What is an angel but a lawyer’s fee?”

p. 19. *Colleges, &c., abused and peruerted.* See my Harrison’s *Description of England, 1577-87*, p. 77. On Education in Early England, see my Forewords to the *Babees Book*, or *Meals and Manners*: Early English Text Society.

p. 24, *stretching and thicking Cloth.* “I here saye, there is a certayne Cloth makers connynge come vp in myxyng of wares. are become “Howe saye you, were it not wonder to here that clothe makers Poticaryes, yea and amonge the should become poticaries. Gospellers.

“Yea, and as I haire saye, in such a place, where as they haue professed the Gospell, and the word of God most earnestly of a long tyme. Se how busie the Deuell is to sclauder the word of god. Thus the pore gospel goeth to wracke. Yf his clothe be xviii. yerdes longe, he wyl set hym on a rackinge, A pretti kind of and streach hym tyll the senewes shrinke agayne, whyles he hath multiplyinge. brought hym to xxvii. yarde. When they haue brought hym to that perfection, they haue a prety feate [Sign. E. iii.] to thycke him againe. He Flocke powder. makes me a pouder for it, an playles the poticary: thei cal it floke

xxxiv† Notes on pp. 24—33. *Commons. Tailors.*

pouder : they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderfull to consider : truely a goodly iuention."

p. 24, *Dark Shops.* p. 49, *False Weights.* p. 22, *Merchants.* p. 47, *Farmers.* p. 29, *Griping Landlords.* These Shop-keepers that can blind mens eyes, with dym and obscure lights, and deceiue their eares with false & flattering words, be they not Vsurers ?

These Tradesmen that can buy by one weight, and selle by another, be they not Vsurers ?

These Marchants that doe robbe the Realme, by carrying away of Corne, Lead, Tinne, Hydes, Leather, and such other like, to the impouerishing of the common wealth, bee they not Vsurers ?

These *Farmers* that doe hurde vppe their Corne, Butter, & Cheese, but of purpose to make a dearth, or that if they thinke it to rayne but one houre to much, or that a drought doe last but two dayes longer then they thinke good, will therfore the next market day hoyse vp the prises of all manner [p. 46] of victuall, be not these Vsurers ?

The *Land-Lordes* that doe sette out their liuings at those high rates, that their *Tenants* that were wont to keepe good Hospitalitie, are not nowe able to giue a peece of Bread to the *Poore*, be they not Vsurers ? 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age.* p. 45-6.

p. 27, *the commons . . . are inclosed, made seueral.* Compare Shakspere's phrase, in *Loues Labor's Lost*, II. i. 223, Qo. i :—

*Bo.* So you graunt pasture for me.

*Lady.* Not so, gentle Beast,

My lippes are no Common, though seuerall they be.

Thomas Greene's Diary says, on 1615, Sept. i. "Mr. Shakspere told Mr. J. Greene that he was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe" Common. Leop. Shaksp. Introd., p. cix. See p. 45\* and 116 in Stubbes, Part I.

p. 28. *Enclosures of Commons, &c.* See Harrison, Part I., p. 306-7, and Latimer's 7th Sermon before Edw. VI, Serm. 14, Parker Soc., p. 248.

p. 28, *rich men's game eating up poor men's corn, grass, &c.* This goes on still, as every one in a game-preserving county knows. I heard Joseph Arch once say how his garden was cleard by Lord Warwick's rabbits, and how he in return took his own compensation in game.

p. 33, *Taylors.* "now it were a hard matter for me to distinguish betweene men, who were good and who were bad, but if I might giue my verdict to say who were the wisest men nowe in this age, I would say they were *Taylers*: would you heare my reason? because I doe see the wisedome of women to be still ouer-reached by *Taylers*, that can every day induce them to as many new-fangled fashions, as they please to iuent: and the wisedome of men againe, are as much ouer-reached by women, that canne intice their husbandes to surrender and giue way to all their newe-fangled follies: they are *Taylers* then that canne ouer-rule the wisest women, and they be women that can besot the wisest men : so that if Ma. Maiors conclusion be good, that because *Jacke*, his youngest sonne, ouer-ruled his mother, and *Jacke's* mother agayne ouerruled M. Maior himselfe,

and M. Maior by office ouerruled the Towne, *Ergo*, the whole Towne was ouer-ruled by *Iacke*, Ma. Maiors sonne : by the same consequence, I may likewise conclude, that *Taylers* are the wisest men : the reason is alreadie rendered, they doe make vs all *Fooles*, both men and women, and doe mocke the whole worlde with their newe inuentions : but are they women alone that are thus seduced by *Taylers*? doe but looke amongst our gallants in this age, and tell me, if you shall not finde men amongst them to be as vaine, as nice, and as gaudie in their attyres, as shee that amongst women is accounted the most foolish . . . .

"The holy scriptures haue denounced a curse no lesse grieuous to the *Idole-maker*, then to the *Idole* it selfe ; now (vnder the correction of *Diuinitie*) I would but demaund, what are these *Puppet*-making *Taylers*, that are every day inuenting of newe fashions, and what are these, that they doe call *Attyre-makers*, the first inuenters of these monstrous *Periwiggs*, and the finders out of many other like immodest *Attyres*: what are these, and all the rest of these *Fashion* Mongers, the inuenters of vanities, that are every day whetting their wits to finde out those *Gaudes*, that are not onely offensiuе vnto God, but many wayes prejudiciali to the whole Common wealth : if you will not acknowledge these to be *Idolemakers*, yet you cannot deny them to be the *Deuils enginers*, vngodly instruments, to decke and ornifie such men and women, as may well be reputed to be but *Idollers*, for they haue eyes, but they see not into the wayes of their own salvation, & they haue eares, but they cannot heare the Judgements of God, denounced against them for their pride and vanitie." 1614. Barnabee Rych. *The Honestie of this Age*, p. 23.

p. 35. *Ruffes*. See Part I, p. 52, 240-2.

p. 41, 42. *The Poor, and Beggars*. See my Harrison, Part I, p. 213, &c.

p. 51, *long hair*. In 1614, Barnabee Rych asks : "And from whence commeth this wearing, & this imbrodering of long lockes, this curiositie that is vsed amongst men, in freziling and curling of their hayre, this gentlewoman-like starch bands, so be-edged, and be-laced, fitter for *Mayd Marion* in a *Moris dance*, then for him that hath either that spirit or courage, that should be in a gentleman?"—*The Honestie of this Age*, p. 35. "There are certaine new inuented professions that within these fourtie or fiftie years, were not so much as heard of," says Rich, p. 24, "& yet have become flourishing, namely, 'Attyre-makers,' Coach-makers & Coachmen, Body-makers, and Tobacco-dealers. The 3 most gainful trades are," he says, p. 28, "the first is to keepe an *Ale house*, the 2. a *Tobacco House*, and the third to keepe a *Brothell House*."

p. 57. *A marvellous strange coniunction*. This alludes to R. Harvey's notorious tract addrest to his brother the author Gabriel Harvey, "An Astrological Discourse upon the great and notable Conjunction of the two superiour Planets, Saturne and Jupiter, which shall happen the 28 day of April, 1583," 18 mo. *black letter*. H. Bynneman, 1583. The years 1588 and 1593 were to be "dangerous years" too. See my note in *N. Sh. Soc. Trans.*, 1875-6, p. 151-4.

p. 82. *Such a dish of apples as Master Latimer talketh of, with thirty angelis in every apple*. This is in "The fifte Sermon of Mayster Hughe Latimer, whyche

he prached before the kynges Maiestye wythin hys Graces Palacie at Westminster the fyft daye of Aprill” [1549]. *Sig. R. iii.* “Ther was a patron in England (when it was) that had a benefyce fallen into hys hande, and a good brother of The merye tale mine came vnto hym, and brought hym xxx. Apples in a dyshe, and of the patrone that sold a gaue them hys man to carrye them to hys mayster. It is like he benefyce for a gaue one to his man for his laboure to make vp the game, and so deynyte dyshe ther was .xxxi. of Apples.

“This man commeth to his mayster, and presented hym wyth the dyshe of Apples, sayinge: ‘Syr, suche a man hathe sente you a [*R. iii. back*] dyshe of frute, and desyreh you to be good vnto hym for suche a benefyce.’ ‘Tushe, tushe,’ quod he, ‘thys is no apple matter. I wyll none of hys apples. I haue as good as these (or as he hath any) in myne owne orcharde.’ The man came to the preest agayne, and toulde hym what hys mayster sayed. ‘Then,’ quod the priest, ‘desyre hym yet to proue one of them for my sake, he shal find them much better theaz they loke for.’ He cut one of them, and founde ten peces of golde in it [ $\text{£}10 = 30$  Angels]. ‘Mary,’ quod he, ‘thys is a good apple. The pryst standyng not farre of, herynge what the Gentle man sayed, cryed out and answered, ‘they are all one apples, I warrantee you, Syr, they grewe all on one A graft of gold tree and haue all one taste.’ ‘Well, he is a good fellowe [*sign. R.* to get a benefyce wytthal is *iii.*], let hym haue it,’ quod the patrone, &c. Get you a grafte of worth great thys tre, and I warrantee you it shall stand you in better steade deal of learnynge. then all Sayncte Paules learnynge. Well, let patrons take heede, for they shall aunswere for all the soules that peryshe through theys defaute.” See too the Third Sermon, p. 145-6, Parker Soc., on the bribe-taking Judge flayd alive by Cambyses; the pudding-story, p. 140.

## NOTES FOR PART I.

- p. 60\*, note 2. The woodcut is at the back of the Dedication, p. 2\*.
- p. 86\*. See too the *Homily against Idleness*.
- p. 89\*. Dice, wine, and women, wonne, drunke, & spent all,  
And now he lines a vassall at each call.
1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. E. 2, back, ‘On a ruind Gallant.’
- p. 95\*. The cut of Irish Costumes is from the Additional M.S. 28,330 in the British Museum: a Dutch ‘Short Description of England, Scotland & Ireland,’ 1574.
- p. 97\*. There is no ornamental border round the original 1584 Title-page.
- p. 231. *Velure*, &c. See note p. 363-4, Dekker’s Works, 1874, vol. iii.
- p. 232. Nash’s *Anatomie of Abuses* was enterd in the Stationers’ Registers in advance, on Sept. 19, 1588.
- p. 236. *Farrefetched and deare bought*. “we vse to say by manner of

Notes for Part I, pp. 248—375. *Football, &c.* xxxvii†

Prouerbe, ‘things farrefet and deare bought are good for Ladies.’’ 1589. Puttenham, p. 193, ed. Arber.

p. 248. Andrew Boorde’s cut is also alluded to in the Homily against Excess of Apparel; and by Dekker, p. 77\* above.

p. 271, 273. *Women’s face-painting.*

“Whers the Deuill? . . .  
He’s got into a boxe of Women’s paint. . . .  
Where pride is, thers the Diuell too.”

1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. F. 2.

p. 280. See the Homily against Whoredom and Adultery.

p. 284. See the Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness.

p. 293. *Prisons.* See too in 1618, Geffrey Mynshul’s *Essays and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners.*

p. 296. *Sunday Sports, &c.* See Humphrey Roberts’s, ‘An earnest Complaint of diuers vain, wicked and abused Exercises practised on the Sabath day,’ 1572. Hazlitt’s *Collections and Notes*, p. 360-1.

p. 307, at foot: *beaten with a Brewers washing bittle, drunk.*

“these people  
Are all brainde with a Brewers washing beetle.”

1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. F. 2, back.

p. 318. *Deaths at Football.* Coroner’s inquest on one Gibbs kild in a game. “The Coroner, in summing up, advocated a return to the rules practised in football twenty years ago, for, *as now played, it was only worthy of a set of costermongers.*” See also the notice of the Mayor of Southampton prohibiting football under Association or Rugby rules, on the town’s public lands.—*Echo*, Dec. 11, 1880. On Saturday . . . Mr. Joseph Hunter at Sheffield had his arm and three ribs broken; at Mexborough a young man named William Howitt had his arm and leg dislocated.—*Daily News*, Dec. 13, 1880.

p. 349. Insert *Abandon*, v. t. banish, 125. *Ames ace & the dice*, 37\*. *Deuse ace*, 272; a man’s genitals.

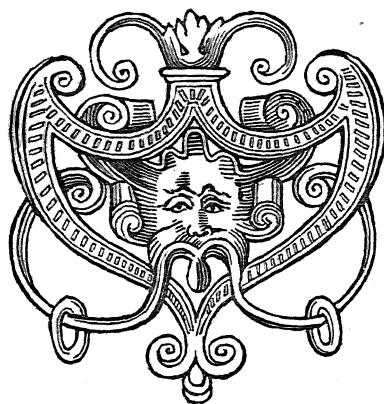
p. 352, col. 2. Insert *Breasts*: see Bare, and Naked.

p. 356, col. 2. *Digesture*, digestion. “Glut with gazing, surfe with seeing and relish with reading [my book]:—It may be there are some preseruatiues, not poysen, though harsh in *digesture*. 1600. *Quips vpon Questions*, sign. A. iii.

p. 362, col. 1. Insert *Honeymoon*, p. 376, n. 1.

p. 371, col. 2, to ‘Spanish &c.’ add ‘boots, 242.’

p. 375, col. 1. Insert *Venetians* 250. ‘Grecques; f. Gregs, Gallogaskins, wide venitians.’ 1611. Cotgrave; and *Venetian hose*, 56.



THE  
Second part  
of the Anatomie of  
Abuses, containing The display  
of Corruptions, with a perfect de-  
scription of such imperfections, blemi-  
shes, and abuses, as now reigning in eue-  
rie degree, require reformation for feare  
of Gods vengeance to be powred vpon  
the people and countrie, without  
speedie repentance and con-  
uersion vnto God : made  
dialogwise by Phil-  
ip Stubbes.

Except your righteousness exceed the righ-  
teousnes of the Scribes and Phari-  
ses, you cannot enter into the  
kingdome of heauen.

LO N D O N .

Printed by R. W. for William Wright,  
and are to be sold at his shop ioining  
to S. Mildreds Church in the  
Poultrey, being the mid-  
dle shop in the rowe.



# THE DISPLAY OF

[Sig. B x.]  
[The Title is the  
only A.]

corruptions, requiring refor-

*mation for feare of Gods iudge-*

ments to be powred vpon the people

and country without spee-

die amendment.

The speakers, THEODORVS and AMPHILOGVS.<sup>1</sup>



OD bleffe you my friend, and well ouertaken.

*Amphilogus.* You are hartlie welcome, good fir,  
with all my hart.

*Theod.* How farre purpose you to trauell this way  
by the grace of God?

*Amphil.* As far as Nodnol if God permit.

*Theod.* What place is that, I pray you, and where is it scituate?

Stubbes is  
going to London.

*Amphil.* It is a famous citie and the chiefest place in Dnalgne :  
haue you not heard of it?

*Theod.* No truely. For I am a stranger, and newly come into  
these countries, onely to see fashions, and to learne the stafe and con-  
di<sup>n</sup>tion of those things whereof I am ignorant.

*Amphil.* What country man are you, I pray you, if I may be  
so bold as to aske?

*Theod.* I am of the country and nation of the *Idumeans*, a cruell,  
fierce, and seruile kind of people.

*Amphil.* I haue beene in those countries my selfe ere now, and  
therefore it is maruell that you knowe me not.

He says he's  
been in Idumea.

*Theod.* Me thinke I should knowe you, but yet I cannot call your  
name to remembrance.

*Amphil.* My name is *Amphilogus*, somtime of your acquaintance,  
though now you haue (through tract of time, which is *Omnium*

<sup>1</sup> *Amphilogus* is Stubbes. The side notes are all mine. Stubbes put notes to  
his First Part only.

<sup>2</sup> B 1, back. The headline all thro, is 'The Display of Corruptions.'

2 II. 1. *England the wickedest Country under the Sun.*

*rerum edax*, A deuourer of al things) forgot the same. But notwithstanding that you haue forgot me, yet I remember you very well : is not your name Maister *Theodorus* ?

*Theod.* Yes truly, my name is *Theodorus* ; I neither can, nor yet will, euer denie the same.

*Amphil.* What make you in these countries, if I may aske you without offence ?

*Theod.* Truly I came hither to see the country, people, and nation, to learne the toong, and to see (as I told you) the state generally of all things.

<sup>1</sup> *Amphil.* You are most hartily welcome, and I, hauing beene a traueler, borne in these countries, and knowing the state thereof in euerie respect, to congratulate your comming, will impart vnto you the substance and effect therof in as few words as I can.

*Theod.* I pracie you then giue me leaue (vnder correction) to aske you such necessary questions, as are incident to my purpose, and which may serue for my better instruction in all the foresaide premisses ?

*Amphil.* Go to then, aske on in the name of God, and I will addrefse myself to satisfie your reasonable requests in anything I can.

*Theod.* What be the inhabiteres of this countrie ? Be they a vertuous, godlie, and religious kinde of people, or otherwise cleane contrarie ?

*Amphil.* Surely they are, as all other countries and nations be for the most part, inclined to sinne, and wickednes, drinking vp iniquitie as it were water ; but yet I am perswaded that, albeit all flesh hath corrupted his way before the face of GOD, yet is there not any nation or countrey vnder the sunne, that for pride, whoredome, droonkennes, gluttonie, and all kinde of oppression, iniurie and mischiefe, may compare with this one country <sup>2</sup> of *Dnalgne*, God be mercifull vnto it, and haftten his kingdome, that all wickednes may be done away.

*Theod.* Then, as in all other countries where euer I haue trauelled, so in this also is verified the old adage, namely, that the first age of the world was called *Aurea ætas*, the golden age, for that men liued godlie and in the feare of God ; the seconde age was called *Argentea ætas*, the siluer age, for that men began somewhat to decline, and fall from their former holinesse, and integritie of life, to sinne and wicked-

Stubbes will de-  
scribe the state  
of England.  
[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B 2]

No nation is so  
proud, drunken,  
and so full of  
mischief, as Eng-  
land is.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. B 2, back]

x. The Golden  
Age.

z. The Silver.

nes: the thirde and last age, which is this that we are fallen into, is and may justlie be called *Ferrea* or *Plumbea ætas*, the yron or leaden age, in as much as now men are fallen from all godlineffe whatsoeuer, and are as it were wedded to iniquitie, committing finne without any remorse, and running into all kinde of abomination and impietie, without restraint. All which things dulie in the good hart of a faithful christian confidered & weied, may easily persuade a wise man to think their destruction to be at hand, except they repent.

3. The Iron or  
Leaden Age, our  
sinful one.

*Amphil.* You say verie well. Therefore I would wish them to take heed to themselues, and to leauie their wickednes before the Lords wrath be gon out against them; for let them be <sup>1</sup>sure, that when the measure of their wickednesse is full, then will the Lord cut them off from the face of the earth, if they repent not, and truely turne to the Lord. The wise man saith, that a little before destrucion come, the hart of man shall swell into pride, and wickednes. Our sauour Christ saith, when men flatter themselues, and ‘saie “peace, peace, al things are well, we neede not to feare anything,”’ then, even then, shall sudden destruction fall vpon them, as sorrow commeth upon a woman trauellung with childe, and they shall not escape, bicause they would not knowe the Lord, nor the day of his visitation.’ Which thing we see to be true through all the histories of the sacred Bible; for when the Sodomites and Gomorreans had filled vp the measures of their iniquitie, and faciate themselues in finne, then came there fire and brimstone raining from heauen vpon them and their citie, and confunmed them all, from the vpper face of the earth. When all the worlde in the daies of Noah, was giuen ouer to finne, and wickednes, immediatelie came the floud of Gods vengeance, and destroied them all, eight persons—to wit, Noah, his wife, his three sonnes and their wiues,—who serued the Lord in true simplicite of hart, onelie excepted. The Hierosoltinitanes <sup>2</sup>when their finne was ripe, were they not confounded, and put to the edge of the sworde?

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B 3]  
But God 'll cut  
the sinners off.

Destruction'll  
follow Pride,

When Pharao the king of Egypt his finne was ripe, did not the Lord harden his hart to pursue the Israelits, and so drowned him and all his retinue in the read sea? Herod and Nabuchadnezer swelling in finne, and rising vp against the maiestie of God in the malice of their harts, was not the one stroken dead in a moment, and eaten vp with worms, the other deposid from his kingdome, and constrained to eate

as it did with  
Sodom and Go-  
morrhah,

in Noah's days,

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. B 3, back]  
with Pharaoh,

Herod and  
Nebuchad-  
nezzar.

4 II. I. *England fertile. The 3 sorts of Englishmen.*

When Destruction  
is nearest,  
folk are seurest.

graffe with the beasts of the earth ; with the like examples, which, for the auoiding of prolixite, I omit. By all which it appeareth, that when destruction is neereft, then are the people the seureft, and the most indurate and frozen in the dregs of their finne ; and being so, the fequele is either confusion in this life, or perdition in the world to come, or both. And therefore I beseech the Lord, that both this country, and all others, may repent, & amende euerie one their wicked waies, to the glorie of God and their owne saluation.

*Theod.* Is this country fruitfull, and plenty of all things, or barren, and emptie ?

England is a  
plentiful land,

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B 4]

but covetous  
wretches export  
its goods.

*Amphil.* There is no nation or country in the world, that for store, and abundance of all things, may compare with the same ; for <sup>1</sup> of all things there is such plentie (God haue the praise thereof) as they may feeme to haue neede of no other nation, but all others of them. In so much as if they were wise people (as they be wise inough, if they would vse their wisedome well) to keepe their owne substance within themselues, and not to transporth it ouer to other countries (as many couetous wretches for their owne priuate gaine doe) they might liue richly and in abundance of all things, whilst other countries should languish and want. But hereof more shall be spoken hereafter.

*Theod.* I pray you how is this country adiacent vpon other countries ?

It has English-  
men, Welshmen,  
Cornishmen,  
whose speech  
differs from one  
another.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. B 4, back]

*Amphil.* It lieth inuironed with the oceane sea rounde about ; vpon the one fide eastwarde, it bordereth vpon the confines of France : vpon the other fide westward, vpon Ireland ; towards the septentrionall or north part, vpon Scotland ; and vpon the south fide it respecteth Germanie. And is inhabited with three sundrie sortes of people, Englishmen, Cornishmen, and welchmen, all which, if not in lawes and constitutions, yet in language, doe differ one from another. But as they doe differ in toong and speech, so are they subiect (and that *Patrio iure*, By iustice and law) <sup>2</sup> to one Prince, and gouernour onely to whom they owe their allegiance.

*Theod.* Is the country quiet, peaceable, and at vnitie within it selfe, or otherwise troubled with mutenies, wars, and ciuill dissentions ?

*Amphil.* The whole lande (God be praised therefore, and preserue hir noble Grace by whom it is gouerned and maintained !) is,

and hath beene, at peace and vnitie, not onely within it selfe, but also abroad, for this foure or fve and twenty yeeres. During all which time there hath beene neither wars, iuasions, insurrections, nor any effusion of blood to speake of, except of a sort of architraitours, who haue receiued but the same reward they deserued, and the same that I pray God all traitours with their complices may receiue hereafter, if they practise the same which they haue done. The like continuance of peace was neuer heard of, not this hundred yeeres before, as this country hath inioied since hir maiesties reigne: the Lord preserve hir grace, and roiall Maiestie for euer!

England has  
been at peace for  
25 years.

*Theod.* Are the other countries, lands, and nations about them (for as I gather by your former intimations, this country is scituate as it were in the centrie, or midſt of <sup>1</sup>others) their friends, and well-willers, or their enimies?

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B 5]

*Amphil.* It is an old ſaieng and true: *Ex incertis, & ambiguis rebus optimum tenere sapientis eſt:* Of things vncerteine, a christian man ought to iudge and hope the beſt. They hope wel that all are their friends and welwillers: but it is thought (and I feare me too true) that they are ſo far from being their friends (*Nisi verbo tenuis,* From mouth outward onely) that they haue vowed and ſworne their deſtruſion, if they could as eaſily atchieue it, as they ſecretly intend it. Which thing to be true, ſome of their late praefices haue (yet to their owne conuſion, Gods name be Praifeſed) proued true. For how manie times hath that man of finne, that ſonne of the diuell, that *Italian Antichrift of Rome,* interdicted, excommunicated, ſuspended, and accuſed with booke, bell and candle, both the Prince, the Nobilitie, the Commons, and whole Realme? How often hath he ſent forth his roring buls againſt hir Maiefie, excommunicating (as I have ſaid) hir Grace, and diſcharging hir Highneſſe liege people and naturall ſubiects, from their allegeance to hir Grace? How often hath he with his adherents conſpired and intended the death and ouerthrowe of hir Maiefie and Nobilitie, by con*ſiuratiōn*, necromancy, exorcismes, art magike, witchcraft, and all kind of diuelrie beſides, wherein the moſt part of them are ſkilfuller than in diuinity? And when theſe deuifes would not take place, nor effect as they wiſhed, then attempted they by other waies and meaneſ to ouerthrowe the estate, the Prince, nobles, people and country: ſometime by ſecret irruption, ſometime

But it has lip-  
friends who  
hate it.

That ſon of the  
Devil, the Pope,

has conſpired the  
Queen's death,  
[<sup>2</sup> Sig. B 5, back]

and tried to over-  
throw the land.

## 6 II. 1. *Bloodthirsty Papists and Devil's-agent Jesuits.*

The Pope has sent here blood-thirsty Papists

to stir up rebellions.

[<sup>p</sup> Sig. B 6]  
These Devil's agents are call'd Jesuits,

but their every deed and word is directly contrary to Christ's.

They delude the world with their trash.

[<sup>p</sup> Sig. B 6, back]

by open inuasion, insurrection, and rebellion, sometime by open treason, sometime by secret conspiracie, and sometimnes by one meanes, sometimes by another. And now of late attempted they the ouerthrowe and subuersion of hir Maiestie, people, country, and all by sending into the realme a sort of cutthrotes, false traitors, and bloudthirstie Papists, who vnder the pretence of religious men (in whom for the most part there is as much religion as is in a dog) should not onely lurke in corners like howlets that abhorre the light, creepe into noble mens bosoms, thereby to withdrawe hir Maiesties subiects from their allegiance, but also moue them to rebellion, and to take sword in hand against Prince, country, yea, and against God himselfe (if it were possible) and to dispense with them that shall thus mischieuoufly behauie themselues. And forsooth these goodlie fellowes, the diuels agents, that must worke these feates, are called (in the <sup>1</sup>diuels name) by the name of Iesuites, seminarie preests, and catholikes, vsurping to themselves a name never heard of till of late daies, being indeed a name verie blasphemously deriuied from the name of Iesus, and improperly alluded and attributed to themselues. But what will it preuaile them to be like vnto Iesus in name onely, or how can they, nay, how dare they, arrogate that name vnto themselues, whereas their doctrine, religion, life and whole profession, togither with their corrupt liues and conuersations are directly contrarie to the doctrine, religion, life, and profession of Christ Iesus? There is nothing in the world more contradictorie one to another, than all their proceedings in generall are to Christ Iesus and his lawes, and yet will they, vnder the pretence of a bare and naked name, promise to themselves such excellencie, such integritie, and perfection, as GOD cannot require more, yea, such as doth merite *Ex opere operato*, Eternall felicitie in the heauens. And thus they deceiue themselues, and delude the world also with their trash: but of them inough.

*Theod.* Surely that country had neede to take heed to it selfe, to feare, and stand in awe, <sup>2</sup>hauing so manie enimies on euerie fide. And aboue all things next vnto the seruing of God, to keepe themselues aloofe, and in any case not to trust them, what faire weather soever the make them. The sweeter the *Syren* fingeth, the dangerouser is it to lend hir our eares: the Cocatrice never meaneth so much crueltie, as when he fawneth vpon thee and weepeth: then take heed, for he

meaneth to fucke thy bloud. The stller the water standeth, the more perilous it is. Let them remember it is an old and true saieng: *Sub nelle iacet venenum, Vnder honey lieth hid poison. Sub placidis herbis latitat coluber,* vnder the pleasankest grasse, lurketh the venomoust adder. Take heed of thos fellowes that haue *Mel in ore, verba lactis,* sweet words and plausible speeches: for they haue *Fel in corde,* and *Fraudem facitis,* Gall in their harts, & deceit in their deeds. So falleth it out with these ambidexters, these hollowe harted friends, where they intend destruction, then will they couer it with the cloke or garment of amity & friendship; therefore are they not to be trusted.

These Jesuits are  
ambidexters,  
hollow-hearted  
friends,

*Amphil.* You say the truth. For I am thus perswaded, that he who is false to God (as all <sup>1</sup>Papists with their complices and adherents are) can neuer be true and faithfull, neither to prince nor country. Therefore God grant they may be taken heed of betimes.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B 7]  
never true to  
prince or country

*Theod.* Considering that this country of *Dnalgne* is enuied abroad with so many enimies, and infested within by so many seditious Papists, and hollowe harted people, it is great maruell, that it can stand without great wars, and troubles. Belike it hath a wise politike prince, and good gouernors, either else it were vnpoffible to preserue the same in such peace and tranquilltie, and that so long togither. I pray you therefore by what prince is the same gouerned, and after what maner?

*Amphil.* The whole realme or country of *Dnalgne* is ruled and gouerned by a noble Queene, a chaste Maide, and pure Virgin, who for all respects may compare with any vnder the sunne. In so much as I doubt not to call her sacred breast the promptuarie, the receptacle, or storehouse of all true virtue and godlines. For if you speake of wisdome, knowledge and vnderstanding, her Grace is singular, yea, able at the first blush to discearne truth from falsehood, and falsehood from truth, in any matter, how ambiguous or obscure soever: so as it may iustly be called into question whether <sup>2</sup>*Salomon* himselfe had greater light of wisedome infilled into his sacred breast, than her Maiestie hath into her highnes roiall minde. If you speake of learning and knowledge in the toongs, whether it be in the Latine, Greeke, French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish, or any other vsuall toong, it may be doubted whether Christendome hath her peere, or not. If you speake

England is  
governd by a  
noble Queen,

virtuous and  
godly, wise and  
understanding,

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B 7, back]

learned in the  
tongues,

8 II. I. *The Queen's Council, and the Magistrates.*

modest, gentle,  
affable,

merciful,

religious, just,

more divine than  
earthly.

The Lord pre-  
serve her!  
[<sup>1</sup> Sig. B 8]

The Queen's  
Council are wise  
and experient  
men,

who make the  
laws, which are  
carried out by  
Magistrates

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. B 8, back]

of sobrietie, modestie, mansuetude and gentlenesse, it is woonderfull in hir Highnesse; yea, so affable, so lowly and humble is hir Grace, as she will not disdaine to talke familiarlie to the meanest or poorest of hir Graces subjects vpon speciall occasions. If you speake of mercie, and compassion to euery one that hath offended, I stande in suspence whether hir like were euer borne. If you speake of religion, of zeale and ferenctie to the truth, or if you speake of the vpright execution or administration of iustice, all the world can beare witnes, that herein (as in all godlinesse else) hir Highnes is inferior to none that liueth at this day. So that hir Grace seemeth rather a dñe creature, than an earthly creature, a vefel of grace, mercie and compassion, wherinto the Lord hath powred euen the full measures of his superabundant grace, and heauenlie influence. The Lord increase the same in hir <sup>1</sup>Highnes roiall breast, and preserue hir Grace, to the end of the world, to the glorie of God, the comfort of hir Maiefsties subiects, and confusion of all hir enimies whatsoeuer.

*Theod.* What is hir Maiefsties Councell? It shold seeme that they must needes be excellent men, hauing such a vertuous Ladie and Phenix Queene to rule ouer them?

*Amphil.* The Councell are Honorable and noble personages indeed, of great grauitie, wisedome, and pollicie, of singuler experience, modestie and discretion, for zeale to religion famous, for dexteritie in giuing counsell renoumed, for the administration of iustice incomparable, finally, for all honorable and noble exploits inferior to none, or rather excelling all. So as their worthie deedes, through the golden trumpe of fame are blowne ouer all the worlde. The whole regiment of the Realme confisfeth in the execution of good lawes, fanchions, statutes, and constitutions enacted and set foorth by hir roiall Maiefstie and hir most honorable Council, and committed by the same to inferior officers, and maiefstates to be put in practife, by whose diligent execution thereof, iustice is maintained, vertue erected, iniurie repreffed, and finne feuerely punished, to the great glorie of God, and <sup>2</sup>common tranquilitie of the Realme in euery condition.

*Theod.* Is the lande diuided into shires, counties, precincts, and feuerall exempt liberties, to the ende iustice may the better be maintained? And hath eny county, shire, and precinct, good lawes in the same for the deciding and appeasing of controuerfies that happen

in the same, so that they neede not to seeke further for redresse than in their owne shire?

*Amphil.* The whole land indeede is diuided (as you say,) into shires, counties, and feuerall precincts, (which are in number, as I take it, 40). In euerie which shire or countie, be courts, lawe daies, and leets, as they call them, every moneth, or every quarter of a yeere, wherin any controuersie (lightlie) may be heard and determined, so that none needs (except vpon some speciall occasions) to seeke to other courts for deciding of any controuersie. But as there be good lawes, if they were executed dulie, so are there corruptions and abuses not a few crept into them. For sometimes you shall haue a matter hang in sute after it is commenced a quarter of a yeere, halfe a yeare, yea, a twelue month, two or three yeeres togither, yea, seauen or eight yeeres now and then, if either friends or money can <sup>1</sup>be made. This deferring of iustice is as damnable before God, as the sentence of false iudgement is, as that blessed martyr of God, Maister *Latimer*, hath said in a sermon made before King *Edward* the fixt. Besides this deferring and delaieng of poore mens causes, I will not say how iudgement is perverted in the end. I reed them take heed to it that be the authors thereof. Therefore the reformed churches beyond the seas are worthie of commendations; for there the Judges sit in the open gates, streets, and high waies, that every man that will, may speake vnto them, and complaine if he haue occasion. And so farre from delaieng, or putting off<sup>2</sup> poore mens causes be they, as they will not suffer any matter, how weighty soever, to hang in sute aboue one day, or two, or at the most three daies, which happeneth verie seldome. But if the lawes within every particular countie or shire were dulie administred without parcialite, and truly executed with all expedition, as they ought, and not so lingred as they be, then needed not the poore people to run 100, 200, yea 300, or 400 miles (as commonly they doe) to seeke iustice, when they might haue it neerer home: through the want whereof, besides that their sutes are like to hang in ballance peraduenture seuen yeeres, <sup>3</sup>they, hauing spent al, in the end fall to extreme beggerie; which inconuenience might easilie be remoued, if all matters and caufes whatsoever were heard at home in their owne shire or countie with expedition. And to say the truth, what fooles

England is divided into shires and precincts, in each of which Law-Courts are held monthly or quarterly.

But abuses have crept in: causes are delayd, and that's as bad as false judgment, as Latimer said.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. C 1]

Also poor folk have to go 100 miles off to get justice,

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. C 1, back] and perhaps wait for 7 years.

10 II. I. Englishmen are very fond of going to law.

They spend their  
all, too, on  
greedy lawyers.

are they (yea, woorthe to be inaugured fooles with the laurell crowne of triple follie) that, whilst they might haue iustice at home in their owne country, and all matters of controuerſie decided amongſt their neighbors and friends at home, will yet go to lawe two or three hundred miles diſtant from them, and ſpend all that they haue to inrich a ſort of greedie lawiers, when at the laſt a ſort of ignorant men of their neighbors muſt make an end of it, whether they will or not. This, me thinke, if euerie good man would perpend in himſelfe, he would neither go to lawe himſelf, nor yet giue occaſion to others to doe the like.

*Theod.* I gather by your ſpeeches that theſe people are very contentious and quarellous, either elſe they would neuer be ſo diſirous of revenge, nor yet proſecute the lawe ſo feuerely for euerie trifle.

Englishmen are  
very contentious,  
and fond of going  
to law.

P Sig. C 2]

*Amphil.* They are very contentious indeed. Inſomuch as, if one giue neuer ſo ſmall occaſion to another, ſute muſt ſtraight be commenced; and to lawe go they, as round as a ball, till <sup>1</sup>either both, or at leaſt the one, become a begger all daies of his life after.

*Theod.* But on the other fide, if they ſhuld not go to lawe, then ſhould they ſuſtaine great wrong, and be iniuried on euerie fide.

The Law was  
made to do right  
and to ſtill ſtrife,  
but it's now per-  
verted to con-  
trary ends.

*Amphil.* Indeed the lawe was made for the administration of equitie and iuftice, for the appeaſing of controuerſies & debates, and for to giue to every man (*Quod ſuum eſt*) That which is his owne, but being now peruered and abuſed to cleane contrarie ends (for now commonly the law is ended as a man is fr[e]inded) is it not better to ſuffer a little wrong with patience, referring the reuenge to him who faith: *Mihi vindictam, & ego retribuam.* ‘Vengeance is mine, and I wil reward,’ than for a trifle to go to lawe, and ſpende all that euer he hath, and yet come by no remedie neither? Our fauour Christ biddeth vs, if any man will go to law with vs for our cote, to giue him our cloke alſo, and if any man will giue thee a blowe on the one cheeke, turne to him the other, whereby is ment, that if any man will iniurie vs, and doe vs wrong, we ſhould not refiſt nor trouble our felues, but ſuffer awhile, and with patience refer the due reuenge thereof to the Lord.

Christ teaches us  
to ſuffer wrong  
patiently, and let  
God revenge it.

P Sig. C 2, back]

*Amphil.* Why? Is it not lawfuſ then for one Christian <sup>2</sup> man, to go to lawe with another?

*Amphil.* The Aþoſtle faith ‘many things are lawfull which are not

expedient,' and therefore, though it be after a sort lawfull, yet for euery trifle it is not lawfull, but for matters of importance it is. And yet not neither, if the matter might otherwise, by neighbors at home, be determined.

*Theod.* Yet soone doubt whether it be lawfull or no for one Christian man to go to lawe with another for any worldly matter, bringing in the apostle Paule rebuking the Corinthians for going to lawe one with another.

*Amphil.* The apostle in that place reprehendeth them not for going to law for reasonable causes, but for that they, being christians, went to lawe vnder heathen judges, which tended to the great discredite and infamie of the Gospell. But certeine it is, though some anabaptists *Quibus veritas odio est*, and certeine other heritikes have taught the contrarie, yet it is certeine, that one christian man may go to lawe with an other for causes reasonable. For it being true, as it cannot be denied, that there is a certeine singularitie, interest, and proprietie in euery thing, and the lawe being not onely the meane to conferue the same propriety, but also to restore it againe,<sup>1</sup> being violate, is therefore lawfull, and may lawfully be attempted out, yet with this prouiso, that it is better, if the matter may otherwise be apeased at home, not to attempt lawe, than to attempt it. But if any schismatikes (as alas the worlde is too full of them) should altogether deny the vse of the lawe, as not christian, besides that the manifest word of God in euery place would easilie conuince them, the examples and practises of all ages, times, countries, and nations, from the first beginning of the world, togither with the example of our sauour Christ himselfe, who submitted himselfe to the lawes then established, would quicklie ouerthrow their vaine imaginations. The lawe in it selfe, is the square, the leuell, and rule of equitie and iustice, and therefore who absolutely contendeth the same not to be christian, may well be accused of extreeme folly. But if the lawes be wicked and antichristian, then ought not good christians to sue vnto them, but rather to sustaine all kind of wrong whatsoeuer.

*Theod.* Then it seemeth by your reason, that if the lawe be so necessarie, as without the which Christian kingdomes could not stand, then are lawiers necessarie also for the execution thereof.

<sup>2</sup>*Amphil.* They are most necessarie. And in my iudgement a man [<sup>1<sup>a</sup></sup> Sig. C 3, b ck]

St. Paul rebukes  
the Corinthians,  
who were Chris-  
tians, for going  
to law before  
Heathens.

But as it's Law's  
business to keep  
things straight,  
Christians may  
go to law.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. C 3]

Law is the  
square and level  
of Equity.

Lawyers are necessary, and can serve God; but English ones don't, they've such cheverl consciences.

Lawyers take bribes, and beggar the poor, and

turn Law topsy-turvy.

Their fee is an Angel, xos.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. C 4]

The abuses of our procedure and Prisons are frightful.

A man is clapt in irons, thrown into a dungeon, with only a little straw fit for a

dog; and there he lies, lice-bit, ill-fed, till he looks like a ghost, or dies.

He stops there for 3 months, 3 years, perhaps his whole life.

can serue God in no calling better than in it, if he be a man of a good conscience, but in *Dnalgne* the lawiers have such chauerell consciences, that they can serue the deuill better in no kind of calling than in that: for they handle poore mens matters coldly, they execute iustice parcially, & they receiue bribes greedily, so that iustice is peruerted, the poore beggared, and many a good man iniuried therby. They respect the persons, and not the causes; mony, not the poore; rewards, and not conscience. So that law is turned almost topsy-turvy, and therefore happy is he that hath leaft to doe with them.

*Theod.* The lawiers must needs be verie rich if they haue such large consciences.

*Amphil.* Rich, quoth you? They are rich indeede toward the deuill and the world, but towards God and heauen, they are poore inough. It is no meruaile if they be rich and get much, when they will not speake two words vnder an angell (for that is called a counsellers fee.) But how they handle the poore mens causes for it, God and their owne consciences can tell; and one day, I feare me, they shall feele to their perpetuall paine, except they repent and amend.

<sup>1</sup> *Theod.* How be iudgments executed there vpon offenders, transgressours, and malefactors? with equitie, & expedition, or otherwise?

*Amphil.* It greeueth me to relate thereof vnto you, the abuses therein are so inormous. For if a felonie, homicide, a murtherer, or else what greeuous offender soeuer, that hath deserued a thousand deaths, if it were possible, happen to be taken and apprehended, he is straightway committed to prison, and clapt vp in as many cold yrons as he can beare, yea, throwne into dungeons and darke places vnder the ground, without either bed, clothes, or anything else to helpe himselfe withall, saue a little straw or litter bad inough for a dog to lie in. And in this miserie shall he lie, amongst frogs, toades, and other filthie vermine, till lice eate the flesh of<sup>2</sup> his bones. In the meane space hauing nothing to eate, but either bread and water or else some other modicum scarce able to suffice nature; and many times it hapneth, that for want of the same pittance they are macerate and shronke so low, as they either looke like ghofts, or else are famished out of hand. And this extreme misery they lie in some time (perhaps) a quarter of a yeere, sometimes halfe a yeere, a

<sup>2</sup> off.

tweluemonth, yea, sometimes two or three yeeres, and perchance <sup>1</sup>all ¶ Sig. C 4, back;  
their life, though they have deserued death, by their flagitious facts  
committed. Who feeth not that it were much better for them to die  
at once, than to suffer this extreme miserie? Yea, the sufferance of  
this extremitie is better vnto them, than the taft of prefent death  
it felfe. And therefore in the cities reformed beyond feas, there is  
notable order for this: for as foone [as] any felon or malefactor what-  
foever that hath deserued death is taken, he is brought before the  
magistrate, witnesse comes in, and giues euidence against him, and  
being found guilty, and conuict by iustice, is presently, without any  
further imprisonment, repriuation or delay, condemned, and being  
condemned, is led presently to the place of execution, and so com-  
mitted to the sword.

*Theod.* What is the cause why they are kept so long before they  
go to execution in *Dnalgne*.

*Amphil.* Sometimes it commeth to passe by reason of (will doe all) otherwife called mony, and sometimes by freends, or both, for certeine it is, the one will not worke without the other. Hereby it commeth to passe, that great abuses are committed. For if any man that hath freends and mony (as mony alwaies bringeth freendes with him) chance to haue <sup>2</sup>committed neuer so heinous, or flagicious a deed, whether robbed, stollen, slaine, killed or murthered, or what-foever it be, then letters walke, freends besfir them, and mony carrieth all away: yea, and though the lawe condemne him, iustice conuicteth him, and good conscience executeth him, yet must he needes be repriued, and in the meane time his pardon, by false suggestion forsooth, must be purchased, either for friendship or mony.

*Theod.* That is a great abuse, that he whom the lawe of God and of man doth condemne, should be pardoned. Can man pardon or remit him whom God doth condemne? Or shall man be more mercifull in euill, then the author of mercie himselfe? it is God that condemneth, who is he that can faue? Therefore those that ought to die by the lawe of God, are not to be faued by the lawe of man. The lawe of God commandeth that the murtherer, the adulterer, the exorcist, magician and witch, and the like, should die the death. Is it now in the power or strength of man to pardon him his life?

*Amphil.* Although it be wilfull and purposed murther, yet is the

The oversea Re-  
formd Cities try  
culprits at once,  
and execute em.

*Will-do-all* or  
money.  
In England the  
delay's due to  
*Will-Do-All*,  
money.

¶ Sig. C 5]  
If a felon or  
murderer has  
friends and  
money, he's safe  
to get reprieved  
or pardoned.

14 II. i. *One law for the Rich, another for the Poor.*

The crime is set  
down to chance  
medley, accident.  
[<sup>1</sup> Sig. C 5, back]

prince borne in hande that it was plaine chance medley (as they call it) meere casuall, and fortunate, and therefore <sup>1</sup>may easily be dispensed withall. Indeede, the wisedome of God ordeined, that if any man chanced to kill an other against his will, he shoule flie to certeine cities of refuge, and so be saued, but if it were proued that he killed him wittingly, willingly, & prepensedly, then he shoule without al exception be put to death. And herein is great abuse, that two hauing committed one and the same fault, the one shall be pardoned and the other executed. If it be so that both haue committed offence worthy of death, let both die for it; if not, why should either die? Experience prooueth this true, for if a Gentleman commit a greeuous offence, and a poore man commit the like, the poore shal be sure of his *Sursum collum?* But the other shall be pardoned. So Diogenes, seeing a sort of poore men going to hanging, fell into a great laughter. And being demanded wherefore he laughed, he answered at the vanitie and follie of this blind word. For, saith he, I see great theeuers lead little theeuers to hanging. And to say the truth, before God, is not he a greater theefe that robbeth a man of his good name for euer, that taketh a mans house ouer his head, before his yeeres be expired, that wrefeth from a man his goods, his lands and liuings whervpon he, his wife, children and familie should <sup>2</sup>liue, than he that stealeth a sheepe, a cow, or an oxe, for necessities sake onely, hauing not otherwise to releue his neede? And is not he a great theefe that taketh great summes of mony of the poore (vnder the names of fees), and doth little or nothing for them? Though this be not theft before the world, nor punishable by penall lawes, yet before God it is plaine theft, and punishable with eternall torments in hel. Let them take heede to it.

If a Gentleman  
and a Poor Man  
commit the same  
offence, the  
Gentleman gets  
pardond, and the  
Poor Man hung.

Yet isn't a grasping  
landlord or  
lawyer, a bigger  
thief than the  
poor man who  
steals from  
hunger?

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. C 6]

*Theod.* Cannot the prince then pardon any malefactor?

*Amphil.* Some are of opinion that the prince, by his power imperiall and prorogatiue, may pardon and remit the penaltie of any law, either diuine or humane, but I am of opinion that if Gods lawe condemne him, no prince ought to sauе him, but to execute iudgement and iustice without respect of persons to all indifferently. But in causes wherein Gods lawe doth not condemne him, the prince may pardon the offender, if there appeere likelyhoode of amendment in him. And yet let the prince be sure of this, to answere at the day of

No prince should  
pardon him  
whom Gods lawe  
condemns.

judgement before the tribunall seate of GOD, for all the offences that the partie pardoned shall commit any time of his life after. For if the prince had cutte him off when the <sup>1</sup>lawe had passed on him, that [p. Sig. C 6, back] euill had not been committed. To this purpose I remember I haue heard a certeine pretie apothegue vttered by a iester to a king. The king had pardoned one of his subiectes that had committed murther, who, being pardoned, committed the like offence againe, and by meanes was pardoned the seconde time also, and yet filling up the measure of his iniquitie, killed the third, and being brought before the king, the king being very forie, asked why he had killed three men, to whom his iester stading by replied, saieng: "No (O king) he killed but the first, and thou haft killed the other two: for if thou hadst hanged him vp at the first, the other two had not beeene killed, therefore thou haft killed them, and shalt answere for their bloud." Which thing being heard, the king hanged him vp straightway, as he very well deserued: yet notwithstanding, I grant that a prince by his power regall and prerogatiue imperial may pardon offenders, but not such as Gods lawes and good conscience doe condemne, as I said before. The power of a prince is comprehended *In Relus licitis in Deo*, but not *in Rebus illicitis contra Deum*: In things lawfull in God, not in things vnlawfull contrarie to God. No power or principalitie vpon the earth <sup>1</sup>whatsoeuer may dispense with the lawe of God, but what it setteth downe must stand inuiolable. Therefore if it be asked me wherein a prince may pardon any malefactor, I answer, for the breach or violation of any humane lawe, ordinance, constitution, statute, or sanction, but not against Gods word and lawe in any condition.

*Theod.* How is iustice ministered there, sincerenly and truely, so as the poore haue no cause iustly to complaine, or otherwise?

*Amphil.* If any haue cause to complaine (as alas too many haue) it is for want of due execution of the lawes, not for lacke of good lawes. For, God be praised, there be many good lawes, but indeed now and then through the negligence of the officers they are coldly executed. But if the lawes there in force were without parcialtie dulia executed, there shuld be no iust occasion for any to complaine. And truly to speake my conscience there is great parcialtie in the magistrates and officers, nay, great corruption. For if a rich

How a king was shown by his jester that, by pardoning a murderer, he had kill'd 2 men.

[p. Sig. C 7]

A prince can only pardon breaches of man's law, not God's.

There's great partiality in English magistrates and officers.

16 II. 1. *Lawyers suck marrow out of poor folks' bones.*

The rich man is  
favour'd against  
the poor.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. C 7, back]

Judges should go  
by justice, not  
by bribes.

Lawyers rob  
their poor clients  
by taking big  
fees,

and fees from 3  
people when they  
can only do one's  
work.

The fees for  
warrants, &c.  
are too high.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. C 8]

The marrow's  
suckt out of  
poor men's bones.

Bailiffs take  
bribes to let de-  
fendants get  
away.

All officials  
should act with  
a single eye to  
God's glory.

man and a poore man chance to haue to doe before them, the matter I warrant you shall quickly be ended, and, my life for yours, shall go vpon the rich mans fide, notwithstanding the poore mans right be apparent to all the world. But <sup>1</sup>if two poore men of equall estate go to lawe togither, then their sute shall hang three or foure yeeres, peraduenture feuen yeeres, a dozen, yea twentie yeeres, before it be ended, till either the one or both be made beggers. For reformation whereof, I would wish iudges and officers to respect the cause, not the persons, the matter, not the gaine <sup>2</sup> and not to regard either letter or any thing else, which might be sent them to peruer true iudgement. And iustice being ministred, then to read ouer their commendatorie letters in Gods name, remembraunce what the wise man saith : 'Gifts blinde the eies of the wise, and peruer iudgement.' The lawiers I would wish to take lesse fees of their clients. For is not this a plaine theft before God, to take ten, twentie, or fortie shillings of one poore man at one time, and so much of a great sort at once, and yet to speake neuer a word for the most part of it? And notwithstanding that they can be present but at one barre at once, yet will they take diuers fees of sundry clients to speake for them at three or foure places in one day. The other officers who grant foorth the warrants, the *Subpoenas*, the *Scire facias*, and diuers other wris, and those who keepe the seales of the same, I would wish to take lesse fees also. For is not <sup>2</sup>this too vnreasonable, to take a crowne, or ten shillings for writing six or feuen lines, or little more. And then the keeper of the feale, for a little waxe, he must haue as much as the other. And thus they fucke out (as it were) eu'en the very marrowe out of poore mens bones. The shirifs, bailifs, and other officers also, I would wish, for fees, for bribes, for friendship and rewards, not to returne a *Tarde venit*, or a *Non est inuentus*, when they haue either sent the partie word to auoid couertly, or else, looking through their fingers, see him, & will not see him, forcing herby the poore plaintife to lose not only his great & importable charges in the lawe, but also peraduenture his whole right of that which he sueth for. Thus let euery officer by what kind of name or title soever he be called, or in what kind of calling soever he be placed, doe all things with single eie, and good conscience, that God may be glorified, the common peace maintained, iustice supported, and their owne consciences dif-

II. I. No Subject may take Arms against his Prince. 17

charged against the great daye of the Lorde, when all flesh shall be conuented before the tribunall seate of G O D all naked as euer they were borne, to render accounts of all their dooings, whether they bee good or badde, and to receiue a rewarde according to their deeds. <sup>1</sup>By [Sig. C. 8, back] all which it appeareth, that if any for want of iustice have caufe to complaine, it is thorow the corruption of iniquitie, auarice, and ambition of greedy and insaciable cormorants, who, for desire of gaine, make haucke of all things, yea, make shipwracke of bodies and soules to the deuill for euer, vnlesse they repent.

*Theod.* How farre are princes lawes to be obeied, in all things indifferently without exception?

Princes are to be  
obeyd in all  
things not con-  
trary to God's  
law.

*Amphil.* In all things not contrarie to the lawe of God and good conscience, which, if they be against God and true godlineffe, then must we say with the apostles, *Melius est deo obedire, quam hominibus,* It is better to obey God than man.

*Theod.* If the prince than doe set foorth a lawe contrarie to the lawe of God, and do constraine vs to doe that, that Gods word commandeth vs we shall not doe. In this or like case, may subiects lawfully take armes, and rise against their prince?

*Amphil.* No, at no hand, vnleſt they will purchafe to themſelues eternall damnation, and the wrath of God for euer. For it is not lawfull for the subiects to rise up in armes againſt their liege prince for any occaſion what<sup>2</sup> ſoeuer. For prooſe whereof we read that our ſauour Christ was, not onely obedient to the maigistrates, and ſuperior powers in all things, but alſo taught his apoftles, diſciples, and in them all people and naſions of the world, the very fame doctrine. And therefore the apoftle faith, *Omnis anima potestatibus superioribus subditia fit:* Let euery foule submit himſelfe to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And he that refiſteth this power, refiſteth the ordinance of God, and purchafeth to himſelfe eternall damnation. Peter alſo giueth the like charge, that obedience in all godlines be giuen to the ſuperior powers, and that praier and interceſſions be made for kings and rulers, and giueth the reaſon why, namely, that we may lead *Vitam pacificam*, A peacable life vnder them.

But their sub-  
iects muſt'n't in  
any caſe take  
arms againſt  
them.

If ſubjects do,  
they reſiſt God's  
ordinance.

*Theod.* Why? How than? If we ſhall not refiſt them, then we do obey them in any thing either good or bad.

If princes order  
things against  
God's law,  
subjects must  
lay down goods  
and life, and

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. D. 1, back]

put their necks  
on the block,  
rather than dis-  
obey God.

Even if the  
prince is ungodly,  
he's sent by God,

and is to be  
obeyed.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. D. 2]

Every one is to  
love his prince as  
himself.

May every Eng-  
lishman who  
won't love and  
pray for Queen  
Elizabeth, die  
straight off!

*Amphil.* No, not so neither. In all things not contrarie to Gods word we must obey them, on paine of damnation. But in things contrarie to the word and truth of God, we are thus to doe. We must depose and lay foorth ourselues, both bodie, and goods, life, and time, (our <sup>1</sup> conscience onely excepted, in the true obedience whereof we are to serue our God) euen all that we haue of nature, and committing the same into the hands of the prince, submit our selues, and lay downe our necks vpon the blocke, chooing rather to die than to doe any thing contrarie to the lawe of God and good conscience. And this is that, that the apostles ment when they saide: It is better to obey God than man. Not that obedience to man in all godlineffe is forbid, but that obedience to God is to be preferred before the obedience to man.

*Theod.* What if the prince be a tyrant, a wicked prince, and an vngodly, is he notwithstanding to be obeied?

*Amphil.* Yea, truely in the same order as I haue shewed before. For whether the prince be wicked, or godlye, hee is sent of GOD, bicause the Apostle saith: There is no power but of GOD. If the prince be a godlye prince, then is hee sent as a great blessing from GOD, and if hee be a tyrant, then is he raised of GOD for a scourge to the people for their finnes. And therefore whether the prince be the one, or the other, he is to be obeied as before.

*Theod.* And bee kings and rulers to <sup>2</sup>bee beloued, and praied for of their subiects.

*Amphil.* That is without all doubt. For hee that hateth his prince in his hart, is a contemner of Gods ordinance, a traitour vnto GOD, and to his countreye: yea, hee is to loue his prince as well as himselfe, and better, if better can bee, and to praye for him as for himselfe. For that an infinite number doe rest and depend vpon his Maiestie, which doe not so vpon himselfe. So that the miscarrieng of him, were the destruction (peraduenture) of manye thousands.

*Theod.* This being so, then hath *Dnalgne* great cause to praye for their prince, by whose woorthye indeuour, and wise gouernement, the state of that realme is so peaceably maintained.

*Amphil.* They haue great caufe indeede not onely to loue hir Maiestie, but also to praye for hir Grace, and whosoeuer will not doe so, I beseech the LORDE in the bowels of his mercie, to stoppe their

breath, and to take them awaie quicklye from the face of the earth. For by hir Highnesse wife gouernement, the realme is in peace, Gods word flourishest, and abundance <sup>1</sup> of al things floweth in the same, [Sig. D. 2, back] the Lord God be praised therefore, and preserue hir noble Grace long to reigne amongst vs. Amen.

*Theod.* Let vs proceed a little further: I pray you how is the youth <sup>As to Education,</sup> of that country brought vp, in learning or otherwise?

*Amphil.* The youth truely is well brought vp, both in good letters, nurture, and maners for the most part. For the better performance whereof, they haue excellent good schooles, both in cities, townes, and countries, wherein abundance of children are learnedly brought vp. But yet notwithstanding, some parents are much to be blamed in the education of their children, for the most keepe their sonnes to schoole but for a time, till they can write and read, and well if all that too, and very feldome or neuer doe they keepe them so long at their booke, as vntill they atteine to any perfect knowledge indeed. So that by this means learning doth, and is like, greatly to decay. And if one aske them, why they keepe not their children to schoole till they prooue learned, they will answer, " Bicause I fee learning and learned men are little esteemed, and ne thinke the best of them can hardly live by the same. And therefore I will set him to an occupation, which will be alwaies sure." As herein they say <sup>2</sup>true, for I cannot but lament the smal preferment now adayes that learning getteth in the world amongst men, & the smal account that is made of the same. This is the cause why learning doth, and will in time, greatly decay. For who is he, that hauing spent all his substance vpon learning, yea, his bodie, strength, and all, and yet can hardly liue thereby, and maintaine himselfe withall, that will couet after learning, which is both so chargeable, and painfull to be come by?

*Theod.* Be there not Vniuersities, colledges, and free schooles, where youth may bee brought vp in learning *Gratis* without any charges to their parents?

*Amphil.* There are such places indeed. But alas they are abused & peruerted to other ends than was intended by them at the first. For whereas those places had great liuings, rents, reuenues & possessions giuen to them, it was to this onely end and purpose, that those poore children whose parents were not able otherwise to main-

we've good schools, and plenty of children at 'em,

but the boys stay only till they can read and write;

then they're put to business, because they can't live by Learning, which gets small preferment nowadays.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. D. 3]

The free Colleges and Schools are abused and perverted

taine them at learning, should be brought vp vpon the charges of the house, and not those whose parents are able to maintaine them of themselues. But now we see the contrarie is true, and whereas they were giuen to maintaine none but the poore only, now <sup>1</sup> they maintaine none but the rich only. For except one be able to giue the regent or prouost of the house, a peece of mony, ten pound, twentie pound, fortie pound, yea, a hundred pound, a yoke of fatte oxen, or a couple of fine geldings, or the like, though he be neuer so toward a youth, nor haue neuer so much need of maintenance, yet he comes not there, I warant him. If he cannot preuaile this way, Let him get him letters commendatory from some of reputation, and perchance he may speed, in hope of benefite to insue. So that the places in the vniuersities and free schooles, seeme rather to be folde for mony and frenship, than giuen *gratis* to them that haue neede, as they ought to be.

*Theod.* Are there not many inferior schooles in the country besides, both for the instrucion and catechisifg of youth?

*Amphil.* There are so, almost in euery parish. But alas, such small pittance is allowed the schoolmaisters, as they can neither buy the libraries, nor which is leffe, hardly maintaine themselues; which thing altogether disuadeth them from their bookees, and is occasion why many a one shortheit in palpable ignorance all daies of their life.

*Theod.* Would you haue any man without exception, to take vpon him the office of a <sup>2</sup>schoolmaister, and to teach the youth?

*Amphil.* No, at no hand. Firft I would wish that euery one that is a schoolmaster, how learned or vnlearned soeuer, should be examined, as wel for his religion, and his sufficiencie in knowledge, as also for his integrtie of life, & being found found in them all, to be alowed & admitted to teach. For if euerie one that wold, should take vpon him to teach without further triall, then might there great inconuenience follow. For papists and other schismatikes, apostataes, or else whatsoeuer, might thrust in themselues, & so corrupt the youth. Ignorant & vnlearned would take vpon them high learning & so delude their schoolers. And if his life should not be answerable to his profession, then should he perueret his auditorie also. Therefore in my iudgement is there great choise to be made of schoolmaisters. Thus they being tried, let them be admitted *gratis*,

from poor chil-  
dren to rich ones.  
[<sup>1</sup> Sig. D. 3, back]

Unless a father  
can bribe the  
Master,

his son 'll not get  
into College or  
School.

The places are  
jobd, not given  
to the needy.

In poor schools,  
Schoolmasters  
are so badly paid  
that pupils shor-  
t in palpable igno-  
rance all their  
days.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. D. 4]

Every School-  
master should be  
examined for  
character and  
knowledge,

and then pay no  
fees to teach.

## II. I. Schoolmasters, Artisans, & rich Merchants. 21

by authoritie. But now there is great abuses herein, for being found sufficient in all respect, yet must he be constrained to take a license, whether he will or not, and must pay xxvi. or xx. shillings for it, & yet will this serue him no longer than he tarieth in that dioces, & comming into another he must pay as much there for y<sup>e</sup> like license also, whereas peraduenture he shall scarcely get <sup>1</sup>so much cleere in three or foure yeeres in that dioces, they haue such fat pasture. But if they would needs haue them to haue licenses, (which I grant to be very good,) I would wish they might haue them *gratis*, without mony, for if it be lawfull for them to teach for mony, it is also lawfull without. And if they be not woorthie it is pittie that mony should make them woorthie ; and againe, if they be woorthie, it is pittie that without mony they cannot be so accepted.

*Theod.* What way were best to be taken for the good education of youth ?

*Amphil.* It were good (if it might be brought to passe) that in euery parish throughout the Realme, there were an indifferent able man appointed for the instruction of youth in good letters, hauing a reasonable stipend alowed him of the same parish for his paines. But now they teach and take paines for little or nothing, which vtterly discourageth them, and maketh manie a cold schooler in *Dnalgne*, as experience daily teacheth.

*Theod.* Be there men of all kinde of trades, occupations, and <sup>Asto</sup> Tradesmen, artes, as there be in other countries.

*Amphil.* Yea, truely : there are men of all sciences, trades, mysteries, faculties, occupa<sup>2</sup>tions, and artes whatsoeuer, and that as cunning as any be vnder the sunne. Yea, so expert they be, as if they would let a thing alone when it is well, they were the brauest workmen in the world. But as they seeke to excell and surpassee al other nations, in finenes of workmanship, so now and than they reape the fruits of their vaine curiofity, to their owne detriment, hinderance, and decay.

*Theod.* How liue the merchant men amongst them ? are they rich and wealthy, or but poore ?

*Amphil.* How should they be poore, gaining as they do, more then halfe in halfe in euerie thing they buy or sell ? And which is more, fometimes they gaine double and triple ; if I faid quadruple, I lied not.

Now he must  
pay 26s. or 30s.  
for a license for  
every diocese he  
teaches in.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. D. 4, back.]

Licenses should  
be given to fit  
men gratis.

Every Parish  
ought to have its  
Schoolmaster  
with a good  
stipend.

English Artisans  
are as clever as  
any under the  
sun.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. D. 5]

The Merchants  
are rich, making  
from 100 to 400  
per cent.

22 II. i. *Merchants export goods wanted at home.*

*Theod.* I pray you how can that be so?

*Amphil.* I will tell you. They haue mony to lay foorth vpon euerie thing, to buy them at the first and best hand, yea, to ingroffe, and to store themselues with abundance of al things. And then will they keepe these marchandise till they waxe verie scarse, (and no maruaile, for they buy vp all things) and so consequently deere. And then will they sell them at their owne prices, or else (being able to beare the mony) they will keepe them still. By this <sup>1</sup>meanes they get the deuill and all; besides these, they haue a hundred fligths in their budgets to rake in gaine withall.

*Theod.* I pray you, what be those?

*Amphil.* They will go into the countries, and buy vp all the wooll, corne, leather, butter, cheeze, bacon, or else what marchandise soever they knowe will be vendible, and these they transport ouer seas, whereby they gaine infinit summes of mony.

*Theod.* That is woorderful that they are so permitted: are there no lawes, nor prohibitions to the contrarie, that no wooll, corne or leather, shoulde be transported ouer seas?

*Amphil.* There are good lawes, and great restraints to the contrary, in so much as they be apparent traitors to God, their prince and country, that carrie any of the foresaid things ouer without speciaall licence thereto. Yet notwithstanding, either by hooke or crooke, by night or day, by direct or indirect meanes, either knowne or unknowne, they wil convey them ouer, though their owne country want the same. But to auoide all dangers, they purchase a licence & a dispensation for mony, bearing the prince in hand that they do it for some good cause, when indeed the cause is their owne <sup>2</sup>priuate gaine. And for the speedier obtaining of their desires, they demand license for the cariage ouer but of so much and so much, when in truth they conuey ouer, vnder the colour of this their license, ten times, twenty times, yea, a hundred times, fife hundred times, yea, a thousande times as much more. And thus they delude their prince, impouerish their country, and inrich themselues, feeding, clothing and inriching our enimies with our owne treasure. Hereby it commeth to passe that all things are deerer, and scarfer, than otherwise they would be if restraynt were had, and I warrant them many a blacke curse haue they of the poore commons for their doing.

They buy up the whole stock of an article, hold it till it gets dear, and then sell it at their own price.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. D. 5, back]

Merchants also buy up English goods and export them.

Traitors to God and their country they are, dodging the laws by buying the Queen's license,

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. D. 6]

and then exporting 500 times as much as they've leave to.  
They thus make things dear; and

many a black curse do they get from the poor for it!

*Theod.* Would you not haue licenses granted for the transporting ouer of such things for no cause?

*Amphil.* Yes. But first I would haue our owne people serued, that they wante not in any case. For it is very vnmeete to feede We ought to feed  
our own folk  
first. forren nations, and our owne country familih at home. But if it were so, that *Dnalgne* flowed in abundance and plentie of all things, whatsoever are necessarie for the vse and sustentacion of man in this life, and other nations (prouided that they bee our freendes <sup>1</sup>and of Then we may  
export our sur-  
plus to friendly  
lands.  
¶ Sig. D. 6, back, christian religion) wanted the same then would I wishe that some of our superfluitie might be erogate to them, to the supplie of their necessities, but not otherwise. And this standeth both with the lawes of God, charitie, and good conscience.

*Theod.* These are marueilous sleights to get mony withall. But I pray you, haue they no more?

*Amphil.* They want none, I warrant you; for rather than to fail, they haue their false weights, their counterfet ballances, their adulterate measures, and what not, to deceiue the poore people withall, and to rake in mony. But the Wife man telleth them, that false ballances, counterfet weightes, and vntrue measures, are abomination to the Lord. And the Apostle telleth them, that God is the iust reuenger of all those that deceiue their brethren in bargaining. And yet shall you haue them, in the sale of their wares, to sweare, to teare, and protest, that 'before God, before Iefus Christ, as God shall saue my soule, as God shall judge me, as the Lord liueth, as God receiue me, as God helpe me, by God and by the world, by my faith and troth, by Iefus Christ,' and infinite the like othes, that such a thing cost them so much, & so much, and it is woorth <sup>2</sup>this much and that much, when And they swear  
by all that's holy  
that their wares  
cost so much,  
and are worth so  
much, lying  
loudly.  
¶ Sig. D. 7, in truth they sweare as false, as the living Lord is true, as their owne consciences can beare them witnesse, and I feare me will condemne them at the day of the Lord, if they repent not. For if a thinge cost them ten shillings, they will not blush to aske twentie shillings for it. If it cost them twentie shillings, they will not shame to aske forty shillings for it, and so of all others, doubling, tripling, and quadrupling the price thereof, without either feare of God, or regard of good conscience.

*Theod.* What say you of the Drapers and cloth sellers? liue they in the same order that the oth.r doe?

They'll not blush  
to ask 20s. for  
what cost 'em  
10s. ! having no  
fear of God.

And the Drapers  
are as bad.

They rack and  
stretch their  
cloth, so that it  
won't keep out  
rain.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. D. 7, back]  
They have dark  
shops, to take  
buyers in.

They charge 100  
per cent. profit,  
and swear the  
goods cost em all  
the money.

The Clothmakers  
are a bad lot  
too.

They use bad  
wool; get the  
Fuller to thicken  
it, and the  
Clothier to shear  
it low; then they  
sell it for fine  
cloth.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. D. 8]

They stretch it  
too.

Our Goldsmiths

*Amphil.* Of Drapers I haue little to say, sauing that I thinke them cater cofins, or cofin germans to merchants. For after they haue bought their cloth, they cause it to be tentered, racked, and so drawne out, as it shall be both broader and longer than it was when they bought it almost by halfe in halfe, or at leſt by a good large fife. Now the cloth being thus ſtreched forth in euery vaine, how is it poſſible either to endure or hold out; but when a shower of raine taketh it, then it falleth and ſhrinketh in, that it is shame to ſee it. Then haue they their ſhops and places where they <sup>1</sup> ſell their cloth commonly very darke and obscure, of purpoſe to deceiue the buiers. But *Caveat emptor* (as the old ſaieng is) Let the buiers take heed. For *Technas machinant, & retia tendant pedibus*, as the ſaieng is: 'They meane deceit, and lay fnares to intrap the feet of the ſimple.' And yet notwithstanding, they will be ſure to make price of their racked cloth, double and triple more than it coſt them. And will not ſtice to ſweare, and take on (as the other their confraters before) that it coſt them ſo much, and that they doe you no wrong. God giue them grace to haue an eie to their conſciences, and to content themſelues with reaſonable gaines.

*Theod.* I thinke there is great fault to bee found in the firſt makers of the cloth, for the naughtineſſe thereof, as well as in the Drapers, is there not?

*Amphil.* No doubt of that. For ſome put in naughtie wool, and cauſe it to be ſpun & drawne into a very ſmall thred, and then compounding with the Fuller to thicke it very muſch, and with the Clothier alſo to ſheare it very lowe, and with ſome liquide matter to lay downe the wooll ſo cloſe, as you can hardly ſee any wale, and then ſelleth it as though it were a very fine cloth indeed. Other ſome mixe good <sup>2</sup> wooll and naughtie wooll together, and viſing it as before, they will ſell it for principall good cloth, when it is no thing leſſe. And then for their further aduantage, euery vaine, euery ioint, and euery thred muſt be ſo tentered and racked, as I warrant it for euer being good after. Now, it being thus tentered at his hands, and after at the Drapers handes, I pray you how ſhould this cloth be ought, or endure long?

*Theod.* Be there Goldſmithes there any ſtore alſo, as in ſome other countries there be?

*Amphil.* There are now, and more than a good meanie. They are (for the most part) very rich and wealthye, or else they turne the fairest fide outwards, as many doe in *Dnalgne*. They haue their shoppes and stalles fraught and bedecked with chaines, rings, golde, filuer, and what not woonderfull richly. They will make you any monster or antike whatsoeuer, of golde, filuer, or what you will. They haue store of all kinde of plate whatsoeuer. But what? Is there no deceit in all these goodly shewes? Yes, too many. If you will buy a chaine of golde, a ring, or any kinde of plate, besides that you shall paye almost halfe in halfe more than it is woorth (for they will per-  
 suade<sup>1 2</sup> you the workmanship of it comes to so much, the fashion to so  
 much, and I cannot tell what:) you shall also perhaps haue that golde  
 which is naught, or else at least mixt with other droffie rubbage, and  
 refuse mettall, which in comparison is good for nothing. And some-  
 times, or for the most part, you shal haue tinne, lead, and the like, mixt  
 with filuer. And againe, in some things some will not sticke to sell  
 you filuer gilt for gold, and well if no worse too now and then.  
 But this happeneth very seldome, by reasoun of good orders, and con-  
 stitutions made for the punishment of them that offend in this kind of  
 deceit, and therfore they seldome dare offend therein, though now  
 and then they chance to stumble in the darke.

*Theod.* Haue you good wines in *Dnalgne*?

*Amphil.* Indeede there are excellent wines as any be in the world,  
 yet not made within the Realme, but comming from beyond seas:  
 which when the vintners have once got into their clouches, and placed  
 in their sellers, I warrant you they make of one hogshead almost  
 two, or at lefft, one and a halfe, by mixing & blenting one with  
 another, & infusing other liquor into them. So that it is almost  
 vnpossible, to get a cup of pure wine of it selfe at the tauerne. But  
 harshe, rough, stipticke, and hard<sup>3</sup> wine, neither pleasant to the mouth,  
 nor wholsome to the bodie. And notwithstanding that they gaine  
 (welneare) one hogshead in another, yet shall their measures, their  
 gallons, pints, and quarts be so spare, and their prices so hie, that it is  
 woonderful to see. And if a poore simple man go to drinke a pint  
 of wine for the strengthening of his bodie, and for necessities sake  
 onely, he shall be sure to haue that wine brought him, that is too  
 bad, though his monie (I am sure) is as good as the rich mans. But

are very rich, and  
 have shops and  
 stalls loaded with  
 gold and silver  
 ornaments.

[<sup>1</sup> used orig.]  
 [<sup>2</sup> Sig. D 8, back]  
 Goldsmiths mix  
 gold with base  
 alloy; and some  
 sell silver-gilt  
 for gold.

Vintners mix  
 bad wine with  
 good;

[<sup>3</sup> Sig. E 1]

give short  
 measure, and  
 palm off bad  
 wine on poor  
 men.

## 26    *Butchers' Tricks. Greedy Grasiers' profits.*

if a man of countenance come to drinke for pleasure & niceenesse, he shall haue of the best wine in the seller, though his mony be no beter than the poore mans. With infinite the like abusess, which I omit.

*Theod.* Haue you anything to say of Butchers, and thosse that kill and sel meate to eate?

Butchers are impudent enough to try and make too per cent profit!

Butchers let the blood soak into their meat.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. E 1, back]

They puff lean meat up with air, and pin fat on it.

Some 'll also sell meat that has died in a ditch.

[<sup>2</sup> for for, orig.]

[<sup>3</sup> Sig. E 2]  
Meat is dear.  
Greedy grasers keep up the price of beasts.

*Amphil.* Nothing but this: that they are not behind in their abusess, fallacies, and deceits. For whereas they pay a certeine price for a fat beefe, they are so impudent that they thinke their market is naught, except they may gaine halfe in halfe, or the best quarter at the least. And to the end their meate may be more saleable to the eie, the fairer, and the fatter, they will kill their beasts, and suffer the bloud to remaine within them still, for this cause that <sup>1</sup>it may incorporate it selfe in the flesh, and so thereby the flesh may not onely be the weightier (for in some places they buy all by waight) but also may seeme both fresher, fairer, newer, tenderer, and yonger. And, which is more commonly, they vse to blowe and pufte it vp with winde, to the end it may seeme bigger, fatter, and fairer to the eie. Or if the meate it selfe be leane, and naught, then will they take the fat of other meate, and pin vpon the same very artificially, and all to delude the eies of the beholders. And though it be neuer so old meate, tough, and stale, yet will they sweare, protest, and take on woonderfully, that it is very new, fresh and tender. So that no more in them than in others, there is little conscience at all. There be some of them also now and then that will not sticke to sell meate which hath died (perchance) in a ditch, if it be worth the eating (which is most lamentable), and yet wil beare the world in hand that it is excellent meate, that it died kindly, and so foorth. So that hereby infinite diseases are caught, and manie times present death insueth to the eaters thereof.

*Theod.* Is meate deere or good cheape there for <sup>2</sup> the most part?

*Amphil.* It is commonly deere, seldom good <sup>3</sup>cheape, and the reason is, bicause a sort of infaciable cormorants, greedie grafiers I meane, who, hauing raked togither infinite pasture, feed all themselfes, and will not sell for anie reasonable gaine, and then must the Butchers needs sell deere, when as they buie deere.

II. I. *Evils of enclosing Commons & making Parks.* 27

*Theod.* Why? would you haue no grafiers? then how coulde there bee anie meate fatted?

*Amphil.* Yes I would haue grafiers. But I would not haue a few rich cobs to get into their clowches almost whole countries, so as the poore can haue no releefe by them. For by this meanes pastures and groundes are not onely excessively deere, but also not to be got of any poore men for monie, whereby it commeth to passe, that the poore are impouerished, and the rich onlie benefited. Yea, so greatly are the poore hereby inthralled, that they can hardly get a peece of ground to keepe so much as a poore cow or two vpon for the maintenance of themselues, and their poore families. This is a great abuse: for by this meanes rich men eate vp poore men, as beasts eate vp graffe.

*Theod.* Doe the gentlemen and others, take in commons & inclosures (as your words feeme to imploye) for their better feeding?

<sup>1</sup> *Amphil.* Yea, almost all indifferently. For whereas before was [1 Sig. E 2, back] any commons, heathes, moores, plaines, or free places of feeding for the poore and others, euen all in generall, now you shall haue all feuerall, inclosed, and appropriate to a few greedy gentlemen, who will neuer haue inough, till their mouths be full of clay, and their bodie full of grauell. Commons and moores which were woont to be the onely stae of the poore, & whervpon eche might keepe cattle, both neate and sheepe, according to his estate, are now taken from them, wherby manie are constrained either to famish, or else to beg their breade from doore to doore. So that in proces of time, if these inclosures be suffered to continue, the state of the whole Realme will mightily decay, a few shall be inriched, & many a thousand poore people, both men, women, and children, in citie and country, vtterlie beggered. Oh it was a goodlie matter, when the poore man might turne out a cow, or two, & certeine numbers of sheepe to the commons, and haue them kept well vpon the same, both winter & sommer, freely without costing them ought; whereas now they are inclofed, made feueral, and imployed to the priuate commoditie of a few ambitious gentlemen, so as the poore man cannot keepe so much as a pig or a goose vpon <sup>2</sup>the same.

*Theod.* It is great pittie that such oppresyon of the poore should be borne withall or suffered in any of what degree foever.

A few rich cobs  
get whole  
counties into  
their hands,

and stop poor  
folk keeping a  
cow.

Rich men eat  
up poor ones as  
beasts do grass.

[1 Sig. E 2, back]  
The gentry  
enclose the poor  
folk's commons,

and make em  
starve.

A good time it  
was when a poor  
man could keep  
a cow on the  
common!

Now he can't  
keep a goose.  
[2 Sig. E 3]

28 II. I. Sheep turn-out Men. Wool-sellers' Tricks.

Then vain rich  
men pull down  
villages to make  
parks and  
warrens;

and their conies  
eat up poor  
men's corn.

Parks must not  
be made out of  
poor men's  
livelihoods.

[<sup>¶</sup> Sig. E 3, back]

[<sup>¶</sup> read Too]

Commons are  
inclosed; and in-  
stead of a village  
you've only a  
shepherd and  
a dog.

Some grasiess  
keep from 500  
to 20,000 (?)  
sheep.

[<sup>¶</sup> Sig. E 4]  
They cheat in  
selling their  
wool, mixing  
bad with good;

*Amphil.* It is so. But what than? You shall haue some that, not for the benefit of grasing and feeding onely, will take in commons, and inclosures, but also some that for vaineglorie, worldly pompe, promotion & foolith pleasure, will not sticke to pull downe whole townes, subuert whole parishes, and turning foorth all a beggning, rather than to faile, make them parkes, chases, warrants, and I cannot tell what of the same. And when they haue thus done, their bucks, their does, their stags, harts, hinds, conies and the like, not onely not fead *intra gyrum suum*, Within their circuit, but eate vp and deuoure all the poore mens fields, corne, grasse and all. So that it is hard if any poore mans corne scape their fangs within a dozen myles compasse, which is a pitifull and a lamentable case.

*Theod.* Would you not haue parkes, and chases for game?

*Amphil.* I disallow them not. But I would not haue them to be made of the poore mens liuings, nor yet to stand to the prejudice of the whole country adioining. Therefore if they <sup>1</sup>will haue parkes and chases, First let them see that they be of their owne proper lande, and then that they be no annoiance to the country about, and then let them haue them, in the name of God.

*Theod.* Be there any grasiess of sheep there also?

*Amphil.* Two <sup>2</sup> manie, if it pleased God. For nowe euerie meane gentleman, if he can pretend (though neuer so little) title to any common, heath, moore or pasture, he will haue it, *quo iure, quaque iniuria*, Either by hooke or crooke. And wheras before time there hath bin a whole parish or towne maintained vpon the same, now is there no bodie there dwelling, but a sheepeheard and a dogge lolling vnder a bush. Thus are whole parishes and townes made praiers to rich grasiess. Yea, you shall haue some grasiess to keepe fие hundred, a thousand, fие thousand, ten thousand, twentie thousand sheepe of his owne at one time: now iudge you what infinite commodities ariseth hereof. Besides that, when they sell their wooll (as though they gayned not inough otherwife), it is a worlde to see what subtleties, (I will not faie what falsities), they vse in the sale thereof. As first to intermixt and blente the good and naughtie wooll <sup>3</sup> together, to winde it vppe cloofelie that it shall not be feene within. And which is more, because they sell all by waight, they will not sticke to vse sinistre meanes to make it pease well in waight. Some lay it, after it

## II. i. *Landlords rack Tenants. Incoming Fines.* 29

is clipped from the sheepe's backe, in a moyft seller, vnderneath the grounde, to the ende that the moyfture, humiditie and wette of the seller may infill into it, and so may peafe the more. Othersome will cast wette salt into it, which in time will liquifie, and cause it to be the waightier. With manie other the like wicked sleights and leger-dimeanes, whereof, for that I would rather giue them a taste in hope of amendment, then a plaine description for feare of displeasing them, at this time I will omit to speake any more till further occasion be offered.

wetting it  
putting salt into  
it, &c.

*Theod.* Is the lande there possessed in common, or else is their propertie in all things, and so consequently landlords?

*Amphil.* There is not onelie a propertie in lands there, but also in all things else, and so landlords inow more than be good ones iwis. Landlords

*Theod.* Doe they let out their lands, their farmes, and tenements, so as the poore tenants may liue well vpon them?

<sup>1</sup> *Amphil.* Oh no. Nothing leffe. But rather the contrarie is [<sup>1</sup> Sig. E 4, back] most true. For when a gentleman or other hath a farme or a lease to let: first he caufeth a furueior to make strict inquirie what may be made of it, and how much it is woorth by yeere; which being found out, and signified to the owner, he racketh it, straineth it, and as it were so setteth it on the tenter hookes, stretching euery vaine, and ioint thereof, as no poore man can liue of it. And yet if he might haue it freely for this racked rent too, it were somewhat well. But (out alas, and fie for shame) that cannot be. For though he pay never so great an annuell rent, yet must he pay at his entrance a fine, or (as they call it) an income of ten pound, twenty pound, forty pound, threescore pound, an hundred pound, whereas in truth the purchase thereof is hardly woorth so much. So that hereby the poore man, if hee haue scraped any little thing togithèr, is forced to disburse it at the first dash, before he enter the doores of his poore farme, wherein, what through the exceſſive fine, and the vreafonable rent, he is scarce able to buy his dog aloſe, liuing like a begger, or little better, all his life after. The time hath beene, and not long ſince, when men feared God & loued their brethren, that one might haue had a house, with paſture <sup>2</sup> lieng to it, yea good farmes, leafes and liuings for little or nothing. Or (as ſome hold) for a Gods penie, as they called it. But howſoeuer it be, certeine it is, that that farme or

get their farms  
valued, and not  
only rack the  
rent higher,

but make the  
tenant pay a fine  
as an incoming,

so that he's  
hardly enough  
left to buy his  
dog a loaf.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. E 5]

30 II. I. *Landlords should not grind their Tenants.*

Rents have risen  
twentyfold of  
late years.

lease, which one might haue had then for ten shillings, is now woorth ten pound. For twentie shillings, now is woorth twentie or three-score pound. For fortie shillings, is now woorth fortie pound, or a hundred pound and more.

*Theod.* Then I perceiue, they let not out their land after the old rent : doe they ?

*Amphil.* No. You may be sure of that, they loue nothing worse. They cannot at any hand brooke or digest them that would counsel them to that.

*Theod.* Why ? Haue not landlords authoritie, and may they not make as much of their owne lands as they can ? They count that good policie, and I haue heard them say : Is it not lawfull for me to liue vpon mine owne, and to get as much for it as I can ?

Landlords  
should think  
that they've  
only the use of  
the land ; and so  
they ought to  
give the poor a  
chance of living  
by it.  
<sup>1</sup> Sig. E 5, back]

*Amphil.* They must first consider that the earth is the Lords (as the Psalmograph saith : *Domini est terra, & plenitudo eius*, The earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof) and all that dwelleth therein. And therefore being the Lords in propertie, it is theirs but in vse onely. And yet not so. But that they<sup>1</sup> ought to lay it foorth to the support of the poore, that all may liue iointly togither, & maintaine y<sup>e</sup> state of the common wealth to Gods glorie. For other wise, if a few rich cobs shuld haue al, & the poore none, it shuld come to passe, that the state of the common wealth would soone decay, & come to confusion. They ought also to consider how they came by their lands, whether by right or wrong. If by right, then are they bound by Gods lawe, and good conscience, to let forth the same so as the poore may well liue vpon them. But if they posses them wrongfully, then ought they to surrender their tytle, and give it to the right heire :

No man ought  
to plunder his  
fellow-man,

but do to him as  
he'd be done by.

but take them with that fault, & cut of their necks : No man ought to poole and pill his brother, nor yet to exact and extort of him more than right and reason requireth, being sure that the same measure which he measureth to others, shal be measured to him againe. Euery one must so deale with his owne, so let it out, & so liue, as others may liue by him, and not himself alone, for the earth is comon to al *Adams* children ; & though fortune haue given more abundance to some than to other some, yet dame nature hath brought foorth al alike, & will receiue them againe into hir wombe alike also. And therefore ought euerie christian to doe to others, as they would wish to

be done to : which <sup>1</sup>lawe, if it were obserued well, would cut of all <sup>[<sup>2</sup> Sig. E 6]</sup> oppresyon whatsoeuer.

*Theod.* I pray you, how came noble men and gentlemen by their lands at the first?

*Amphil.* Cicero saith that in the beginning, before the world was impeopled, men comming into huge & waft places inhabitable, either toke to themselues as much land as they would, or else wan it by y<sup>e</sup> sword, bought it by purchase, had it by gift, or else receiuied it from their forefathers, by lineal discent, or hereditary poffeffion. Which faieng of his muſt needs be true, both in the people of the former world & in vs also. Then feeing this is so, ought not euery good christian to ſet forth his lande, ſo as poore men may liue upon it as wel as himſelfe : whoſoeuer doth not this, eſchewing al kind of exaction, polling, pilling & ſhauing of his poore tenants, he is no perfect member of Christ, nor doth not as he would be done by.

Christian landlords are bound to let their land at moderate rents.

*Theod.* You talked before of fines, and incomes : what if a poore man be not able to paye them, what then?

*Amphil.* Then may he go ſue y<sup>e</sup> goose, for houſe gets he none, y<sup>e</sup> deuill ſhal haue it before him, if he will giue him mony inough : no, if y<sup>e</sup> fine be not paid (thogh the rent be neuer ſo gret) he ſhall haue a fig, affone as a houſe. If y<sup>t</sup> a poore man haue got neuer ſo little a ſtock to liue vpon and to <sup>2</sup>maintaine his occupation or trade withall, yet ſhall he be conſtrained to ſell the fame, yea, peraduenture all the goods and implements he hath, to pay this fine, ſo that during y<sup>e</sup> whole terme of his life, he ſhall hardly recouer the fame againe. And then his leafe being expired, out of doores goes he, for that he is not able to pay as great a fine or greater than before. Thus are many a one, with their wiues, children, and whole families, turned out a beging, and die, not a fewe of them, in extreeme miferie.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. E 6, back]  
Poor men have to ſell all their ſtock to pay Fines to Landlords;

and at the end of their leafe, out they go.

*Theod.* I thought one might haue had a farme or a lease for a reasonable rent yeerely, without any fine or income paing.

*Amphil.* One would thinke ſo. For, paing as much yeerely, as can be made of the thing it ſelue : I wonder what deuill put it into their heads to receiuie ſuch fines and incomes, to vndoe the poore withall. The deuill himſelfe, I thinke, will not be ſo ſtraiete laced, nor yet ſo niggardly to his feruants, as they are to their poore tenants. For whereas they will not let out a farme or a lease for one and twentie yeeres

The Devil himſelf is not ſo niggardly as ſome Landlords.

32 II. I. *Landlords cheat by Renewal-Fines.*

1<sup>st</sup> Sig. E 71

without a great fine, the deuill will giue them his whole territorie and kingdome of hell, to their inheritance for euer, and that freely, paing nothing for the same. And yet notwithstanding all this. There are some landlords, (nay lewdlords) that hauing racked their rents to the vttermost, exacted fines, & made all that euer they can of their farms, will yet proceede further, and as men neuer content with inough, will haue their poore tenants to pay a yeere or two yeeres rent before hande, promising them (before they haue it) that they shall pay no more rent yeerelie, till the same be runne vp. But when they haue it, they pay their yeerely rent notwithstanding, and neuer receiuē any restitution for the other. And at euerie change forsooth they must take newe leafes, and pay new fines, being borne in hand that their leases before are insufficient, and of no effect. And sometimes foure or five yeres, yea ten, twentie, fortie, or fiftie yeeres before their former lease be expired, shal they be constrained to renew their leafes, and disburse great somes, or else haue their houses taken ouer their heads. Besides, as though these pollages and pillages were not ill enough, if their leases be not warely and circumfpectly made (all quirks and quiddities of the lawe obserued), they will finde such meanes (or else it shal go verie hard) that the poore man shall forfeit his lease, before his lease be expired: which thing if it happen, out goes the poore man, <sup>2</sup>come on it what will.

Landlords force  
tenants to renew  
their Leases at  
heavy fines,

and make 'em  
forfeit their  
Leases too.

2<sup>nd</sup> Sig. E 7, back]

Leases and Con-  
veyances are  
also terribly  
long, and contain  
so many pro-  
visions that a  
poor man can  
hardly keep  
em all.

*Theod.* Are the instruments, the writings, & conueiances in that land so intricate, as they are hard to be kept, for so I gather by your words?

*Amphil.* Yea, truly. For whereas in times past when men dealt vprightly, and in the feare of God, fixe or feuen lines was sufficient for the assurance of any peece of land whatsoeuer, now 40. 60. 100. 200. 500. nay a whole skin of parchment, and sometimes 2. or 3. skins will hardly serue. Wherin shalbe so many prouisoēs, particles, & clauses, & so many obseruances, that it is hard for a poore ignorant man to keep halfe of them: and if he fail in one of the left, you knowe what followeth. In former time a mans bare word was sufficient, now no instrument, band, nor obligation can be sure inough. Fy vpon vs! what shal become of vs? we are they of whom the prophet speakest, saing: There is no faith, there is no truth nor riteoufnes left vpon the earth. God be mercifull vnto vs!

II. I. *Landlords the cause of Dearness. Tailors.* 33

*Theod.* Seing that farms and leafes are so deere, I am perswaded that euerie thing else is deere also : is it not so ?

*Amphil.* Yea truly it cannot be chosfen. And yet it is strange, that in abundance of althings there shuld be dearth of all things, as there is.

*Theod.* Who is it long of, can you tell ?

<sup>[1 Sig. E 8]</sup> *Amphil.* Truly of the landlords onlie in my simple iudgment : *Landlords are the only cause of high prices.* for whenas they inhance the rents, & set their fines on tenter as they do, how shuld he either faue himselfe, pay his rent, or maintaine his familie : so that these greedy landlords are the very causers of al the derth in *Dnalgne*; for truly they are worse than the caterpillers & locusts of Egypt, for they yet left some thing vndeououred, these nothing ; they spoiled but for a time, these for euer : those by commandement from God, these by commision from the duiel.

*Theod.* How, I pray you, doe these iollie fellowes spend these wicked gotten goods ?

*Amphil.* I shame to thinke, & I blush to tell you how. For, for the most part, they spend it in dicing, carding, bowling, tennise plaieng, in rioting, feasting & banketing, in hauking, hunting, & other the like prophane exercises. And not onlie vpon these things do they spend their goods (or rather the goods of the poore) but also in pride their *Summum gaudium*, & vpon their danſing minions, that minſ it ful gingerlie, God wot, tripping like gotes, that an egge would not brek vnder their feet. But herof inough, & more than perchance wil pleſe their deinty humors.

*Theod.* Do they exceed in pride of apparel, or are they very As to Apparel, temperate, & sober minded people ?

<sup>[2 Sig. E 8, back]</sup> *Amphil.* They are not onely not inferior to any nation in the world in the exceſſe of apparell, but are farre woorſer, if woorſer can be. For the tailors doe nothing else but inuenſ new fashions, disguised ſhapes, and monſtrous formeſ of apparell euery day. Yea turely I thinke they ſtudie more in one day for the inuenſion of new toies, and ſtrange deuifes in apparell, than they doe in ſeauen yeeres, yea, in all the daies of their life, for the knowledge of Gods word.

*Theod.* Me thinke then by your reaſons it ſeemeth, that Tailors

34 II. I. *Tricks of Tailors. Cheating Drapers.*

and are the  
causers of all the  
monstrous  
English dress.

are the causers of all that monstrous kind of attire worne in *Dnalgne*,  
and so consequently are guiltie of all the euill committed by the same.

*Amphil.* You say very truly. For *Mali alicuius author, ipsius mali, & malorum omnium, quae ex inde orientur, reus erit coram Deo,* The author of any euill, is not onely giltie before God of the euill committed, but also of all the euill which springeth of the same. Therefore I would wish them to beware, and not *Communicare alienis peccatis*, To be partakers of other mens finnes, for be sure they shall finde inough of their owne to answer for. But so far are they from making conscience hereof, that they heape vp finne vpon finne. For if a man <sup>1</sup>aske them how much cloth, veluet, or filke wil make a cote, a dublet, a cloke, a gowne, hofen, or the like, they must needs haue so much, as they may gaine the best quarter thereof to themselves. So play they with the lace also : for if tenne yards would serue, they must haue twentie ; if twentie would serue, they must haue fortie ; if fortie woulde serue, they must haue sixtie ; if sixtie would serue, they must an hundred, and so forward. Besides that, it must be so drawne out, strecthed, and pulled in in the sowing, as they

[ Sig. F 1 ]  
And they charge  
too high for  
making it.

get the best quarter of it that way too. Then must there as much go for the making, as halfe the garment is woorth. Befides this, they are in league, and in fee, with the Drapers and Clothfellers, that if a man come to them to desyre them to helpe them to buy a peece of cloth, and to bring them where good is, they will straightway conduct them to their feer, and whatsoeuer price hee setteth of the cloth, they perfaude the buier it is good, and that it is woorth the money, whereas indeed it is nothing so, nor so. And thus they betwixt them diuide the spoile, and he (the tailor) receiuers his wages for his faithfull seruice done. If a man buy a garment of them made, hee shall haue

[ 2 Sig. F 1, back ]

it very faire to the eie (therfore it is true : *Omne quod gliscit non est aurum*, Euerie faire thing is not the best) but either it shall be lined with filthie baggage, and rotten geare, or else strecthed & drawne out vpon the tenter, so as if they once come to wetting, they shrinke almost halfe in halfe, so as it is a shame to see them. Therefore I aduise euery one to see to his garments himselfe, and according to the old prouerbe : *Sit oculus ipsi coquus*, Let his eie be his best cooke, for feare lest he be ferued of the same sauce, as manie haue beene to their great hinderance.

They're in  
league with the  
Drapers, to cheat  
their customers.

II. i. *Great Ruffs worn. Starching-Houses for Ruffs.* 35

*Theod.* I haue heard it saide that they vse great ruffes in *Dnalgne*: As to *Ruffs*, do they continue them still as they were woont to doe, or not?

*Amphil.* There is no amendement in any thing that I can see, neither in one thing nor in other, but euery day woorser and woorser, for they not only continue their great ruffes still, but also vse them bigger than euer they did. And whereas before they were too bad, now they are past al shame & honestie, yea most abhominable and detestable, and such as the diuell himselfe would be ashamed to weare the like. And if it be true, as I heare say, they haue their starching houes made of purpose, to that vse and end only, the better to trimme and dresse their ruffes to please the diuels eies withall.

men wear bigger ones than ever, such as the Devil himself 'ud be ashamed to put on.

They have  
*Starching*  
*Houses for*  
*Ruffs,*

*Theod.* Haue they starching houses of purpose made to starch in? Now truly that pases<sup>1</sup> of all that euer I heard. And do they nothing [? Sig. F 2] in those brothell houes (starching houses I shuld say) but onelie starch bands and ruffes?

*Amphil.* No, nothing else, for to that end only were they erected, & therefore now are consecrate to Belzebub and Cerberus, archdiuels of great ruffes.

*Theod.* Haue they not also houses to set their ruffes in, to trim them, and to trick them, as well as to starch them in? and *Trimming Houses too*

*Amphil.* Yea, marry haue they, for either the same starching houses (I had almost said farting houes) do serue the turn, or else they haue their other chambers and secret closets to the same vse, wherein they tricke vp these cartwheele of the diuels charet of pride, leading the direct way to the dungeon of hell.

for these  
Cartwheels of  
the Devil's  
chariot.

*Amphil.* What tooles and instruments haue they to set their ruffes withall. For I am persuaded they cannot set them artificially inough without some kind of tooles?

*Amphil.* Very true: and doe you thiuke that they want any thing that might set forth their diuelrie to the world? In faith fir, no, then the diuell were to blame if he should serue his clients so, that maintaine his kingdome of pride with such diligence as they doe. And therefore I would you wifit it, they haue their tooles and instruments for the purpose.

<sup>2</sup> *Theod.* Whereof be they made, I pray you, or howe?

[? Sig. F 2, back]

*Amphil.* They be made of yron and steele, and some of brasse kept as bright as filuer, yea, and some of filuer it selfe; and it is well,

They've metal  
Tools too,

36 II. i. *Putters and Setting-Sticks. Bad Leather.*

Like a Squirt or  
Squib,

call'd *Putters*  
or *Putting-Sticks*.  
*Setting-Sticks*  
they haue too,  
for their cursed  
Ruffs.

Some *Leather*  
is only half  
tanned,

and won't  
keep out water.

if in processe of time they grow not to be gold. The fashion whereafter they be made, I cannot resemble to anything so well as to a squirt, or a squibbe, which little children vsed to squirt out water withall; and when they come to starching, and setting of their ruffes then must this instrument be heated in the fire, the better to stiffen the ruffe. For you know heate will drie and stiffen any thing. And if you woulde know the name of this goodly toole, forsooth the deuill hath giuen it to name a putter, or else a putting sticke, as I heare say. They haue also another instrument called a setting sticke, either of wood or bone, and sometimes of gold and siluer, made forked wise at both ends, and with this (*Si diis placet*) they set their ruffes. But bicause this cursed fruit is not yet grown to his full perfection of ripenesse, I will therefore at this time say no more of it, vntil I here more.

*Theod.* What is the leather in that country? excellent good, and wel tanned, or but indifferently? I haue heard some complaine of it.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. F 3]

<sup>1</sup> *Amphil.* There is of both sorts, as of all things else; but as there is some naught (I can not denie) so is there otherosome as good as any is vnder the sunne. And yet I must needes confess, there is great abuse in the tanners, makers, curriers, and dressers of the same: for you shall haue some leather scarcely halfe tanned, so that within two or three daies or a week wearing (especially if it come in any weat) wil straight-way become browne as a hare backe, and which is more, fleete and run abroad like a dishclout, and which is most of all, will holde out no water, or very little. And the faieng is (*Erubefco dicere*, I shame to speake it) that to the ende they may faue lyme and barke, and make the speedier returne of their mony, they will take vp their hides before they bee halfe tanned, and make sale of them. And as herein they are faultie and much to be blamed, so in the surprisng of their hides, they are worthie of reprehencion. For that which they buy for ten shillings, they will hardly sell for twentie shillings; that which they buy for twentie shillings they will not willingly sell for fortie shillings. And thus by this meanes, they make shooes unreasonale deere.

*Theod.* Then the fault is not in the shoomakers onely, that shooes be so deere?

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. F 3, back]

<sup>2</sup> *Amphil.* There is fault inough in them also. For whereas the

others inhanse the price of their hides excessiuelie, these felowes racke it very vncioncionaly. And yet if the shooes were good, though Shoemakers

deere, it were somwhat tollerable; but when they shall be both naught, and yet deere too, it is too bad, and abhominable. Now if you aske

the shoomakers in whom the fault doth confift, they will answere you ftrait, in the tanner. But this is certeine, that as there is a horrible fault

in the tanner, so there is more, or as much in the shoomaker. For first of all the shoomaker liquoreth his leather, with waterish liquor, kit-

then stiffe, and all kinde of baggage mingled togither. And as though that were not ill inough, they faie they vfe to put salt in the liquor, wherewithall they greafe the leather of purpose, to the ende

that the leather shal neuer hold out water. And truelie it is verie likelie they doe so, or some such like thing, for surelie almost none of

their leather will holde out water, nor scarselie durt neither. Besides this, it is a worlde to fee how lowfely they shall be fowed, with hotte

alles, and burning threeedes, euerie ftitch an inch or two from another, so as with-in two or three daies you shall haue them feamerent and all

too betorne. And yet as though this were not <sup>1</sup>ill inoughe, they adde <sup>I<sup>2</sup> Sig. F 4]</sup>

more. Sometimes they will sell you calues leather for cow leather, horse hides for oxe hides, and truelie I thinke rotten sheepe skins for

good subftstantial & dureable stiffe. And yet shall a man pay for these as well as for better stiffe. And to the ende they may feeme gaudie to the eie, they must be fitched finelie, pincked, cutte, karued,

rased, nickt, and I cannot tell what. And good reason, for else would they neuer be fold. The inward foole of the shooe commonlie

shall be no better than a cattes skinne, the heeles of the shooes shall be little better. And if the fooles be naught (as they be indeede

yet must they be vnderlaied with other peeces of leather, to make them feeme thicke and excellent stiffe, whereas indeede they are nothing leffe. And to make the fooles stiffe, and harde, they must be

parched before the fire, and then they are most excellent fooles, And such as will neuer be worne, no, I thinke not in halfe a coopple of

daies, which is a woonderfull thing. Oh, farewell former worlde, for I haue hearde my Father faie, and I thinke it most certeinly

true, that a paire of shooes in those daies woulde haue kept a man as dry as a feather, though he had gone in water all the daye thorowe,

<sup>2</sup>yea, all the weeke thorow, to the very laft day, and would haue

liquor their  
leather,

and salt  
it, so that it  
won't keep out  
water.

They sow with  
hot awls and  
rotten thread

<sup>I<sup>2</sup> Sig. F 4]</sup>  
They sell you  
horse-hide for  
ox-hide,

and use cat-skin  
for inside soles.

They parch the  
soles too.

Why, in my  
Father's days, a  
pair of shoes 'ud  
keep the wet  
out, and last a  
year.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. F 4, back]

*Now, they'll  
hardly last a  
month.*

serued a man almost a whole yeere togither, with a little repairing. But now fwe or fife paire, halfe a score, yea, twentie paire of shooes will scarsely serue some a yeere, such excellent stuffe are they made of. But let all shooemakers, tanners, and the rest, take heed, for at the day of judgement they shal render accounts for this their doing. And here-of hitherto.

*Theod.* Be there any Brokers, or such kind of fellowes in your country?

*Amphil.* If it be a thing that is good, it is a doubt whether it be there, or no, but if it bee naught (as brokerie is) then past peraduenture it is there.

*Brokers are*

*Theod.* What maner of fellowes are those Brokers, for truly their profession, and the vse thereof, is vnknowne to me, saue onely that I haue heard of some of their dealings?

*jolly fellows*

[<sup>¶</sup> Sig. F 5]  
who, not being  
able to live by  
anything else,

make friends  
with thieves,  
and buy every-  
thing these steal,

*Amphil.* Seeing that you are ignorant of this goodly mysterie, and high profession of brokerie, and also so desirous to knowe the truth of them, I will in few words (as briefly as I can) declare vnto you the substance thereof. These Brokers are iolly fellowes forsooth, and such as in the beginning of their occupation, haue either iuft nothing, or else very little <sup>1</sup>at all, who, when they haue attempted, and assaied by all kind of meanes and waies to liue, and cannot by any of them al either any thing thriue, or which is leffe, not so much as maintaine their poore estate withall, though but meanly, then fall they into acquaintance with loose, dissolute, and licentious persons, either men or women, to whom all is fish that comes to net, and who haue limed fingers, liuing vpon pilfering, and stealing, and of these they buy for little or nothing, whatsoeuer they shal haue filched from any. And thus by this meanes in proesse of time, they feather their nests well inough, and growe (many of them) to great substance and wealth.

*Theod.* Will they buy any thing whatsoeuer commeth to hand?

*Amphil.* Yea, all things indifferently without any exception. All is good fish with them that comes to net. They will refuse nothing, whatsoeuer it be, nor whom-soeuer bringeth it, though they be neuer to suspitious, no, although it be as cleere as the day, that it hath beene purloined by finifter meanes from some one or other. And can you for half its value: blame them For why? They haue it for halfe it is woorth.

*Amphil.* What wares be they (for the most part) which these Brokers doe buy and sell?

<sup>1</sup>*Amphil.* I told you they wil refuse nothing. But especially they [Sig. F 5, back] buy remnents of filks, veluets, satins, damasks, grograins, taffeties. drapers' and haberdashers' lafe, either of filke, gold, filuer, or any thing else that is worth ought goods chiefly. Othersome buy cloakes, hosen, dublets, hats, caps, coates, flockings, & the like. And these goodly marchandize, as they haue them good cheape, so they will sel them againe to their no small gaines.

*Theod.* If this be true, that they will receiue all, and buy al that comes to hand, than it muft needs be that this is a great prouocation to many wicked persons, to filch & steale whatsoeuer they can lay their hands vpon, feing they may haue such good vent for y<sup>e</sup> fame. Is it not?

*Amphil.* You say very true. And therefore I am perswaded that this dunghill trade of brokerie newly sprong vp, & coined in the deuels minting house, the shoppe of all mischiefe, hath made many a theefe more than euer would haue bin, & hath brought many a one to a shamefull end at Tiburne, & else where. Yea, I haue hard prisoners (and not any almost but they sing the same song) when they haue gone to execution, declaime & crie out against brookers. For, said they, ‘if brokers had not bin, we had not come to this shamefull death; if they would not haue received our stollen goods, we woulde neuer <sup>2</sup>haue stollen them; and if we had not stollen them, we had not bin hanged.’

This dunghill  
Brokerie's made  
many thieves,  
and brought  
many a man to  
the Gallows.

*Theod.* Then it seemeth by your reafons, that brokers are in effect necessary to the goods feloniouslie stolen, & are worthie of the same punishment *that* the others that stale them are worthy of?

Brokers ought  
to be hung with  
Thieves.

*Amphil.* They are so, if before they buy them they know pre-cisely that they are stolen, & yet notwithstanding will not onely willingly buy them, but also rather animate, than disanimate them to perseuere in their wickednes, as this their greedy buieng of their wares doth argue *that* they doe. This maketh many a tailer to aske more cloth, more silk, velvet, & lace, than he nedeth, & all to the ende the broker may haue his share; for, be they neuer so litle scraps or shreds or short ends of lace, or smal peces of velvet, satan, silk or y<sup>e</sup> like, the broker will giue mony for them, with a wet finger. This maketh many seruants to pilfer, filch, & purloin from their masters, makes Tailors cheat, and servants pilfer.

Brokers' willing-  
ness to buy

Brokers are seed-beds of villainy.

some a yard or two of veluet, satin, taffety, lace, silk, & what not, some hats, cots, cloks, & the like, & some one thing, some another: this hindereth the merchant man, is discomodious to y<sup>e</sup> tailer, & beneficial vnto none, but to themselues: & therfore, as they be the seminaries of wickednes, so I besech God, they may be upplanted, except they amend, which I hardly looke for at their hands.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. F 6, back]

<sup>1</sup> *Theod.* What woulde you haue them to do, that they may exercise their trade, with good conscience, both before God, and the world?

*Amphil.* I would wish them to doe thus, which, if they would doe, they might vse their trade in the feare of G O D, both with good conscience before the Lord, with honestie before the world, and finallie to the lesse detriment of the common wealth. First, let them be sure, that the goods which they buy be truely and justly come by of the sellers thereof. And to the end, that herein they may not be deceiued, Let them examine the matter strichtly, where they had it, whose it is, vpon what occasion they would sel it. And in conclusion not to buy it, vntill they haue gone themselues to the right owners of the goodes, and if they find all things well, that they may with good conscience buy it, let them give reasoun for it, else not. And if euerie brooker would deale thus, their would not so many false knaues bring them such lauish of stollen goods, as they do, neither should their trade grow, as it doth, into hatred and contempt.

*Theod.* You saide before (except I be deceiued) that if they know before they buy any wares, that the same is stollen, if they than buy them, they are accessary to the same goods so <sup>2</sup> feloniously stollen, & so are worthie of the same punishment, that the principals are woorthie of. I pray you, what punishment is inflicted vpon accessaries in *Dnalgne*.

*Amphil.* Accessaries are punishable by the lawes of *Dnalgne* with the same punishment that the principals are to be punished withall (for so the lawe standeth); but in the execution thereof, we see the cleane contrarie practised. For when as a theefe, or a felon stealeth any thing, hee bringeth it to his receiuer, who, though he knowe it to be stollen, yet with alacritie admitteth it into his custodie, and reteineth it, hereby making himselfe accessorie, and guiltie of the felonie committed. And yet notwithstanding when execution is to be done for the same, the principall is (peraduenture) hanged vp, the other that

To deal honestly,  
Broker, should  
buy only goods  
honestly come-  
by,

and should  
find out the  
owners them-  
selves.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. F 7]

Brokers get out  
of the claws of  
Justice.

is the accessorie is not once spoken of, nor none can faie 'blacke is his eie.' But howsoeuer it be, I cannot be otherwise persuaded, but that the receiuers and accessories are a great deale more woorthie of death (by the penall lawes) than he who stealeth the thing it selfe, whatsoeuer it be. Bicaufe if they had [not] any to receiue their stolen goods, they would not steale at all. And therefore are the receiuers (in my simple opinion) rather the authors, and the principals (especially if

But Receivers  
deserve hanging  
more than the  
Thieves they  
tempt.

<sup>[I Sig. F 7, back]</sup>they know before they receiue it, that it is stolen) then they that commit the fact, and being the authors of the euill committed, they are to be punished rather than the perpetrators of the fact it selfe.

But for want of due punishment to be executed as well vpon the one as vpon the other, we see greeuous crimes, and flagitious facts without all remorse, or feare of God, daily committed. Good lawes there are, both for the repressing of these, and al other enormities whatsoeuer, but the want of the due execution thereof, is the cause why all wickednes and mischiefe dooth reigne and rage euerie where as it doth: God amend it, if it be his good pleasure! And thus much briefly of the noble science of brokerie.

Against these,  
and like evils,  
we have good Lawes,  
but they're not  
put in force.

*Theod.* What hospitalitie is there kept, or relief for the poore?

*Amphil.* Very smal. For as for the poore tenants and -commons, they are not able to maintaine any hospitalitie, or to giue any thing to the poore, their rents are so raised, & their fines so inhansed, and yet notwithstanding they minister (I am persuaded) more releefe to the poore than the rich & wealthie doe: more poore are fed at their dores than at the rich: more clothed at their hands than at the rich, & more lodged and harboured in their poore houses, than in the <sup>tho in fact they help other poor more than the rich do.</sup> rich. But yet can I not denie but that the gentlemen, & others, keepe sumptuous houses, lusty ports, and great hospitalitie, but so as the pore hath the leſt part thereof, or rather iuft nothing at all. If the poore come to their houses, their gates be shut against them, where they, standing<sup>3</sup> frost and snow, haile, wind or raine whatsoeuer, are forced to tary two houres, 3. 4. yea sometimes halfe a day, and then shal they haue but the refuse, and the very scraps neither. And well if they haue anything too; in steed whereof they are sometimes sent to prison, clapt in irons, manicled, stocked, and what not. This is the almes that most men giue.

As to Hospi-  
talitie, the poor  
can't afford it,

<sup>[I Sig. F 8]</sup> Gentlemen keep  
grand houses, but  
make poor folk  
stand for hours  
in the cold for a  
few scraps.

<sup>3</sup> ?=suffering, putting up with; or is 'in' left out?

Of *Beggars*we have two  
kinds, the Strong,  
who won't work;[<sup>1</sup> Sig. F 8, back]Drones, who  
ought to be put  
in prison till  
they do work ;)and the old,  
sick, and  
diseasd.The Sturdy  
Beggars who  
can work, and  
won't,

I'd just hang.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. G 1]The aged and  
sick ones I'd  
have kept in  
their own  
parish, and  
rate richer  
parishes for em.*Theod.* Then it seemeth that the poore are simple prouided for ?*Amphil.* They are so indeed, God amend it. And yet I am not so full of foolish pittie that I would haue all kind of beggers indifferently without any exception to be fed and nourished vpon the sweat of other mens browes.*Theod.* Doe you make a difference of beggers then ? Are there two sorts of them ?*Amphil.* Yea, there are two sorts. One sort is of stout, strong, lustie, couragious, and valiant beggers, which are able to worke, and will not. These at no hand are not to be relieved (for *qui non operatur non manducet*,<sup>1</sup> saith the apostle, He that will not worke, let him not eat) but are to be compelled to worke, and not to liue vpon other mens labours. For he that releeueth these, maintaineth them in their idlenesse, and taketh awaie the childrens bred, and giueth it to dogs. These are as drone bees, that liue vpon the spoile of the poore bees that labour and toile to get their liuing with the sweat of their faces. If such fellowes as these will not worke, but liue vpon begging, let them be punished and imprisoned till they be content to worke. The other sort of beggers are they that be old, aged, impotent, decrepite or lame, sicke, sore, or diseased : these I would wish should be looked vnto : and these are they that euerie Christian man is bound in conscience to releuee.*Theod.* What order would you haue obserued in these respects ?*Amphil.* The former sort of sturdie valiant beggers, which are able to worke and will not, I would wish them to be compelled to worke, or else not to haue any releefe giuen them. And if they would not work, to punish them ; if that will not serue, to hang them vp. But herein I would wish a prouiso, that being content to worke, they might haue maisters prouided them, with reasonable wages, for many would faine<sup>2</sup> worke, and can get none ; and than if they will not worke, to Tiburne with them. The other sort of beggers, which are either halt, lame, impotent, decrepitive, blind, sicke, sore, infirme and diseased, or aged and the like, I woulde wish that they should be maintained, euerie one in his owne parish, at the costes and charges of the same. And if the parish be not able to maintain so manie, then that there should be collections & contributions made in other parishes to supplie their want, and so the former poore people

to be maintained therevpon. For wante of which godlie order and constitution, there are infinite of the foresaid persons that die, some in ditches, some in holes, some in caues and dens, some in fields, some in one place, some in another, rather like dogs than christian people. For notwithstanding that they be neuer so impotent, blind, lame, sick, old, or aged, yet are they forced to walke the countries from place to place to seeke their releefe at every mans doore, except they wil sterue or famish at home, such unmercifulnes is in *Dnalgne*. Yea, in such troupes doe they flocke, and in such swarmes doe they flow, that you can lightlie go no way, but you shall see numbers of them at euerie doore, in euerie lane, and in euerie poore caue; and as though this were not extremity inough <sup>1</sup>they drive them from citie to citie, from parish to parish, from towne to towne, from hundred to hundred, from shire to shire, and from country to country, like flocks of sheepe. Here they dare not tarrie for this Iustice, nor there for that Iustice, here for this man, nor there for that man, without a licence or a pasport, wheras a man woulde thinke their old age, their hoare haire, their blindnesse, lamenesse, and other infirmities, shoulde bee pasports good inough for them to go abrod withal, if they cannot get releefe at home. But if the former order, that euery parish shoulde maintaine their poore, were taken, then shoulde they neither need to go abroad, nor otherwise want their daily releefe.

*Theod.* Are there no hospitals, spittles, lazars houses, almes houses, nor the like, for the releefe of these poore people?

*Amphil.* Yes there are some such in cities, townes, and some other places, wherein manie poore are relieved, but not the hundred part of those that want. For the supplie wheroft would God there might be in euerie parish an almes house erected, that the poore (such as are poore indeede) might be maintained, helped and relieved. For vntill the true poore indeed be better prouided for, let them neuer thinke to please God. Is it not great pity when a man can passe <sup>2</sup>no waie almost neither citie nor country, but shall haue both halt, blind, lame, old, aged, fiske, sore, & diseased, hanging vpon his sleue, and crauing of releefe? Whereas, if the former order were establisched, then shoulde none at al need to go abroad, but al shoulde haue sufficient at home. The reformed churches beyond seas, and euen the French, Dutch, & Italian churches in *Dnalgne* are worthie of great com-

Now, many  
die in the fields  
like dogs.

They get no  
releef except by  
wandering about  
and begging.

You see poor  
aged and sick  
Beggars at  
every door; and  
they're driven  
from town to  
town like flocks  
of sheep.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. G 1, back]

Not a hundredth  
part can be  
relieved in our  
Hospitals.

We want an  
Almshouse in  
every Parish,

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. G 2]

and then the poor  
'ld get enough  
at home.

44 II. 1. *Our Husbandmen are shifful, but rach-rented.*

The Reformed  
Churches abroad  
and the forin  
ones here, set us  
a good example  
in this.

mendations herin, & shal rise vp at the day of iudgment to our condemnation except we repent & amend our vnmercifulneſſe towards the poore. These good churches, folowing the counſel of the almighty who biddeth that there be no begger amongſt vs, ſuffer neuer a one of their countrymen, nor yet any other dweling in their parish, to beg or aſke almes without his parish, nor yet in his parish neither; but by mutual contributions and collections maintaine them, & miſter to their neceſſities in all things, Which thing G O D grant the churches of *Dnalgne* may once begin to practife amongſt themſelues, that God may be glorified, and the poore members of Christ Iefus releeued and maintained.

Our Husband-  
men, or  
Farmers, are as  
ſkill'd as any in  
the world.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. G 2, back]

*Theod.* Be there husbandmen there & ſuch others as manure and till the ground, for the further increase of fruits, to the maintenance of the commonwealth?

<sup>1</sup> *Amphil.* There are of ſuch indeed good ſtore, and as excellent men in that kinde of exercife, as any be vpon the earth. They know exadly, I warrant you, the times and ſeafons of the yeere, when euerie kinde of graine is to be ſowed, and what ground is beſt for euerie kinde of corne. They are not ignorant alſo, howe to culture & drefſe the fame; and if it be barren, what kind of dung is beſt to fatten the fame againe. They know the nature, the propertie, and qualitie of euerie foile, and what corne it will bring. They know alſo when the ground is to be tilled, when not, how long it will bring forth good corne, how long not, when it ought to reſt, when not, with all things elſe incident to the fame.

*Theod.* I thinke they haue good farmes and tenements, that are able to furniſh their ground in this fort, for otherwife they were not able to keepe their oxen, their horses, their feruants, and other neceſſaries, belonging thereto: haue they not ſo?

But many haue  
very poor farms,

and others only  
houses with no  
land,  
[<sup>2</sup> Sig. G 3]

*Amphil.* No truely haue they not. For ſome haue ſuch fatte farmes, and tenements, as either will bring forth no corne at all (in a manner) or if it doe, verie little, and that not without great coſt beftowed vpon it. Otherſome haue houses with no lande belonging to <sup>2</sup>them at all, and yet notwithstanding ſhall pay a good round ſome for the fame alſo. And no marueile, for landlords and gentlemen take all the lands and lyuelode wherevpon there poore tenants ſhoule liue, into their owne hands, and ſuffer not the poore husband-

men to haue so much ground as will finde them corne for the maintenance of their poore families, nor which is more, scarcely to keepe one cow, horse, or sheepe vpon, for their continuall releefe. Or if they haue any, they shall pay tenne times so much as it is worth, to their vtter vndoing for euer. But if landlords would consider that the earth is the Lords, and all that is therein, and that it is theirs, but only in title, interest and propertie (hauing their souereigntie, or chieffie thereof) and the poores in vse and possession, and if they would remember that the poore ought to liue vpon the earth as well as they, than would they not vse such tirannie, such exactions, such pooling, and pilling, and the like, as they doe without all compassion.

or hardly enough  
to keep a cow on

*Theod.* There being such store of husbandmen, and the same so expert in their agriculture as your words import they be, it must needs follow, that there is great plentie of corne, and all kinde of other graine, and the same verie good cheape : is it not so ?

We've lots of  
Corn,

*Ampil.* There is great store of corne, and all kind of graine, no nation vnder the sunne like vnto it ; but as I told you before, thorowe the infatiable greedines of a few couetous cormorants, who for their owne priuate commoditie, transport ouer seas whole mountaines of corne, it is made sometimes very scarce. Other-wise there would be gret store at al times. And whereas you say it is good cheape, it is nothing lesse<sup>2</sup>, as euerie daies successe prooueth true.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. G 3, back]

but the  
export of it  
often makes it  
scarce.

*Theod.* How can that be, that there being such store of corne, yet should be deare also.

Its dearness  
comes from

*Ampil.* I will tell you. It commeth to passe three manner of waies. First, for that landlords racke their rents so extreemely, and aduance their fines so vnreasonably, that the poore man is forced to sell euerie thing deere, otherwise he shoulde not be able to pay his landlord his due, whereas if he had his feareme good cheape, he might afforde to sell good cheape. The seconde cause is (as I haue said), for that the same is carried and conueighed ouer Seas. The third cause is, thorow a sorte of ingraters, or forestallers, who intercept euerie thing before it come at the market, or else being come to the market, and hauing mo<sup>3</sup>ney at will, buy vp either all, or the most part, and carieng it into their celles, and garners at home, keepe it till time of the yeere that corne is scarce, and so consequentlie deere.

[<sup>1</sup>. Rack-rents,

[<sup>2</sup>. Export over  
seas,

[<sup>3</sup>. Ingraters or  
Forestallers  
buying it up,  
[<sup>3</sup> Sig. G.4]  
and keeping it  
till it gets  
scarce and dear.

<sup>2</sup> It's any thing but that. It's dear.

These hellish  
Ingraters make  
everything dear.

And when there is want of it, then they sell it deere, and when there is plentye, then they make it deerer by buying it vppe in whole heapes as they doe. Thus you see, by this meanes, these hellithe ingratiours, and forestallers make corne and all thinges else deere, all times of the yeere. Nowe iudge you what a horrible abuse is this, for one man to buy vppe all things, and that not for anie neede or want in himselfe, but to sell it againe, deerer then they bought it, thereby to inricher himselfe with the impouerishing of many a thoufande.

*Theod.* Is there not punishment for this horrible abuse, for me thinke great inconueniences doe followe it?

We have laws  
against Fore-  
stallers, but  
they invent put-  
offs to dodge  
the Law.  
[<sup>2</sup> Sig. G 4, back]

They buy only  
for their fami-  
lies; they grow  
all their corn;

they get a man  
to buy for  
em, &c.

But these jolly  
fellows

can't take-in  
God. He'll ex-  
pose em.  
[<sup>2</sup> Sig. G 5]

*Husbandmen,*

*Amphil.* There be great penalties, and forfaitures ordained, as well for the repreffinge of this, as of any other outragious abuse; but they playe with this as with all other good lawes, they inuent quirckes and quiddities, shifftes, and put offes ynoch<sup>1</sup> to blinde the eies of the magistrates, and to deliuere themselues (trimly, trimly) from the danger and penaltie of the lawe. For they will say that they buy but for the necessarie prouision of their owne families, and not to sell againe. And then when they doe sell it againe, they will beare you in hande it was of their owne tillage. Or if this way will not serue the turne, then procure they another man to buy it with their owne mony vnder his owne name, and so to sell it againe when hee feeth tyme; but who hath the commoditie, iudge you. But if all these waies faile, then buie they it couertly, and sell it againe as couertly; and thus they buy and sell their owne foules for corruptible monie, which in the laft day shall beare witnesse against them, and consume them: yea, as Saint Iames faith: The monie which they have vniustly got with the polling and pilling of the poore, shall rife vp in iudgement against them, and the rust thereof shall eate and denoure their flesh as it were a canker. But let these iollie felowes (as subtil and as politike as they would seeme to be) take heed vnto themselues, and beware: for though they can blinde mens eies, and deceiue their iudgements, yet let them be sure that they can not deceiue the iudgement of the Lord, but he<sup>2</sup> that made the eies shall surely see, and he who knoweth the secrets of all harts, shall one day declare the same to their perpetuall confusio[n], except they repent.

*Theod.* What be these husbandmen? honest, plaine dealing and

II. i. *Our Husbandmen can teach the Fox to cheat.* 47

simple persons, and such as in whom there is no abuse; or else fraudulent, deceitfull and craftie persons?

*Amphil.* They are for the most part verie simple and plaine men in outward appeerance, yea, such as if you sawe them, and heard them talke, you would thinke they had no gall, or that there were nothing in them in the world. But if you looke into their dailie exercisises, practisises, and deeds, you shall find them as craftie and subtil in their kind, as the devill is in his, if it be possible. For the simblest of them all, if he make a bargaine with another, he wil be sure to make it so as he himselfe may gaine by it. And it is well, too, if the other though neuer so wise, circumspect, or prouident, be not vtterly deceiued (or to speake in plainer termes, cosoned at their hands), such subtilitie, such policie, and such craftie conueiance, they practise vnder the garment of simplicitie. Yea truly, it is growne to be almost their profession to deceiue, defraud, and beguile their brethren, insomuch as they count him a wise man, a worldly <sup>1</sup>felow, and such a one as will liue in the world, that can not deceiue, and beguile men in bargaining. This is their<sup>2</sup> *Columlina simplicitas*, (Nay rather, *Vulpina, et serpentina astutia*) which Christ would haue al his children to practise in all things, all daies of their life. But so farre from this christian simplicitie are many, that their whole life (almost) is nothing else, than a continuall practise of fraud, and deceit, as for example: You shall haue some that, fending corne to the market to be sould, they will put good corne in the top or mouth of the bag, to seeme faire to the eie, and in the bottome of the facke, very good also (that when it is powred forth of the same, it may yet seeme exceeding good still,) but in the middest shall be neuer a good corne, but such as is mustie, sprouted, and naught. Whereof can be made neither good bread nor drinke, for mans bodie. I haue knowne otherosome, that hauing a barren cow, and being desirous to put hir away, haue taken a calfe from another melch cowe, and so folde the former barren cowe with hir adulterate calfe, for a melche cowe, whereas shee was nothing lesse.<sup>3</sup> With infinite the lyke flightes, which for breuities sake I omit.

*Theod.* I perceiue then it is good for a man to be warie, that dealeth with these simple <sup>4</sup>fooles?

<sup>2</sup> Orig. there.

<sup>3</sup> Anything but that. See p. 45; p. 54, l. 2.

the they look so simple,

are as crafty  
as the Devil  
himself.

It's almost their  
business to cheat

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. G 5, back]

Nearly their  
whole life is a  
fraud.

They'll put  
musty corn in  
the middle of a  
sack.

They'll sell a  
barren cow with  
another cow's  
calf as if it were  
hers.

[<sup>4</sup> Sig. G 6]

48 II. I. *Sellers to be honest & tell Faults in Goods.*

*Amphil.* It were good so indeede, else he may chaunce to cough himselfe a dawe for his labour. For I tell you, the foxe, for all his crafte, may go to schoole to these felowes, to learne the rudiments of deceit and craft. Such skilfull Doctors are they herein. If they sell you a cow, an oxe, a horfe, or a mare, they will set the price on him, I warrant you, and with-all will protest and take on woondersullie, that hee is but this olde, and that olde, this yoongue, and that yoongue. And which is woorst of all, though they knowe a hundred faultes by them, yet will they not reueale anye vnto him that buyeth the same, which is a playne, and a mainfest deceite before the LORDE, and one daye shall be answered for, I dare be their warrante.

*Theod.* Would you haue euerie man to declare to the buyers the faultes and imperfections, which they knowe to be in those thinges they sell? then should he sell but a little.

*Amphil.* Euery true christian ought to do so, or else, befdies that he doth not to others, as he would wish to be done to (for this is the chaine wherwith every christian is bound to another,) he also breketh the cords of charity, & committeth <sup>1</sup>most horrible cofonage, and wilful presumptuous deceit before God, which is a fault punishable in the iustice of God, with eternall death, in the lake that burneth with fire and brymestone for euer. And seing we ought to doe to others as we would wish to be done vnto vs, let the deceiuer aske of himselfe when he goeth about to deceiue, these questions: Would I be coofoned? Would I be vndone and spoiled? Would I count him an honest man, or a good christian, that would supplant me in bargaining? Oh no. No more ought I to doe to others, that which I would not should be done to my selfe. Besides this, consider that the apostle faith, The Lord is the reuenger of all such as deceiue their brethren in bargaining. If they would fall into this or the like consideration, I doubt not, but fraude, deceit, lieng, dissimulation, coofonage, and guile, would be abandoned and put to flight in shorte time; which God grant.

*Theod.* Well, notwithstanding, I cannot see how we could liue without husbandmen anie maner of waie, could we?

*Amphil.* No truly. Neither king, prince, earle, duke, lord, knight, esquire, high nor low, rich nor poore, nor yet any potentate, power or principalitie vpon the earth (how great a mo<sup>2</sup>narch soeuer)

The Fox may go  
to school to em.

They tell lies  
about the animals  
they want to sell.

Every seller  
ought to tell the  
buyer the faults  
of the things he  
sells.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. G 6, back]

We should do to  
others as we  
wish they'd do  
to us.

But we can't live  
without husband-  
men;

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. G 7]

## II. 1. Chandlers' tricks, and their bad Candles. 49

could liue or continue without the vse of husbandrie and husbandmen. And therefore they are not only to be beloued of vs, but also to be preferred and to be made much of amongst vs, without whose industrie and labour no man could liue long vpon the face of the earth. For this cause we read the use of husbandry to be commended vnto vs in sundry places of holy scripture ; and which is more, the kingdome of heauen many times to be compared and affimiled to the husbandman for diuers purpos(es) and respects. And when Adam our first parent was expulsed paradise, he was by God himselfe inioined to manure, to dresse and till the ground ; whereby we may see both the antiquitie, auncientie, and excellencie of husbandrie, euen from the verie beginning of all things. And therefore doubtles is it to be had in reuerence and estimation of all men. But hereof inough.

their labour is  
needful for our  
life.

Adam was bid-  
den by God to  
till the ground.

*Theod.* Be there any Chandlers there as in other places ?

*Chandlers*

*Amphil.* Yea, that there are now, I warrant you, and more than deale iustly in euerie respect.

*Theod.* What do they sell for the most part ?

*Amphil.* Almost all things, as namelie butter, cheese, fagots, pots, pannes, candles, and a <sup>l</sup> thousand other trinkets besides.

sell cheese, pots,  
pans, and other  
trinkets.  
<sup>l</sup> Sig. G 7, back.

*Theod.* What be the abus(es) which they commit, I pray you ?

*Amphil.* Abus(es), quoth you ? They dare not commit anie, I trowe. But seeing you would so faine knowe, I will give you an inkling of them. First they buy that butter, cheese, and other things, which is naught, because they may haue it for a little monie, and then sell it for verie good : this, manie a poore prentise and other can tell to be true. Or if they buy that which is good, then they either sell it wonderfull deere, or else keepe it till it be past the best, and yet vtter it for as much and more than it cost them. Besides this, that they keepe their butter & cheese till it be mustie and mould, yea, till it smell that no man can eate it, they haue also their false waights & counterfet measures to deceiue the poore people withall. And notwithstanding that they buy sometimes 2. or 3. fagots for a penie, yet wil they not sel one, be it neuer so litle, vnder a penie, gaining aboue the one halfe in the other. And as for the stufte whereof they make their candles, I am ashamed to speake of it. For whereas they should make them of good liquor and sweet, they make them of all kind of kitchen stufte, & other stinking baggage, so that they shal waste &

They buy bad  
goods cheap, and  
sell em dear.

They have  
false weights and  
measures.

They make their  
candles of stink-  
ing baggage,

50 II. I. *Stubbes in the Barber's Shop, being trimd.*

[<sup>3</sup> Sig. G 8]

and their wicks  
of rope-ends.

consume <sup>1</sup>away like vnto ware against the fire, and yet shall never  
burne cleere, nor glie good light, but run ouer, and about the candle-  
sticke too shamefully. And as for the wikes within them, they are  
of hurds, rope ends, & such other good stiffe. Befides all this, they  
haue fleights to make the liquor of the candles alwaies to remaine soft,  
to the end it may wauste & consume the faster, with legions of the  
like diuises, God be mercifull vnto vs!

*Barbers:*

*Theod.* What say you of the barbers and trimmers of men? are  
they so neate, and so fine fellowes as they are said to be?

There are no  
finer fellows  
under the sun!

*Amphil.* There are no finer fellowes vnder the funne, nor ex-  
perter in their noble science of barbing than they be. And therefore  
in the fulnes of their ouerflowing knowledge (oh ingenious heads,  
and worthie to be dignified with the diademe of follie and vain  
curiositie) they haue inuented such strange fashions and monstrous  
maners of cuttings, trimmings, shauings and washings, that you would  
wonder to see. They haue one maner of cut called the French cut,  
another the Spanish cut, one the Dutch cut, another the Italian, one  
the newe cut, another the old, one of the brauado fashion, another of  
the meane fashion. One a gentlemans cut, another the common  
cut, one <sup>2</sup>cut of the court, an other of the country, with infinite the  
like vanities, which I ouerpasse. They haue also other kinds of cuts  
innumerable; and therefore when you come to be trimed, they will  
aske you whether you will be cut to looke terrible to your enimie, or  
amiable to your freend, grime & sterne in countenance, or pleasant  
& demure (for they haue diuers kinds of cuts for all these purposes,  
or else they lie.) Then, when they haue done al their feats, it is a

Our Barbers  
have all kinds of  
cuts of beards.

[<sup>3</sup> Sig. G 8, back]

They ask you  
whether you'll  
be trim'd to look  
fierce or pleasant.

Your Mous-  
tachios are  
twisted up like  
horns; the scis-  
sors go snap snap,

your face is  
wash't with sweet  
balls;

snap go the  
fingers;

[<sup>3</sup> Sig. H 1]

a world to consider, how their mowchatowes muft be preferued and  
laid out, from one cheke to another, yea, almost from one eare to  
another, and turned vp like two horns towards the forehead. Befides  
that, when they come to the cutting of the haire, what snipping &  
snapping of the cycers is there, what tricking & toying, and al to  
tawe out mony, you may be sure. And when they come to washing,  
oh how gingerly they behaue themselues therein. For then shall your  
mouth be boffed with the lather, or fome that riseth of the balles (for  
they haue their sweete balles wherewithall they vfe to washe); your  
eyes closed must be anointed therewith also. Then snap go the  
fingers, ful brauely, god wot. Thus this tragedy ended, <sup>3</sup> comes me

warme clothes, to wipe and dry him withall ; next, the eares must be picked, and closed togither againe artificially forsooth. The haire of the nostrils cut away, and euery thing done in order comely to behold.

warm cloths are  
brought,  
your nostril-hairs  
cut,

The last action in this tragedie is the paiment of monie. And least these cunning barbers might seeme vncpcionable in asking much for their paines, they are of such a shamefast modestie, as they will aske nothing at all, but standing to the curtefie and liberalitie of the giuer, they will receiue all that comes, how much soever it be, not giuing anie againe, I warrant you : for take a barber with that fault, and strike off his head. No, no, such fellowes are *Rare aues in terris, nigrisque similimi cygnis*, Rare birds vpon the earth, and as geason as blacke swans. You shall haue also your orient perfumes for your nose, your fragrant waters for your face, wherewith you shall bee all to besprinkled : your musicke againe, and pleasant harmonie, shall found in your eares, and all to tickle the same with vaine delight.

and then you're  
to pay 'What  
you please, Sir.'

And in the end your cloke shall be brushed, and ' God be with you Gentleman ! '

You have frag-  
rant waters, and  
music;

your cloak,  
brush, and good-  
bye !

*Theod.* All these curious conceits, in my iudgement are rather done for to allure and prouoke the minds of men to be bountifull and liberall towards them, than for any good else, which they bring [<sup>1</sup> Sig. H 1, back] either to the bodie or health of man ?

*Amphil.* True it is that you say, and therefore you must needs think they are maisters of their science that can inuent al these knacks to get money withall. But yet I must needs say (these nisities set apart), barbers are verie necessarie, for otherwise men should grow verie ouglisom and deformed, and their haire would in processe of time ouergrove their faces, rather like monsters, than comlie sober chrifians. And if it be said that any man may cut off the haire one of another, I answer, they may so, but yet not in such comelie and decent maner as these barbers exercised therein can doe, and besides, they knowe that a decorum in euerie thing is to be obserued. And therefore I cannot but maruell at the beastliness of some ruffians (for they are no sober chrifians) that will haue their haire to growe ouer their faces like monsters, and sauage people, nay rather like mad men than otherwise, hanging downe ouer their shoulders, as womens haire doth : which indeed is an ornament to them, being giuen them as a signe of subiection, but in man it is a shame and reproch, as

Barbers are  
necessary.  
Without em men  
ud look like  
monsters.

I wonder at the  
beastliness of  
some ruffians  
letting their hair  
grow so long.

52 II. I. *Surgeons and Physicians look only to money.*

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. H 2]

*Surgeons and  
Physicians*

'll only work for  
money.

Doctors 'll do

nothing for a  
poor man with-  
out money.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. H 2, back]

As soon as that  
fails, they give  
you the nastiest  
stuff they can.

We've many ill-  
taught doctors.

the Apostle prooueth. And thus much of barbers and their <sup>1</sup>science.

*Theod.* Haue you surgeans, and physicians there, as in other places, and are they skilfull and expert in their mysterie; and not onelie skilfull, but also confisionable in their dealings, as well toward the poore as toward the rich?

*Amphil.* There are both surgeans and physicians, good store. And as they be manie, so are they verie vncconscionable in their dooinges, for, as for both the one and the other, so farre from godlineffe and good conscience in all things are they, as if a poore man that hath not monie to giue them at their pleasure, stande in need of their helpe, they will either not come at him, or if they doe, they will so handle him, as it were better for him to be hanged, than to sustaine the paines that they will put him to. But for the most part, neither of them both will come at him, but rather contemne him, and reiect him as a thing of naught, yea, as much will they doe for the diuell himselfe, as for a poore man, if hee haue not money. And againe, as long as moneye runneth, they will applye gentle and easie potions, medicines, and salues, bearing their patient in hand, that he shall recover without <sup>2</sup>all doubt, with what disease, maladie, or sore foever he be infected, wheras in truth they can do nothing lesse. But *Deficiente pecunia*, Monie wanting, they applie bitter potions, nipping medicines, gnawing corrosiues, and pinching plaistures to greeue their patient withal, therby to straine out what liquor of life (that is, what monie or goods) they are able to giue. And thus they abuse their gifts, to the dishonor of God, the hurt of their felow brethren, and their owne damnation, except they repent.

*Theod.* Are surgeans and phisitians then necessarie in a common wealth, as you seeme to inferre?

*Amphil.* *Salomon* faith the Phisition (by the which worde he vnderstandeth both the phisition and the surgean, bicause the one is coofin germaine to the other) is to be honored for necessitie. And if for necessitie, then must it needes follow, that the same is most necessarie in a common wealth. But as the good, learned, and discreet phisitions and surgeans, are necessarie, and may doe much good, so the vnlearned, and naughtie (as the world is to full of them) may and doe much hurt dailie, as experience teacheth.

## II. I. Every Ignoramus is allowed to practise Physic. 53

Theod. You say truth. But are all indifferently suffered to practise the same noble misteries of phisicke and surgerie, without any [P Sig. H 3] choyse or exception at all?

Amphil. There is to great libertie permitted herein. For now a daies euerie man, tagge, and ragge, of what insufficiencie foeuer, is suffered to exercise the misterie of phifick, and surgerie, and to minifter both the one, and the other, to the diseased, and infirmed persons; but to their woe, you may be sure. Yea, you shall haue some that know not a letter of the booke (so farre are they from being learned, or skilful in the toongs, as they ought to be, that shoulde practise these misteries) both men and women, yoong and old, that, presuming vpon experiance forsooth (for that is their greatest skill) will arrogate great knowledge to themselues, and more than the learnedst doctor vpon the earth will doe. And yet notwithstanding, can doe in manner nothing at all. But if they chance at any time to doe any good (as *forte luscus capiat leporem* somtyme by chance a blind man may catch a hare) it is by meere chance, and not by any knowledge of theirs. And yet shall this exploit of theirs be founed foorth with a trumpet, which indeede may hardly be blowne vp with an oten pipe, for any praise it deserueth. This bringeth the laudable sciences of phifick and surgerie, into hatred, obloquy, & contempt, <sup>2</sup>maketh it of no estimation in the world, and vtterly discrediteth it amon[g]st men. For when as any sick, infirmed, or diseased, either miscarieth vnder the hands of his phisition or surgeon, or else when the medicine or salue worketh not his effect, then fall they to accuse the science it selfe, and to reproch it altogether, whereas in truth the whole blame consisteth in the ignorance of the practicioner himselfe. Great pitie it is therefore, that there is such libertie in permitting euery one that lust, to prophane and to abuse these venerable sciences of phisicke and surgerie as they doe. For euery man, though he know not the first principles, grounds or rudiments of his science, y<sup>e</sup> lineaments, dimensions, or compositions of mans body, the poores, arteries, temperament, or constitution, no, nor yet so much as the naturall complexion, qualitie, or disposition of the same, will yet notwithstanding take vpon him the habite, the title, y<sup>e</sup> name, and profession, of a phisition or surgeon. This we see verified in a sort of vagarants, who run stragling (I wil not saie roging) ouer the countries,

Any man, tag  
and rag, can  
practise both  
physic and sur-  
gerie.

If any person  
makes a cure, he  
puffs it every-  
where.

[P Sig. H 3, back]  
If any doctor  
loses a patient,  
then the Science  
is a. us'd.

Any Ignorant

can set up as a  
Surgeon or  
Physician.  
Vagrant Quacks  
make a lot of  
money.

54 II. i. *Doctors ought to be examind and licenset.*

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. H 4]

and beare men in hand of gret knowledg, when as there is nothing lesse in them. By which kind of theft, (for this coosoning shifft is no better) they rake in great somes of mony, which when they haue got, they leaue their <sup>1</sup>cures in the dust, I warrant you, and betake them to their heeles as to their best refuge. And thus be the noble sciences of phisiche and surgerie vtterly reproched, the world deluded, and manie a good man and woman brought to their endes, before their time.

. *Theod.* If phisiche be good, would you not haue euery man to practise it that will, without restraint?

*Amphil.* Phisiche is good, and yet would I not haue euerie ignorant doult that knoweth not the vse nor benefit thereof, to practise the same. For that maketh it to take so little effect, and so smally to be esteemed of, as it is now a daies; (for reformation wherof) I would wish that euery ignorant doult, & especially women, that haue as much knowledg in phisick or surgery as hath Iackeanapes, being but smatterers in the same noble sciences (nor yet al that), should be restrained from the publike vse therof, yet not from priuate exercise thereof either for their owne singuler benefit, or any other of their freends (prouided that they do it *gratis*) not making an occupation of it, but rather for desire to helpe, then for lucre of gaine. Than woulde I wyshe that the others who shoulde exercise the vse of Phisiche and Surgerie shoulde first bee Graduates in <sup>2</sup>either of the vniversties; and being graduates, yet not to be admitted therefore, but first to be tried and examined, as well for their knowledge, discretion, and sufficiencie in their art, profession and calling, as also for their godlines, christian zeale, pure religion, compassion, and loue to their brethren; and being found sufficient for the foresaid respects, to be admitted and licensed, vnder hand and seale authentike, by those that be of authoritie. And if he abuse himselfe or his facultie, then out with him, let him be *Officiperda*, Iacke out of office, make him a *Quondam*, and let him go to plow and cart, rather than to robbe the poore (as manie of them doe) yea, to murther and kil them without reprehencion. And as I would wish none but godlie, learned, and such as feare God, to be admitted to the exercise and practise hereof, so I would wish, that either they might be allowed anual stipends, for their better succouring of the poore diseased, or else

I'd let no stupid  
Dolt or Woman  
practise medicine  
or surgery except  
*gratis*.

I'd have all doc-  
tors Graduates,  
[<sup>1</sup> Sig. H 4, back]

examind for  
character as well  
as learning,

and then licenset  
to practise;  
and if they did  
wrong, out with  
em!

I'd pay em

might be constrained to take leesse of their poor patients than they doe. good stipends to attend the poor.  
 For now they ruffle it out in filckes and velvets, with their men attending vpon them, whereas many a poore man (GOD wot) smarteth for it. Yea, so vnreasonable, and so vnconscionable are they, as some of them will not set one foot out of his owne doores, without <sup>1</sup>twentie shillings, fortie shillings, three pound, twentie nobles, ten pound, twentie pound, and some more, some lesse. And hauing this importable fee, If they minister anything to the partie diseased, than besides, must they haue twenty shillings, for that that stands them not in twentie pins; fortie shillings, twentie nobles, for that that cost them not twentie pence, & so forward. This is a great wickednes, God be mercifull vnto vs, and such as the Lord will one day reuenge, if they preuent not his iudgements by speedy repentance. Besids these abuses, there are otherfome, that if they owe euill will to any, man or woman being fickle, or if they hope for any preferment by their deaths, wil not make any conscience of it, to glie them such medicines, such potions, and drinke, as will soone make a hand of them; and this shall be done inuisible in a clowde, Vnder the pretence of phisicke, forsooth; and if he die, why it was not the medicine that killed him (no it were *Blasphemia in sanctos ruminare*, blasphemie to thinke it of these holie fathers) but it was death, that cruell tyger, that spareth none. And to such corruption are they grown, that for mony I am perswaded they can make away with any whom they haue acceſſe vnto. Therefore I aduise every man to be careful to whom <sup>2</sup>he committeth the cure of his bodie. They are likewife in league with the apothecaries, in whome there are great abuses also, as well in compounding and mixing of their elements & simples togither, as also in felling chalke for cheeſe, one thing for another, & the like, so as it is hard to get anything of them that is right pure and good of it ſelfe, but druggie baggage, and ſuch counterfait ſtuffe as is starke naught. But of them inough.

Let vs speake a worde or two of a certeine kinde of curious people, and vaineglorious, called astronomers, and astrologers, the corruptions and abuses of whom are inexplicable. This done, we will make a final ende at this time of ſpeaking any further conſerning the abuses, corruptions, and imperfections, of the temporaltie, till occation of more matter hereafter ſhall be offered.

<sup>1</sup> Sig. H 5]

Now, their charges are tremendously high.

Doctors sometimes make away with patients.

<sup>2</sup> Sig. H 5, back]

Apothecaries

sell druggie baggage.

Astronomers,  
Astrologers,

*Theod.* These names of astronomers, astrologers, prognosticators, and the like, are so vnquoth and strange to my eares, that I knowe not what to make of them. Wherefore I pray you shewe me as neere as you can, the meaning of them, and what kinde of marchants the professors thereof be?

and Prognosticators are fantastical fellows.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. H 6]

They affect to foretell things by the stars,

and goe poking about into God's secrets

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. H 6, back]

Christ

*Amphil.* The astronomers, astrologers, prognosticators (and all others of the same societie, and brotherhooде, by what name or title soever they be called) are a certeine kinde of curious phantaſticall and vaine gloriouſe fellowes, who *seuerata dei temere remantes*, Searching the ſecrets of God rafhlie, which he would haue kept cloſe from vs, and onely knowne to himſelfe, take vpon them, & that vpon theſe grounds (forſooth), namely, the obſeruation of times & ſeafons, the aſpects & coniunctions of the ſigues and planets, with their occurrenus, to preſage, to diuine, and prognofciate, what ſhall come or happen afterwards, as though they ſate in Gods lap, knew his ſecrets, & had the world and the diſpoſement thereof in their own hands. It is an olde ſaieng, and verie true, *Quæ ſupra nos, nihil ad nos*, Thoſe things that are aboue our reach, conſerne vs not, and therefore we ought not to enter into the bowels & ſecrets of the Lord—(for as the wife man faith, *Qui ſcrutatur alſcondita dei, obruetur gloria eius*, hee that feacheth out the hidden things of G O D, ſhall bee ouerwhelmed with the glorye of the fame,—but to content our felues with ſo much as hee hath reuealed vnto us in his ſacred worde, committing the euent, the ſucceſſe, and diſpoſement of all things elſe to his ſacrede Maieftie, the G O D of all glorie. For to them that goe about, and labour ſo buſelye by ſpeculations, by aſtronome, <sup>2</sup>astrologie, and the like curioſarts to iudge of things to come, and thinke they can tell all things by the fame (but *Dum parturiunt montes naſcetur ridiculus mus*, whilſt the mountains doe trauell, a ſeely mouse will be brought forth) Christ our ſaviour faith, *non ei vestrum noſſe tempora, & momenta temporum, quæ ipſe pater in ſua iphiſus conſlituit potestate*, It is not for you to knowe the times and ſeafons, which the Lord God hath reſerued to himſelfe. And how much our ſaviour Christ diſliketh this vaine curioſtie, of aſtronomicall & aſtrologicall ſpeculations, we may gather by that vehement reprehencion or commination in the 16. of Matthew, thundred out againſt the people of the Iewes, who were, as it ſeemeth, too muſch addicteſ

to the same. Where he sharply rebuketh them, and calleth them dissembling hypocrites, in that they obserued and marked with such serious attention and diligence, the elemental signes & tokens in the firmament, being in the meane time, ignorant of greater things, namely of the signes and tokens of the sonne of G O D Christ Jesus, the true Messias, and saaviour of the world.

*Theod.* Vpon what grounds, certainties, rules, and principles doth this curious science confit?

*Amphil.* It standeth vpon nothing else, but meere coniectures, supposals, likelihoods, gheffes, probabilities, obseruations of times and seasons, coniunctions of signes, starres, and planets, with their aspects, and occurrents, and the like, & not vpon anie certeine ground, knowledge, or truth, either of the word of God, or of natural reason. But to argue the vntruth and the vncerteintie of this foolish curious science, we need not to go farre for examples and arguments. For the contrariety that euer hath beene in all ages amongst the verie doctors and maisters themselues, but most specially of late, doth approoue the same to be most fantasticall, curious, vaine, vncerten and meere prophane. For there being a maruellous strange coniunction (as they said) of two superiour planets, So manie as writ of the same, neither iumped togither in one truth, nor yet agreed togither, either of the day, houre, or moneth, when it shold be: but in al things shewed themselues like themselues, that is, plaine contradictorie one to another. Insomuch as they writ in defence of their errors, and confutation of the contrarie, one againt another, shamefully to behold. By which more than presumptuous audacie, and rash boldnesse of these, they brought the world into a woonderfull perplexi<sup>tie</sup> and cease, expecting either a woonderfull alteration of states and kingdomes (as these foolish starre tooters promised) or else a finall consummation and ouerthrowe of all things. Or if not so, yet the stranglest things should happen, that euer were heard or seene since the beginning of the world. Wheras, God be thanked, at the verie houre and moment when (as some of them set downe) these woonders and portents shold haue happened, there was no alteration nor change of any thing seene or heard of, the element being as faire, as bright, as calme, and as pleasant, and euerie thing as silent, and in as perfect order and forme, as euer they were since the beginning of the world,

[<sup>i</sup> Sig. H 7]

Their science is founded only on guesses and star-gazing.

On April 28, 1583  
(see *Holinshed*,  
1587, iii. 1356), or  
some other day  
that they couldn't  
agree on,[<sup>i</sup> Sig. H 7, back]the foolish star-  
tooters foretold  
fearful events,and yet every-  
thing passed off  
quietly as usual.

58 II. i. *Infinite fooleries, these Astrologers pretend to.*

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. H 8]

By all which appeereth the vanitie and vncerteintie of their curious science. I woonder where these fellowes fate, whether vpon the earth, or in the firmament of heauen, when they saw these coniunctions. Or with what eies they could see that, that no man else could see. But peraduenture they haue *Argus* eies, and can see all things, euen those things that be not. I maruell whether they haue dwelt in the region of the aire, and who told them the names, the scituacion, the houses, aspects, and locall places of the signes and planets, of the sunne, moone, and starres, with the number <sup>1</sup>thereof also, which indeed are innumerable. I woonder what spirite tolde them which planets were higher than other, and which lower than other, which be good and which be euill, which be moist and which be drie, which bee colde, and which be hote, which be gentle and affable, and which bee cruell and terrible, which giue good fortune, and which giue euill, which be good to take iourneies in hand, or to attempt any great thing, and which bee naught, which bee good for a man to take a wife in, that she may be amiable and gentle, and which be contrarie, which be dangerous to take diseases in, or to fall fiske, and which bee not, with infinite the like fooleries, which I ouerpasse. Now from whence they haue learned these things I cannot tell, but certeine I am, that out of the booke of G O D, they neuer fetched them, the same being in euerie point contrarie vnto them, and reproouing, yea, condemning to hell, their vaine curious searching of Gods secrets, and the succeſſe of things by ſuch fallible and vncerteine accidents.

*Theod.* Me thinke this is the next way to withdrawe men from G O D the Creator, to depende and hang vpon creatures, is it not?

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. H 8, back]  
For if the Planets  
give good and  
evil,  
and rule men,

<sup>2</sup> *Amphil.* It is the onely waie: For who, hearing that the creatures, as the fun, the moone, the starres, the signes & planets doe giue both good things and euill, bleffing and cursing, good succeſſe, and euill succeſſe, yea, life and death, at their pleasure (as these braineſick fooles hold they doe) and that they rule, gouerne, and diſpoſe al things whatſoever, yea, both the bodies and ſoules of man (for ſo ſome shame not to ſay) who, hearing this, I ſay, would not fall from God, and worship the creatures that giue ſuch bleffings vnto man? What can be a neerer way to withdrawe the people, not onelie from God, but alſo to hale them to idolatrie, and wholy to depend vpon creatures as the heathen do to their eternall damnation for euer.

men 'll turn from  
God, and worship  
the stars.

But, say they, though we giue authoritie, great power, great rule and gouernement to the creatures, yet we giue vnto God the cheefest stroke and the cheefest rule in all things, all other creatures being but the instrumentall, or secundarie causes, or (that I may speake plainlie) as it were his deputies, substitutes, or instrumentes whereby he ruleth and worketh all things. Is this any thing else, than to saie with certeine heretikes, that though God made all things, yet he ruleth them not, nor hath no care ouer them, but hath committed the rule<sup>1</sup> and gouernement of them to his creatures. Then which, what [<sup>2</sup> Sig. I. i.] blasphemie can be greater? is not this a flatte deniall of the prouidence of God, which scripture so much setteth forth and commendeth vnto vs? Shall we thinke that God made all things, and now as one wearie of his worke, committeth the gouernemente of them to other creatures? Saith not our Sauiour Christ, *Pater et ego operamur*, my father worketh, and I worke? Meaning thereby, that as he wrought in creating all things, so he worketh still in ruling them by his power, gouerneing them by his wisdome, and preseruing them by hys prouidence, and will do to the end of the world. But when they haue proued that he hath committed the rule and gouernement of his creatures, to his creatures, then I will faye as they say. In the meane time I say & holde, that it derogateth greatly from the glorie and maiestie of God, to faye or affirme that creatures haue the gouernement of all things committed vnto them. For if there should be many kings, princes and rulers in any one realme or country, must not the dominion and rule of the chief prince or regent be lesser, than if he ruled and gouerned alone? Woe were vs, if wee were at the rule and gouernement of creatures; but blessed be our God, who, as he knoweth our<sup>2</sup> frailtie (hauing therefore compaffion of our infirmities) [<sup>2</sup> Sig. I. i. back] so he ruleth and gouerneth all things, whether in heauen, earth, hell, or else wheresoeuer, according to the good pleasure of his will. In the 1. and 2. chapters of Genefis, besides infinit the like places in holie scriptures, we read that the sun, the moone, the stars, with all creatures else, were created & made for the vse and commoditie of man, being made subiect to him, and he constitute lord ouer them; & yet notwithstanding, are they becom now his lords, and he their subiect, vassal bondislaue? This is preposterous geare, when Gods ordinance is turned topsy turuie, vpfide downe. It is time these phantafticall

To pretend that  
Planets are God's  
deputies, is blas-  
phemous non-  
sense too.

God works and  
rules still, as he  
did at the  
Creation.

God made the  
stars for the use  
of man.  
Who made them  
his lords?

These fantastical  
fellows turn God  
into a Jack out  
of office.

fellowes were looked to in time, that wil go about to disthronize the mightie God Jehoua of his regall throne of maiestie and glorie, makin gan *Officerda* of him, a iacke out of office, & to pul him (as it were) *E cælis*, Out of the heauens, downe to the earth, giuing him no power nor authoritie at all.

*Theod.* Haue the signes and planets then no power nor authoritie at all vpon things on the earth?

*Amphil.* Yes, they haue their power, their operation, force, strength and effect in those things whereto G O D hath created them, as namely in the growing, increasing, cherishing, fostering, renewing, comforting & reuiuing of 'all natural things, And also they haue their influence & operation in mans bodie, for letting of bloud, receiuing of purgations & the like. But to say they worke these effects of their own proper force & strength, or that they rule or dispose the spirits & soules of man, is vtterly false, & at no hand true. And yet notwithstanding, so far infatuat are these busie heded astronomers, & curious serching astrologers, that they attribute euery part of mans body to one particular signe & planet, affirming that part of the bodie to be ruled by that signe, or planet. And therefore to Aries they haue assignd the gouernement of the head & face. To Tau[rus] the necke and throte. To Gem[ini] the shoulders, the armes & the hands. To Leo the hart and back. To Can[cer] the breft, stomake and lungs. To Lib[ra] the raines and loines. To Vir[go] the guts & bellie. To Scor[pio] the priuie parts & bladder. To Sag[ittarius] the thighes. To Capr[icorns] the knees. To Aqu[arius] the legs. To Pisces the feet. And thus haue they, & doe, beare the world in hand that the whole bodie of man both *Interne* & *externe*, within & without, is ruled and gouerned by the xii. signes, by starres, and planets, & not by God only. For the confirmation of which fained vntruth, they pretend the xii. moneths in the yere to be ruled & gouerned by the xii. signes in the element, and the seuen daies in the weeke to be ruled by the seuen planets <sup>2</sup>also. Befides this, they haue their particular houres, times and seafsons, wherein they chiefly worke their effects, and haue greateft strength. So that by their reasons, no moneth in the yere, nor day in the weeke, no, nor houre in the day nor night, but it is ruled and gouerned by the influence and constel-

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. I. 2.]

The busy-headed  
astronomers as-  
sign every kind  
of man to a par-  
ticular Sign,

and every month  
too.

The 7 Days they  
put to the 7  
Planets.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. I. 2. back]

lation of the starres and planets, and nothing is effected or brought to passe, but what they will, and intend.

*Theod.* Are the signes and planets, liuing creatures and reasonable, or insensible creatures, and things without life?

*Amphil.* They are no liuing or reasonable creatures, it is without all controuerſie, but merely insensible, and without life. And being without life and reaſon, how is it poſſible that they ſhould bring life or death (as theſe fellowes hold) fickneſſe or health, proſperitie or aduerſitie, heate or cold, faire weather or foule, beautie or deformitie, long life or ſhort, or any thing elſe? And if they be not able to giue theſe things, how much leſſe able are they then, to gouerne, rule, and dispose all thingeſſ in heauen, earth, the aire, or elſe wherſoever, to ouerthowre monarchies, kingdoms, nations, countries, and people, and finally to work althiſgs after their owne deſire and will? Will they haue dumbe and vnreasonable creatures to rule the reasonable? If <sup>I<sup>2</sup> Sig. I. 3.]</sup> that were true, why ſhould God be praifeſed either for his mercie, or feared for his iuſtice and iudgement, and not rather the planets, signes, and starres, which worke all in all in all creatures? If bleſſing come by the influence of starres and planets, then let men praife them, and not God, for the ſame. And if curies proceed from the starres, let them be feared for them. Briefly, if life and death, and all things elſe, come by the force of the elementall creatures, and celeſtiall bodies, then let them be honoured with divine worship. If theſe effects iſſued from creatures, then why ſhould the homicide, the murtherer, adulterer, or wicked perfon be puniſhed, wheras he might ſay, it was not I, it was *Planetarum iniuria*, The force of the planets that compelled me to finne\*? Or why ſhould the godlie man be praifeſed for dooing well, whereas he is inforced thereto, by the starres and planets? In *Summa*, why ſhould not planets and starres be adored and worshipped as gods, if they coulde worke theſe effects? They that attribute thus much to the starres, not onelie rob the maiestie of God of his honour, but also ſtrengthen the hands of the heathen, pagans, infidels, and idolatrous people, to perſeuere in their cursed ido<sup>2</sup>latrie ſtill. Nay, do they not rather ſhake hands with them, that as they worship the

\* Cp. Edmund in *Lear*, I. ii. 134-5: "Drunkards, liars, and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence."

But these Signs  
and Planets

are without life  
and reason.

How then can  
they rule the  
World and Men?

If blessings and  
curſes come from  
the Stars,

they ſhould be  
worſhiped as Gods.

But this robs  
God of his  
honour.

I<sup>2</sup> Sig. I. 3. back]

62 II. I. *Absurdity of man's Fate depending on Stars.*

funne, the moone, the starres, fire, water, and other creatures, for their God, so doe these worship the same, though not for their chiefe Gods, yet for their second gods, whereby they commit most filthie idolatrie, and are giltie of most hainous transgression. Indeede, I confess they haue effects and operations, but yet are they not the efficient causes of any thing either good or bad. Otherwise than thus, that it pleaseith the maiestie of God to worke by them, as by his instruments, whatfoever is his good wyll and pleasure, and not after any other sort.

*Theod.* I haue heard of some of these astronomers that would take vpon them to tell a mans fortune, onely by their constellation: forsooth, is it possible, suppose you?

*Amphil.* No, at no hand. For if it were so, that all things were, and man himselfe, gouerned and ruled by the stars alone (as who is so forsaken of God to beleue it?) And that they knew the minds, the purposes, the intents, the inclination, the disposition & qualities of euery starre, then might it be (peraduenture) true, that they might tell the fortune, and desteny of any man. But otherwise they can tel as much as a horse. I would faine learne of these starre <sup>1</sup>gaisers, who teach that man is drawne to good or euill by the constellations, and influence of stars, whether all the people that were euer borne since the beginning of the world, or shal be borne to the ende of the same, were al borne vnder one planet or star? For they had all one fortune, all finned in *Adam*, & all were in the iustice of God condemned to euerlasting fire. I would know also whether all the Sodomites and Gomorreans being consumed with fire & brimstone from heauen were borne all vnder one starre & planet? For they had all one definie, and all one end. Whether all the whole world in the daies of *Noah*, was borne vnder one and the same star, or planet, for they had all one destenie, being ouerwhelmed with an vniuersall deluge. Whether the whole host of *Core, Dathan, and Abiram*, were borne all vnder one star or planet, who had al one iudgment, one destinie, and one kind of death. Whether all the host of *Pharaos* were borne vnder one and the same starre and planet, who all sustained one kinde of death, and had all one destinie. Whether *Esau*, and *Iacob* were not borne both in a moment, and both at one birth, and yet had they contrarie natures, qualities, dif-

I confess that  
Stars have  
effect; but yet  
they're not  
Efficient Causes.

Let these star-  
gazers show me,  
if they can,

<sup>1</sup> Sig. I. 4.]

that all the sin-  
ners in Sodom  
and Gomorrah,  
who had one  
fate, were born  
under one star;

why Esau and  
Jacob, who were  
born under one  
star, had different  
ends;

positions and ends. Finally I would learne of them, whither none that euer liued since the <sup>1</sup>first beginning of the worlde, nor any that [<sup>1</sup> Sig. L. 4. back] shall be borne to the end of the same, hath not, or may not be borne in the same houre, and vnder the same planet & constellation, that Christ Iesus was borne in. If they say there haue not beeene any borne in the same houre that Christ Iesus was borne in, common reason, and daily experience would disprove them, for there is not one minute of an houre wherein there are not infinite children borne into the world. And if they say that there are that haue beeene borne in the same houre, and vnder the same starre and planet, than must it needes follow (if man should necessarily be ruled, gouerned, disposed & affected according to the naturall disposition, and inclination of the planets & stars) that he that hath bin, is, or shall be, borne in the same howre, and vnder the same planet or star that Iesus Christ was borne vnder, should bee as good & as perfect in euery respect, as Christ Iesus himselfe; and so should we haue had manie christs before this time. But God bleffe all his children from once thinking of any such impietie, and blasphemie. By all which reasons and arguments it apeareth manifestly that man is nothing lesse, than ruled, gouerned or destined, after the inclination, or influence of stars or planets, but onely by the living God, who doeth <sup>2</sup>whatsoever pleaseth him in heauen & in earth. This being so, twise vnhappy be those parents that thinke any moneth, day or houre, unfortunate for their children to be borne in, or that some be more fortunate and happie than other-some. And thrise cursed be those wicked deuils, that taught them those lessons. What? Doe they thinke that the Lorde is a sleepe those houres; or being wake, hath no power to rule? Hath he not made all things pure and good? Then cannot the good creatures of God make vs euil, or incline vs to finne. But it is the malice of the deuill, the corruption of our nature, and the wickednes of our owne harts, that draweth vs to euill, and so to shamefull destinies, and infamous ends, and not the starres, or planets. Whereof if we were truely perswaded, we wold leaue of, when we come to any shamefull end, to saie: "Oh, I was borne to it, it was my destonie," and I cannot tell what: whereas in truth we were borne to no such ends. But rather to glorifie our heauenly father by integritie of life & godlines of conuersation, whilst we liue vpon the face of the earth. Certein

why the children  
born when Christ  
was, were not  
like him.

Man is not  
swayed by Stars,  
but by the living  
God.  
[<sup>1</sup> Sig. I. 5.]

It's the Devil  
and our own  
wickedness, and  
not planets, that  
make us sin.  
(Cf. Edmund in  
*Lear* I. ii.)

## 64 II. I. Folly of the Zodiacial Signs influencing men.

The God sees  
that some men  
will come to a  
bad end, he  
doesn't fore-or-  
dain them to it.  
[<sup>1</sup> Sig. I 5, back]

Serve God, and

He'll preserve  
you

Some say that  
the 12 Signs of  
the Zodiac and  
the 7 Planets and  
their Aspects fix  
men's natures  
and fates.  
[<sup>2</sup> Sig. I 6]

But what a  
drunken reason  
they give for it!

Because a Bull  
is a yoke-beast  
here, therefore a  
man borne under  
him shall be a  
bond-slave!

it is, that God by his prouidence, & prescience, doth foresee that such a man through his wickednes shall come to such an ende, yet did not the Lord foreordeine, or foreappoint him to the same, <sup>1</sup>but rather dehorteth him from comitting that wickednes, which may purchase such an end. Wherefore to conclude. Seing it is finne that bringeth man and woman to shamefull ends, and neither fate, destonie, birth-star, signe or planet, constellation, nor anything else whatsoeuer, let euerie one endevour himselfe to serue his G O D truelie, in singlenesse and purenesse of heart, and himselfe to liue well and vprightlie, Walking in the lawes, and commandements of the Lord; and I warrant him for euer comming to anie euill end or destinie. That God whom he hath serued, will keepe him as he kept *Sidrach, Misaac, and Abednago*, from the rage of the fire, *Susanna* from the stake, *Daniel* from y<sup>e</sup> chawes of the greedie lions, & manie others that serued him in feare.

*Theod.* I haue hea[r]d some that woulde take vpon them to tell a man whither he shoulde be poore or rich, a feruant or a lord, a theefe or a true man, cruell or gentle, and what kinde of trades he shoulde haue prosperous succeſſe in: how shoulde they doe this?

*Amphil.* I will tell you how they pretende to doe it. There are (as they faye) certeine signes in the element (but yet I maruell what Apollo tolde them so, when they were there, and sawe them, or how they knew the shape <sup>2</sup>and proportion of them) as Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, and Pisces, with their planets, and aspects, as Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurie, Iupiter, Venus, and Saturne. Now say they, he that is borne vnder Aries, (which is a signe in the *Nusquam region*, Like to a ramme, or sheepe vpon earth) shall be a riche man and too too wealthie. And whie so? Marke their droonken reason. Forsooth because the rame is a fruitfull beast vpon earth, and yeldeth to his master two or three fleeces a yeere. Againe, he that is borne vnder Taurus (which is a signe (say these liers) in the element like vnto a bull, vpon earth); now fir, he that is borne vnder him, shall be pore, & a bondflaue all his daies. And why so? Mary, say they, because the bull on earth is a beast vsed to the yoke, and to much flauerie & drudgery. He that is borne vnder Leo (which is a signe quoth these iuglers like to a lion) shal be strong, courageous, & feared of

al men, & shal be lord & ruler ouer many, And why so? Because the lion is a stong & mightie beast, & is lord & king ouer all other beasts. He that is borne vnder Scorpio, shal be a murtherer, a robber, a theefe, and a wicked person. Why so? Forsooth because the Scorpion is a serpent full of poyson & malice vpon earth. <sup>1</sup>He [<sup>2</sup> Sig. I 6, back] that is borne vnder Gemini shall be rich, and haue manie children, because Gemini is a signe of two twinnes. He that is borne vnder Virgo shall be beloued of women, shall be amiable, faire, gentle, and I cannot tell what, because maids are so affected. He that is borne vnder Cancer, shall be crabbed and angrie, because the crab fish is so inclined. He that is borne vnder Libra, shall be fortunate in merchandize, in waights and measures, because Libra is a signe of a paire of ballance. He that is borne vnder Sagittarius, shal be a good shooter, because Sagittarius is a signe like to a shooter. He that is borne vnder Capricornus shall be a flouenly, ill fauoured, and vncleane fellowe, because the gote is a beast filthie, stinking and vncleane. He that is borne vnder Aquarius and Pisces shall be fortunate by water, because watermen haunt the waters, and fishes swim in the same. These be cupstantiall reasons and well seasoned arguments, and as strong to prooue their purpose, as a castell of paper to refist the enimie. Thus you may see they haue no other reasons, than to heape one lie vpon another. As first that these signes and planets in the heauens are like to earthly creatures, then that their natures, and qualities are knowne by the natures and qualities of <sup>2</sup>earthly creatures. Iesu God, what cunning felowes are these, that can knowe the nature of heauenly bodies, and celestall creatures, by these terrestriall bodies and earthly creatures? These are profound fellowes indeed, and by all likelihood, haue dwelt long in the clouds, that are so perfect in every thing there, and can iudge of future accidents with such singular dexteritie. By this time I thinke they are ashamed of their profession, therefore I need to say no more of them, till further occasion be offered, beseeching the Lorde God to give them grace to search for the truth of the worde of God, letting all such curious searchings of Gods secrets alone to God, who onely knoweth all secretes whatsoeuer.

*Theod.* If you condemne astronomicie, and astrologie altogether, as you seeme to doe, then it followeth that you condemne prognosticators, and such as make almanacks for euerie yeere: doe you so?

He that's borne under Capricorn shall be uncleanly, because the goat's a stunk ing beast!

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. I 7]

These Astrologer fellows must have lidd long in the clouds to know so much about heavenly bodies.

*Prognosticators and Almanac-makers I condemn too,*

66 II. I. *Against Prognosticators & Almanac-makers.*

*Amphil.* I neither condemne astronomie nor astrologie, nor yet the makers of prognostications, or almanacks for the yeere. But I condemne the abuse in them both, and wish they were reduced to the same perfection that they ought, and to be vsed to the same endes and purpos(es) which they wereordeined for. <sup>1</sup>The sunne, the moone, the starres, and the celestiall bodies whatsoeuer, created by the Lord not onelie to fructifie and increase the earth by their influence, but also to shone and giue light to man in this life, and to diuide the light from darknesse, the day from the night, winter from sommer, and to distinguish one season and time from another. Now how much may make or conduce to the knowledge hereof, so much I doubt not is verie tollerable, and may be vsed. But when we go about to enter into Gods secrets, and to diuine of things to come, by coniectures, and gesses, then make we the same wicked and vnlawfull. Therefore prognosticators are herein much to be blamed, for that

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. I 7, back.]  
when they pretend to pry into God's secrets,

and foretell what 'll be plentiful and what scarce.

Let Almanac-makers keep to their proper busines,

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. I 8]

and then they'll be useful folk.

they take vpon them to foreshew what things shall be plentie, and what scarfe, what deere, what good cheape. When shal be faire weather, when foule, and the like, whereas indeede the knowledge of these things are hid in the secrets of GOD, and are beyond their reach, therefore ought they not to meddle with them. But if they would keepe them within their compasse, as namely to shew the times and seasons of the yere, festiuals, vigils, to distinguish winter from sommer, spring from haruest, the change of the moone, the fall of euerie day, the ecclipses, epacts, dominical letter, golden number, circle of the sunne, leap yeere, and other the like necessarie points, then were their profession laudable, and greatly for the commoditie of the commonwealth. And thus much with their patience be it spoken briefly hereof.

Here ende the abuses of the  
*Temporalitie.*



# THE CORRPTIONS AND ABUSES OF THE SPIRITVALITIE.

*Theodorus.*

Auing now spoken sufficiently of the corruptions and abuses of the temporalitie, if I might be so bold, I would request you somewhat to say concerning the corruptions and abusess of the spiritualitie, or (as some call it) of the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. For I am fully perswaded, that the one being so corrupt, the other can hardly bee without blemish.

As to the cor-  
ruptions of the  
Ecclesiastical  
Hierarchy,

<sup>1</sup>Amphil. I am verie loth to enter into that field, the view where-  
of offereth such store of matter to intreat of, as if I shoulde enter  
the same, I shoulde rather not knowe where to end, then where to  
begin. Besides, you knowe the olde prouerbe, *Non bonum est ludere  
cum sanctis*, It is not good to meddle with these holie ones, for feare  
of thunderbolts, to insue. But for that, he is not onely a false prophet,  
and a traitor to the truth, that teacheth false doctrine, but as well he  
that knoweth the truth, and either for feare of death, or desire of  
life, wil not expresse the same to the worlde. And for that, not onely  
the author of any euill or mischiefe is giltie of offence before God,  
But also he that might by<sup>2</sup> discouerie thereof preuent the same, and  
yet either will not, or for feare of death dares not. And for that as  
the olde prouerbe saith, *Qui tacet, consentire videtur*, he that concealeth  
the truth, feemeth to consent to errors, for these and the like causes,  
I will laye downe vnto you some such corruptions and abusess, as  
seeme to be inormous, and stande in neede of reformation, omitting  
in the meane time to speake perticularly of all (for that they be  
innumerable) vntill I see how these fewe will be brouked of them.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. I 8, back]  
let the meddler  
with them look  
out for thunder-  
bolts.

But I'll tell you  
some of our  
worst Abuses in  
the Church.

68 II. 2. *All Churches are markt off into Parishes.*

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. K. 1.]

For it is a point of good physicke, you knowe, to see how the former  
meate receiued into the stomacke, will be digested, and concocted,  
before we receiue anye more into the same.

*Theod.* You say very well. Giue me leaue then (by your  
patience) to aske you such questions as I thinke conuenient for  
my further instruction, that by your good meanes, I knowing the  
truth, may praise God in you, and also haue iust occasion to giue  
you thanks for the same.

All our churches  
and congrega-  
tions

*Amphil.* Aske what you thinke good, in Gods name, and I will doe  
the best I can, to resolute you in anything that you shall demand.

*Theod.* Then this shall be my first demand. Be the churches,  
congregations, & assemblies there, distinckted into particulars, as into  
parishes and precincts, one exempt from another, or are they dispersed  
here and there abroad, without any order, exemption, or limitation of  
place at all?

are divided into  
parishes,

*Amphil.* Euerie particular church, congregation, assemblie, or con-  
uenticle, is diuided one from another, and distinckted into parishes and  
precincts, which feuerall precincts and parishes are so circumgired  
and limited about with bounds and marks, as euerie one is knowne  
of what parish he is, and vnder whose charge he liueth. So that  
euerie shepheard knoweth <sup>2</sup>his flocke, euerie pastor his sheepe. And  
againe, euerie flocke knoweth his shepheard, and euerie sheepe his  
pastor, verie orderlie and well, in my simple iudgement.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. K. 1. back]  
so that every  
flock knows its  
pastor.

*Theod.* Doe you allow then of this partition of churches, and of  
one particular congregation from another?

In early days,

assemblies were  
always separate.

*Amphil.* Yea trulie. It is not amisse, but a verie good order, for  
thereby euerie pastor doth knowe his owne flocke, euery shepheard his  
owne sheepe, which without this diuision could not be. Besides that,  
we read that euen in the apostles daies (who writ to particular  
churches themselues, as to the Rom. Corint. Thes. Phil, &c.) in the  
daies of Christ, & in the times of the prophets before Christ, churches,  
assemblies, and congregations were euer distinckted one from another, &  
diuided into feueral flockes, companies, and charges. So that although  
they had not the name of this word ‘parish’ amongst them, yet had  
the thing ment thereby, in effect.

*Theod.* Then it followeth by your reason, that there are infinite  
churches in *Dnalgne*; and I haue learned out of the book of God

that there is but one true church, and faithful spouse of Christ vpon the earth. How reconcile you these two places?

*Amphil.* Verie well. For although there be <sup>1</sup> infinite particular churches, congregations, and assemblies in the world, yet doe they all make but one true church of God, which being diuided in time and place, is notwithstanding one church before God, being members of the mystical body of Christ Iesus, & fellow members one of another, so as they can neuer be diuided, neither from themselues, nor from their head, Christ.

*Theod.* Who doe you constitute the head of the vniuersall church of Christ vpon earth? Christ Iesus, the pope, or the prince?

*Amphil.* Christ Iesus, whose the bodie is, must needs be, & is the onely true head of the vniuersall church. Then next vnder him euerie christian prince in his kingdom. And as for the pope, he is head ouer the malignant church, the church of the deuil, and not of Christ Iesus. No, he is so far from being head ouer the vniuersal church of Christ, that he is no true member of the same, but rather the childe of perdition, the first borne of satan, a diuell incarnate, and that man of sin (euen Antichrist himselfe) that must be destroied with the breath of Gods mouth.

*Theod.* By whom be these particular churches and congregations gouerned & ruled?

*Amphil.* By bishops, pastors, and other inferiour officers.

*Theod.* Do you shut out the prince then from gouerning the church?

<sup>2</sup>*Amphil.* No, God forbid. For take awaye *Brachium seculare*, [Sig. K. 2. back] The lawfull power, and gouernement of the temporal magistrate from the regiment of the church, and ouerthrow the church altogether. And yet notwithstanding the necessitie hereof, the dooting anabaptists and braineficke papists haue most deuiliſhly denied the same. The anabaptists denie (most absurdly) the authoritie of the magistrate altogether. The papists feing themſelues conuinced by the manifest worde of G O D, denye not their authority absolutely; but that their authority extendeth to the gouernement of the church, forsooth they vtterly denie, hereby exempting themſelues, and plucking away their neckes from vnder the yooke of christian obedience due vnto

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. K. 2.]  
But these separate churches all make up One true Church,

whose Head is Christ; under Him each King in his kingdom.

(The Pope's the head of the Devil's Church,

and under them Bishops, Pastors, &c.,  
and temporal Magistrates.

The Anabaptists deny the temporal power altogether; the Papists deny its extending to Church Government.

70 II. 2. *A Sovereign's Rights and Duties in his Church.*

magistrates<sup>1</sup>, contrarie to the expresse word of our fauour Christ, and his apostles, who saith *Omnis anima subdita fit potestatis supereminentibus!* Let every soule be subiect to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. And therefore they are to be obeyed as the ministers of God of all whatsoeuer.

But every King  
is supreme head  
over the Church  
in his realm.  
[<sup>2</sup> Sig. K. 3.]

*Theod.* Well than I gather thus much, that euerie king, prince, or potentate, is supreame head next vnder God, ouer the church of G O D dispersed through his kingdomes, and domini<sup>2</sup>ons : is not this true?

The Pope is a  
mere greasy  
priest, like other  
old shavelings  
are.

*Amphil.* Verie true. And therefore that antichrist of Rome, hath plaide the traitor a long while, both to Christ Iesus and all christian kings, in arrogating and vsurping to be supreame head ouer all the world. Whereas indeed he, being a greasie priest, & fmered prelate, hath no more authority than other oiled shavelings haue, nor so much neither, and yet that authoritie is but ouer the malignant church of antichrist, and not of Christ Iesus. I beseech the Lord therefore to breake of that power, to grind in peces that stumblng blocke of offence, and to wipe off the heads of that monstrous hidra, so as neuer any mo may growe thereof againe. \*

*Theod.* Seeing you say that euerie prince is supreame head ouer the church of God within his dominions, what authoritie therfore affign you to the prince to execute in the church.

A King has to  
see good Pastors  
elected, proper  
rites established,  
and Church cen-  
sures executed.

[<sup>3</sup> Sig. K. 3. back]

*Amphil.* It is the office and dutie of a prince, not onely to see elected, sent forth, & called, good, able, & sufficient pastours, for the instruction of the church, but also to see that good orders, constitutions & rites be establisched, and duely performed, that the worde be preached, the sacraments truely ministred, excommunication, discipline and ecclesiastical censures orderly <sup>3</sup>executed to the honor of God, and benefit of his church. But if it be said that these things are to bee executed of the ecclesiastical persons onely, I answere, true it is ; but if the ecclesiastical magistrate be negligent, secure, slouthfull, and careleſſe about the execution hereof (as who feeth not ſome be) than ought the prince to ſhew his authoritie in commanding and inioining them to doe their office. Besides this, it is the office of the prince to ſee all kind of finne, as well in the church men themſelues, as in all others of the church, ſeuereley puniſhed.

The King ſhould  
ſee ſin puniſh-

<sup>1</sup> Orig. magistrates.

## II. 2. *Of the King, Papal Antichrist, and Bishops.* 71

And though I grant the prince to haue the soueraigntie and primacie ouer the church of G O D, within his dominions, yet my meaning is not, that it is lawfull for the prince to preach the word, to minister the sacramentes, or to execute the sentece of excommunication, and other ecclesiastical discipline and censures of the church, but (as before) to see them done, of them to whom it apperteineth. For faith the apostle, *nemo sumat filii honorem, nisi qui legittime vocatus fuerit, vt fuit Aaron.* And againe, *vnusquisque in ea vocatione, qua vocatus est, maneat apud deum?* But in times past the papists bare the worlde in hande, that no temporall power whatsoeuer could, nor ought not, to <sup>1</sup>meddle wyth the clergie, and therefore made they <sup>¶ Sig K. 4.</sup> vassals of most chrisitian Princes. Yea, that pernicious antichrist of Rome, in those daies of ignorance hath not beene ashamed to make Kings, Queenes, Emperours, Dukes, Lords, and all other, how honorable or noble soever, his lackeis, his pages, his horsekeepers, and compelled them to hold his stirups, to leade his horse, and to prostrate themselves before him, whilest he trod vpon their neckes. But God be praised, this great antichrist is discouered to all the world, and his shame so laid open, as euery childe iustlie laugheth him to scorne. <sup>but his shame is laid open now.</sup>

*Theod.* You said before, that the churches there were gouerned by bishops, and pastors: how by them?

*Amphil.* The bishops are graue, ancient, and fatherlie men, of great grauitie, learning, and iudgement (for the most part) constituted by the Prince ouer a whole country or prouince, which they call their dioceses. These graue fathers hauing authoritie aboue all other of the ministerie, in their dioceses, do substitute vnder them in euerie particular church a minister, or ministers according to the necessitie of the same. And thus doeth euery bishoppe in hys owne dioces thorow out the <sup>2</sup>whole realme. So that no church, how small soever, but it hath the <sup>¶ Sig. K. 4, back]</sup> truth of Gods word, and of his sacraments, truly deliuered vnto it.

*Theod.* Are those preaching prelates, that the bishops do place in euerie congregation, or else reading ministers?

*Amphil.* It were to be wifched that all were preaching prelates, and not reading ministers only, if it could be brought to passe, but though all be not preachers, yet the most part be, God be praised therefore.

*Theod.* Be any, readers onlie, and not preachers: that is a great

and the Church's  
orders carried  
out.

The Antichrist of  
Rome formerly  
had kings as  
lackeys,

but his shame is  
laid open now.

The Bishops are  
grave and learned  
men, set over  
Dioceses.

¶ Sig. K. 4, back]

All our ministers  
don't preach,  
some read only.

72 II. 2. *Some Ministers are mere Readers, not Preachers.*

abuse. For I am perswaded that he that cannot preach, ought not to supplie a place in the church of God to read onlie : how say you?

But Readers

ought not to be  
Pastors.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. K 5]

They are not  
Christ's Vice-  
gerents,

only dumb dogs.

But bare Reading  
is better than  
nothing.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. K 5, back]

If you can't get  
at a kernel at  
first, don't throw  
away the whole  
nut.

*Amphil.* It is no good reason to say, because all ought to be preachers, that therefore readers are not necessary. But indeed I am of this judgement with you, that who so can but read onlie, and neither is able to interpret, preach, expound, nor explane the scriptures, nor yet to refell and conuince the aduersarie, nor to deliuere the true sense and meaning of the scriptures, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the paftor thereof. For God commandeth that the pastors be learned, saing : *Labia sacerdotum cuſtodiant veritatem, and edificant populi verbum dei ex ore eorum,* Let the lips of the priests preferue knowledge, and let the people learne the truth out of their mouthes. And therefore thofe that haue not this dexteritie in handling the worde of God, they are not fent of God, neither are they Chrifts vicegerents or pastors to instruct his flocke. To fuch, the Lord faith : They rule, but not by me ; they run, but I fent them not ; they crie, thus faith the Lord, whereas hee neuer spake it. These are thofe idoll ſhepheards, and dumbe dogs, of whom ſpeaketh the prophet, that are not able to barke againſt finne. And therefore I beſeech the Lord to remoue them, and place able and ſufficient paftors ouer his church, that G O D may be glorified, and the church edified in the truth.

*Theod.* Bare reading, I muſt needs ſay, is bare feeding : but what then ? Better it is to haue bare feeding than none at all.

*Amphil.* Verie true. And therefore are not they more ſcrupulous than they ought, more curious than needes, and more precise than wife, that because they cannot haue preaching in euerie church, doe therefore contemne reading as not necessary ? This is as though a man ſhould diſpife meane fare, because he cannot come by better, whereas I thinke it is <sup>2</sup>better to haue meane fare than none at all, or as though a man, because he cannot come by the carnell at the firſt, will therefore caſt awaie both the nut and the carnell. It were good (as faith the aþoſtle) that all could propheſie, that is, that all could preach and expound the truth, but because that al haue not the gift, is therefore reading naught ? And therefore a ſort of nouatians lately ſprung vp, haue greatly faulted herein, in that they hold that no reading minifters only ought to be permitted in the church of God, as though

(as I say) because a man can not haue daintie fare, therefore it is good to haue none at all. But to be plaine, as I will not defende a dumbe reading ministerie only, so I will not condemne it for necessities sake, when otherwise euery place cannot be sufficiently furnished at the first with good and sufficient men as it ought.

Keep your Reading Ministers till you can get Preaching ones.

*Theod.* But it is thought that there are now able men in the universities and elsewhere to furnish euery particular church with a preaching minister?

*Amphil.* Truely I thinke there are so, if they were sought for & preferred: but alas those that are learned indeed, they are not sought for nor promoted, but the vnlearned for the most part, somtimes by frendship, sometime by mony<sup>1</sup> (for they pay wel for their orders, I heare say) and somtimes by gifts, (I dare not say bribes) are intruded. This maketh many a good schoolar to languish, and discourageth not a fewe from goyng to their booke. Whereby learning greatlie decaith, and barbarisme, I feare me, will ouerflow the realme, if ipeedie remedie be not had herein.

We've enough learned men, but, alas they don't get Preferment.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. K 6]

*Theod.* As farre as I can gather by your speeches, there is both a reading and a preaching ministerie: whether doe you prefer before the other?

*Amphil.* I preferre the preaching ministerie before a reading ministerie only: and yet the reading ministerie, if the other can not be had, is not therefore euill, or not necessarie.

*Theod.* But tell me this. If there might a preaching ministerie be gotten, ought not the reading ministerie to giue place to the same?

*Amphil.* Yea, doubtlesse. And therefore the bishops ought to seeke for the learned sort, and as it were to sue and make instance to them, and finding them worthy, as well for their life as doctrine, to call them lawfully according to the prescript of Gods word, & so to sende them forth into the Lords haruest. And where the foresaide dumbe ministerie is, to displace the same, and place the other. By this meanes<sup>2</sup> the word of God should flourish, ignorance (mauger the head of satan) be abandoned, the church edified, and manie a one encouraged to go to their booke, whereas now they practise nothing lesse, and all by reason that by their learning they haue no promotion nor preferment at all.

Bishops ought to seek out learned Ministers

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. K 6, back]

74 II. 2. *Preachers may travel. New-fangled Brownists.*

Preaching  
Ministers  
preach mainly  
in their own  
parishes,

but sometimes  
out of them,  
and rightly so,

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. K 7]  
notwithstanding  
the Brownists,

for the Apostles  
went from place  
to place  
preaching.

Evils of  
Pluralities.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. K 7, back]

*Theod.* Do these preaching ministers preach onely in their owne cures, flockes and charges, or else indifferently abroad else where?

*Amphil.* They preach for the most part in their owne charges and cures whereouer the holie Ghost hath made them ouerseers, and for which they shall render a dreadfull account at the day of iudgement, if they doe not their dutie diligently, as God hath commanded. But though they preach most commonly in their owne cures, yet doe they sometimes helpe their felowe brethren to breake the bread of life to their charges also. Wherein me thinke they do not amisse. For if a watch man appointed by a whole citie, or towne to giue warning when the enimie commeth, seeing an other citye or towne to be in danger, giueth sufficient warning to his owne citie, and goeth and warneth the other citie also, and so by this meanes deliuere them both, I say, that in so doing, hee doth well, and according to chariti. And yet <sup>1</sup> notwithstanding, diuers new phangled felows sprong vp of late, as the Brownists, and there adherents, haue spoken verie blasphemouslie hereof, teaching in their railing pamphletes, that those who are lecturers or preach els wher than in their owne cures are accursed before god. Than the which, what can be more absurdlie, or vntruely spoken? For if they grant (as they cannot deny) that the word of God is good, then cannot the declaration of that which is good in one place, be hurtfull in another. And read we not that the apostles themselues went from place to place, preaching the word to euerie congregation? Christ Iefus did the same, & also taught vs, that he came not to preach to one citie onely, but to many?

*Theod.* Doe the reading ministers onely continue and read altogether in their owne charges, or not?

*Amphil.* The reading ministers, after they be hired of the parishes (for they are mercenaries) they read commonly in their owne charges, and cures, and except (which is a horrible abuse) that they haue two or three cures to serue, all vpon one day, and peraduenture two or three myles distant, one from another. Which maketh them to gallop it ouer as fast as they can, and to chop it vp with all possible expediti<sup>on</sup>, though none vnderstand them, and as fewe be edified by them.

*Theod.* Be these reading ministers well prouided for, so as they want nothing, or not?

## II. 2. *Bad Pay and Pluralism of Reading Ministers.* 75

*Amphil.* No truly. For if the other preaching ministers be not well prouided for (as in truth they be not) then how can the other be well maintained? And therfore they haue, some of them ten pound a yeere (which is the most), some eight pound, some sixe pound, some five pound, some foure pound, some fortie shillings; yea, and table themselues also of the same. And sometimes failing of this too, they runne roging like vagabonds vp & downe the countries like maisterlesse men, to seeke their maintenance. Whereby some fall to one mischiefe, some to another, to the great slander of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and scandall of the godlie. And yet part of these reading misters be too well prouided for, for some of them haue two or three, yea foure or five benefices apiece, being resident but at one of them at once, and peraduenture at neuer a one, but roift it out elsewhere, purchasing a dispensation for their discontinuance, and then may no man say: *Domine, cur ita facis?* Sir, why doe you so? For hee hath <sup>1</sup> plenarie power and authoritie granted him so to doe.

Reading  
Ministers' pay  
runs from £10  
to £2 a year,  
and keep  
themselves.

Some have 3  
or 4 benefices  
apiece,

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. K 8]

*Theod.* That is an horrible abuse, that one man should haue two or three, or halfe a dozen benefices apiece as some haue: may anie man haue so manie liuings at one time, by the lawe of God, and good conscience?

*Amphil.* As it is not lawfull for anie man to haue or enioie two wiues at once, so is it not lawfull for any man, how excellent foever, to haue mo benefices, mo flockes, cures or charges in his handes, than one at once. Nay, I am fullie perswaded that it is more tollerable (and yet it is a damnable thing) for a man to haue two wiues or mo, than for a man to have two benefices at once, or mo. For by possibilitie a man might discharge the dutie of a good husband to two or three wiues (yet to haue mo than one is the breach of Gods commandements), but no man, though he were as learned as Saint Paule, or the apostles themselues to whome were given supernaturall and extraordinarie giftes and graces, is able sufficientlie to discharge his dutie in the instruction of one church, or congregation, much lesse of three or foure, or halfe a dozen, as some haue. And as one father cannot bee manie fathers, one pastor <sup>2</sup>manie pastours, nor one man diuerser men, so one sheepeheard or pastour cannot, nor ought not, to haue diuers charges, and flockes at once. Is it possible for any shepheard though he were neuer so cunning a man, to keepe two or

which is worse  
than having 2  
or 3 wives.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. K 8, back]  
One Pastor  
cannot take  
charge of

more flocks  
and churches  
than one.

three flocks or mo at once, and to feed them wel and in due seafon, dooing the dutie of a good shepheard in euerie respect, they being distant from him, ten, twentie, fortie, fixtie, an hundred, two hundred, or three hundred miles? Much lesse is there any man able to discharge the dutie of a good pastor ouer so manie flocks, churches, and congregations so farre distant in place, wheras the simplest flocke that is, requireth a whole, and perfect man, & not a peece of a man. Therfore I aduise al benefice mongers, *that haue mo charges then one,* to take heede to themselues, and to leauve them in time, for the blood of al those within their cures, or charges, that die ghoftlie for want of the truth of Gods word preached vnto them, shall be powred vpon their<sup>1</sup> heads, at the day of iudgement, and be required at their hands.

If he tries to,  
he must be  
non-resident  
in one parish.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. L. 1.]

*Theod.* If they haue so many benefices a peece, and some so farre distant from another, then it is not possible that they can be resident vpon them all at once. But the matter is in dispute, whether they may not as well be ab<sup>2</sup>fent, or present: what is your iudgment of that?

This takes  
away the  
Word preacht,  
which is the  
Life.

*Amphil.* To doubt whether the pastor ought to be resident with his flocke, is to doubt whether the soule should be in the bodie, the eie in the head, or the watchman in his tower. For this I am fully periuaded of, that as the soule is the life of the bodie, and the eie the light of the same, so the word of God preached is the life, and light, as well to the bodie as to the soule of man. And as necessarie as the one is to the bodie, so (and much more) necessarie is the other both to soule and bodie. Now certein it is, these things cannot be applied without the presence of the preacher or pastor; and therefore is his absence from his flocke a dangerous and a perilous thing, and as it were a taking away of their life and light from them, which commeth by the preaching of Gods word vnto them.

*Theod.* But they say, though they be not present by themselues, yet be they present by their substitutes and deputies: is not that a sufficient discharge for them before God?

Ministers'  
Substitutes  
are mainly like  
Hogherds.

*Amphil.* I grant they are present by their deputies and substitutes, but if a man shoulde looke into a great sort of them, he should finde them such as are fitter to feed hogs, than christian soules. For as for

<sup>1</sup> Orig. their their.

some of them, are they <sup>1</sup>not such as can scarcely read true english ? [<sup>1</sup> Sig. L. 1. back] And for their zeale to Gods worde and true religion, are they not such as can scarce tell what it meaneth? The truth of Gods word they cannot easily preach nor expound. The aduersarie they cannot refell: barke against sinne they dare not, because their liues are licentious. They will read you their seruice faire and cleanly (as the doting papists did their blasphemous masses out of their portefesses), and when they haue done, they will to all kinde of wanton pastimes and delights, with come that come will, and that vpon sabbath day, festiuall day, or other; no day is amisse to them. And all the weeke after, yea all the yeere (if I said all the yeeres of their life, I lied not) they will not flicke to keepe companie at the alehouse from morning till night, tipling and swilling till the signe be in Capricornus. Infomuch as if you would know where the best cup of drinke is, go to these malt woormes, and I warrant you you shall not misse of your purpose. By these mercenaries their deputies, and the like, I grant they are present in all their flocks, but so as it were better or as good they were absent, for any good they doe, but rather hurt by their euill example of life. The residence of these their deputies is no discharge for them <sup>2</sup>before the tribunall seate of God : for notwithstanding the same, let them be sure to answeare for the bloud of euerie one of their sheepe, that miscarrieth through their default, or their deputies. Their deputies shall not excuse them at the day of iudgement, I dare be their warrant. Therefore I wish them to take heed to it betime, leaft afterward it be too late.

*Theod.* But I heare say, that what is wanting either in their deputiess, or in themselfes for not being daily resident, they supply either by preaching their quarter sermons themselfes, or else (if they be not able) by procuring of others to do it for them. Is not that well?

*Amphil.* It is as though a man euery quarter of a yeere once, shuld take his plow, & go draw a furrow in a field, & yet notwithstanding should looke for increase of the same: were not he a foolish husbandman that wold do thus? And euen so he is no leſſe vnwise, that plowing but one furow, that is, preaching but one poore sermon in a quarter of a yeere (& perchance but one in a whole yeere, nay in 7. yeeres) will notwithstanding looke for gret increſe of the same. Now the cause why this ground bringeth not forth fruit is, for that it

*Tho they can  
read the Service,  
yet after it,*

*and on week-  
days, they'll  
swill all day at  
the Alehouse.*

*Pluralists may  
preach once a  
quarter, but  
that's no more  
good*

*than if a man  
plowd one furrow  
every quarter.*

is not plowed, furrowed, & tilled al togither as it ought to be. So the cause wherefore the pore churches doe not bring forth fruit <sup>1</sup> is, for that they are not furrowed, manured, and tilled, as they ought, and bicause the word of God is not preached vnto them, and as it were braied, punned, interpreted, and expounded, *that* it, sinking down into the good ground of their harts, might bring forth fruit to eternal life. If the strongest mans body that liueth vpon the earth should be nourished with nothing for a whole quarter of a yeeres space, but onely with two or three drops of aqua vite, aqua angelica, or the like, euery day, and at euerie quarters end should be fed with all manner of dainties, I am perswaded that his bodie notwithstanding would soone be weake inough. Nay, do you thinke it were possible to liue one quarter of a yeere? Euen so falleth out in this case. For although our soules (which liue by the word of God, as our bodies doe by meate) be daily fedde with hearring the word read as it were with aqua vite, or sweet necter, and at euerie quarters ende, haue a most excellent & sumptuous banquet to pray vpon, yet may they macerate and pyne away notwithstanding, for lacke of the continuance of the same. And therfore the worde of God is to be preached night and day, in time, and out of time, in season and out of seaso[n], and that without ceasing, or intermission. And if that saieng of the prophet be <sup>2</sup>true (as without all controuersie it is most true) that he is accursed, *Qui fecerit opus domini negligenter*, That doth the worke of the Lord negligently, or fraudulently, then must it needs be, that those who hauing cure of soules, and doe seldome, or neuer preach, are within the compasse of this curse. Let them take heede to it. The apostle Paule said of himselfe, *Vae mihi nisi euangelizauero*, Woe be to me if I preach not the gospel; and doe they thinke that the same wo is not proper to them if they prech not? Haue they a greater priuilege than the blessed apostle saint Paule had? No, no, these vaine excuses will not serue them; therfore, as they tender the saluation of their owne soules, and many others, I wish them to take heede, and to shew themselues painfull laborers in the Lords haruest.

*Theod.* As far as I remember, by the lawes of *Dnalgne* there is a restraint, that none shall haue no more benefices at once than one: how is it then, that they can holde so manie a peece, without danger of the law?

<sup>1</sup> Sig. L. 2. back  
Our churches  
don't bring forth  
fruit because  
they're not tilled  
with preaching.

God's Word  
should be  
preach night  
and day with  
out ceasing.

<sup>2</sup> Sig. L. 3.]

Woe to Minis-  
ters who won't  
preach it!

I'ho there's a  
law against  
Pluralism,

II. 2. *Dodges to avoid the Law against Pluralities.* 79

*Amphil.* They make the lawes (as it were) shipmens hoofen, or as a nose of waxe, turning and wresting them at their pleasure, to anie thing they lust. But bicause they will auoide the lawes, they purchase a dispensation, a li'cence, a commission, a pluralitie, a qualification, and I cannot tell what else, by vertue whereof they may hold totquots so manie, how manie soeuer, and that with as good a conscience as *Iudas* receiued the mony for the which he sold Christ Iesus the Sauiour of the world. Or if this way will not serue, then get they to be chaplines to honorable & noble personages, by prerogatiue whereof they may holde I cannot tell how manie benefices, yea, as manie as they can get. But I maruell whether they thinke that these licenses shall go for good painment at the daie of iudgement. I thinke not. For sure I am that no license of man can dispense with vs, to doe that thing which is against Gods worde (as these totquots is) and therfore vnlawful. They may blind the foolish world with pretended dispensations, and qualifications, but the Lorde will bring them to account for it in his good time: G O D grant they may looke to it!

*Theod.* In whome doth the patronage, right, and gifture of these ecclesiastical promotions and benefices confisit? in the churches themselfes, or in whom else?

*Amphil.* Indeede you saie well. For who shoulde haue the patronage, the right, the interest, and gifture of the benefices, but the <sup>2</sup>churches themselfes, whose the benefices are by right, and to whome, *Proprio iure*, They doe apperteine? For doe not the benefices confisit either in tithes, or contributions, or both? Nowe, who giueth both the one and the other? Doe not the Churches? Then by good reason ought they to haue the gifture and bestowing of them, and the right and interest thereof ought to remaine in the power of the church, and not in anie other priuate man whatsoeuer.

*Theod.* Why? Then I perceiue you would not haue anie priuate or singuler man of what degree soeuer, to haue the patronage, the right, or gifture of anie ecclesiastical liuing, but the churches themselfes: is not that your meaning?

*Amphil.* Yes truely, that is my meaning, and so I am of opinion it ought to be.

*Theod.* Why so, I beseech you?

it's avoided by  
buying a  
dispensation,  
[<sup>2</sup> Sig. L. 3.back]

getting a  
chaplaincy to a  
Nobleman, &c.

But God'll be  
down on these  
folk.

The Patronage  
of Benefices  
ought to be in  
the Churches'  
hands.  
[<sup>2</sup> Sig. L. 4.]

Every parish  
Church ought  
to have the  
patronage of its  
own Living.

80 II. 2. *Every Congregation should own its Patronage.*

It wouldn't  
abuse it as pri-  
vate Patrons do.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. L. 4 back]

Private Patrons  
often cheat their  
Pastors of half  
their income.

And they move  
their cattle and  
sheep so as to  
avoid paying  
tithes on em.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. L. 5]

*Amphil.* Because one man may easilly be corrupted, and drawne to bestowe hys benefice eyther for fauour, affection, or monie, vppon such as bee vnworthie; the whole Church will not so. Againe, the whole liuing is nothing else but pure almes, or deuocion, or both, the Gentleman or other that pretendeth the gifture thereof, <sup>1</sup>giueth not the whole liuing himselfe, *ergo* hee ought not to haue in his owne power, the only gifture of the same. Thirdly, the whole church will not giue the same for firmonie; one priuate man may be induced to doe it. Fourthlie, the church will keepe no part of the liuing backe from the pastor, if he doe his dutie, nor imploie it to ther owne vfe; the singularitie of one man may easilie be abused: nay, the most patrones keepe the fatteſt morſels to thermelues, and giue ſcarcely the crums to their pastors. But if the benefice be woorth two hundred pound, they will ſcarcely giue their pastor foure ſcore. If it be woorth an hundred pound, they will hardly giue forteſt pound. If woorth forty pound, it is well if they giue ten pound, imploeing the better halfe to their owne priuate gaine. Now if this be not ſacrilege, and a robbing of the poore churches of their ſubſtance, as also defrauding of the Lords minister of his dutie and right, then I knowe not what ſacrilege, and fraude meaneth. Yea there are ſome, that hauing ground in another parish than where they dwell, againſt the time that their ſheepe, kine, and other cattell ſhould bring foorth increase, will drive them thither, ſo that the fruit falling in the other parish, he ſhall not need to pay tithes for the ſame to his owne pastor <sup>2</sup>where he dwelleth. And againſt the time that the other pastor of that parish where his cattell fell, ſhall demand his tithes thereof, they will haue fetched home their cattell, ſo that by theſe finifter kinde of meanes, they will neither pay in the one parish, nor in the other. But if the one commence ſute againſt him, he anſwereth, they fell not in his parish: if the other doe the ſame, he pleadeth that he is not of his parish, nor oweſt him ought. But indeed they wil pay for their ground in the other parish a little herbage (as they call it), a thing of nothing, to ſtop his mouth withall. So that hereby the poore paſtors are detained from their right, and almost beggered in moſt places that I haue come in.

*Theod.* How came temporall men by the right of their patronages, and how fell they into their clowches, can you tell?

II. 2. *How Laymen got their Church Patronage.* 81

*Amphil.* I will tell you, as farre as euer I could conjecture, how they fel into their hands. In the beginning, when Antichrist the pope exercised his vsurped authoritie, and challenged the title of supreme head ouer the vniuersall church of Christ vpon the face of the earth, to whomsoeuer would either erect churches, temples, and oratories (as the then world was giuen to blinde superstition, as to instaurate ab<sup>l</sup>beies, prieries, nunries, with other sumptuous edefices, and houses of religion, thinking the same a worke meritorious, and to gilte, croses, images, and the like fooleries) or else giue ground for the same to be built vpon, his vnholie holines did giue the patronage and pretended right of the same church, and benefice belonging to the same. Othersome thinke (to whome I willinglie subscribe) that the Churches (consisting of simple and ignorant men for the most part) abusing the same benefices, and bestowing them vpon vnmeete persons, the princes haue taken them out of their handes, and giuen the right patronage and possession of the same to the temporalitie, to the ende they might bestowe them better. But as they were taken from the churches for some caufes, so ought they to be remooued and giuen againe to the Churches for greater causes. For nowe are they bought and soulede for simonie, even as an oxe or a cow is bought and sold for mony.

*Theod.* Are there no lawes for the restrainte of simonie, being for horrible and detestable vice in the church of God?

*Amphil.* Yes, that there are. As he that is patrone taking monie for his benefice, to loose the patronage of the same, and the <sup>2</sup>ecclesiastical person, that giueth it, to loose the same benefice, the monie giuen or promised to be giuen, and to remaine incapable of anie other ecclesiastical promotion afterwarde for euer. But doe you thinke they are fooles? Haue they no shift to defeate the lawe? Yes, I warrant you. For though they giue two hundred, or three hundred pound for a benefice, yet it shall be done so cloosely, as no dogges shall barke at it. But bicause at the time of their initiation, institution, induction and admission, they are sworne whether they came by it by simonie or no, whether they gaue anie monie for it or no, therefore, to auoide the guilte of periurie, they, the pastors themselues, will not giue anie monie, but their friendes shall doe it for them; and than may they sweare (with as good a conscience as euer Iudas betraied Christ) that they gaue not a penny, but came

Laymen get  
their Church  
Patronage by  
the Pope having

given it to  
all men who'd  
build churches  
or give ground  
for 'em;  
[<sup>1</sup> Sig. L 5, back]

and by the King  
having taken the  
patronage from  
congregations,  
and given it to  
individuals.

We have laws  
against Simony,

but they're  
easily evaded.

Simony is  
avoided by  
pastors getting  
friends to pay  
money for them.

Or they buy a  
worthless thing  
for £100.

[<sup>f</sup> Sig. L 6, back]

Private  
Patronages  
should be  
abolished.

Poor Pastors  
haven't money  
to buy books.

[<sup>f</sup> Sig. L 71]

Pagans take  
better care of  
their Priests.

by it freely, as of gifte. Or if this waie fayle them, than must they giue the patrones a hundred pounde, or two hundred pounds vpon some bargayne, that is not woorth a hundred pence, and then maye they sweare, if neede be, that they came by the benefice frankelye, and freelye, and that they gaue the money vppon such and such a bargaine,<sup>1</sup> without some of these practises, or without such a dish of apples as Mafter Latimer talketh of, with thirty angels in euery apple, thogh he be never so learned a man, I warrant him he gets nothing. But if he can get a graffe of this tree loden with such golden apples, it will serue him better then all Saint Paules learning. For these and the like abuses infinite, if the patronages were taken away from them that now enjoy them, nay, that make hauocke of them, and either to rest in the right of the Prince (as they ought) or else in the right of the churches, who will not be corrupted, it were a great deale better than nowe they bee. For now the poore pastours are so handled at the hands of their patrones, that they neyther haue mony to buy them bookees withall, nor, which is lesse, not to main-taine themselfes vppon, though but meanelye, but are manye times constrained either to wander abroad to seeke their liuings, or els to take vp their Inne in an alehouse, or in some od corner or other, to the great discredit of the gospell of Christ, and offence of the godlie. This argueth flatly that we loue not Christ Iesus, who make so little of his messengers, and ambassadours. He that despifeth you, despifeth me, and he that receaueth and maketh much of you, he receiueth <sup>2</sup>me, and maketh much of me, saith Christ. The heathen gentils, and pagans, prouide better for their idolatrous priests, then we doe for the true preachers of the gospell, and disclosers of the secrets of God. For when the Egyptians were sore pooled of Pharao, the priests, by his commandement, were excepted, and permitted to haue all necessarie maintenance whatsoeuer. But we are of another mind, for we thinke whatsoeuer we get of them is won, it is our own good, whereas in truth, what we withdrawe from them (prouided that they be diligent preachers of the gospell) we withdraw it from God, and ferrie it to the deuil. But hereof more shal be spoken (Christ willing) hereafter, when we come to this question, whether it be lawful for preachers and ministers of the Gospell, to receiue wages and stipends for preaching of the worde.

*Theod.* By what law may a minister of the Gospell make claime Ministers can  
to tithes, and other profits, emoluments, duties, and commodities, claim Tithes  
belonging to him, by y<sup>e</sup> law of God, or of man?

*Amphil.* God, in the law of Moses, gaue speciaill commandement  
that tithes, and other oblations, commodities and profits should be  
giuen to the priests, to the end that they might attend vpon the diuine  
seruice of God and not <sup>1</sup>busie themselues in worldly affaires, which [<sup>1</sup> Sig. L 7, back]  
ordinance or fanchion being meere ceremonial, is now fully abrogate  
by Christ (for in him the truth, al ceremonies, shadowes, types &  
figures ceased, & toke their end) And therfore cannot a preacher of  
the Gospel claime his tithes by the lawe of Moses, but by the positiuē by the positive  
lawes of Christian princes which are to be obeied in all things (not law of Christian  
kings,  
directly against true godlineſſe) vpon paine of damnation.

*Theod.* Are tithes then due to be paid by the positiuē lawe of  
man, and not by the law of God?

*Amphil.* Yea truly, by the positiuē lawe of man: which godlie  
constitution is now no leſſe to be obeied vnder the Gospel (being  
commanded by a christian prince) than the diuine institution was to  
be obeied vnder the law. And although tithes bee due by the positiue  
lawes of man, yet are the fame grounded vpon the word of God, grounded on the  
as commanded as well by God as by man. And therefore he that word of God.  
breaketh this ordinance (being an excellent policie) violateth the  
commandements of God, and breketh the constitution of his liege  
prince to his damnation, except he repent.

*Theod.* Muſt euerie one pay his tithes truely to euery pastor,  
whether he be ought or <sup>2</sup>naught, learned or vnlearned, without any [<sup>2</sup> Sig. L 8]  
exception; or may he deteine it with good conscience from him that  
is an vnfit and vnable minister?

*Amphil.* If he be a good pastor, and diligent in his calling, and  
withal able to discharge the dutie of a faithful ſhepheard ouer his  
flock, then ought he to haue al tithes paid him whatſoeuer with the  
better; and if any ſhould withhold the leſt mite from him, he finneth  
against the maiefie of God moſt greeuously. And although he be a Even tho a  
wicked man and not able to discharge his dutie, though but in ſmall Minister's a  
meaſure, yet ought euerie man to pay him his due faithfully and wicked man, his  
truly. For in denieng him his dutie, they might feeme to withstande tithes ſhould be  
authoritie, which they ought not to doe. In the meane time giuing paid him,

84 ii. 2. *Ministers may preach to other Flocks gratis.*

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. L 8, back]

but his  
parishioners  
should try to get  
him removed

An endowd  
Minister  
may not

force men to  
pay him for  
preaching in  
other places.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. M. 1.]

Ministers may  
not take fees  
for sermons

themselfes to praier, and suing to them that haue the authoritie for his displacing, and placing of another that is more able in some measure to discharge the dutie of a faithfull pastor. Notwithstanding I know some are of opinion that if any man giue either tithes, or anie dutie else, to their pastor being an vnfit and an vnable person, he is partaker with him of his finne, he communicateth with other mens offences, and he maintaineth him in his idlenesse, sloth, ignorance,<sup>1</sup> and securitie, and therefore offendeth greeuously. But I am of opinion that euerye man ought to pay their dutie (for else he might feeme, as I said, to resist the power) & if he be not able to discharge his dutie, to pray for his remouuing, and to make instance to them that are in authoritie appointed for the redreffe of such inormities, for his displacing, and so not to attempt anything without good and lawfull authoritie grounded vpon the word for the same.

*Theod.* May a pastor that hath a charge and a flocke assignd him to watch ouer (hauing a maintanable liuing allowed him of his flock) preach in other places for monie?

*Amphil.* Hee may sometimes, obteining licence for some reasonable cause of his owne flocke, preach the word of God abroad in other places, but then he ought to doe it *gratis*, contenting himselfe with the liuing allowed him at home of his owne parish. Notwithstanding, if the other churches where he shall have preached, will voluntarily impart any thing to the supplie of his necessities, in respect of his painstaking, he may thankfully receiue the same, but he may not compell, nor constraine them to giue it him whether they will or not, againts their wils, as manie impudently doe.

*Theod.* Then I perceiue if it be not law<sup>2</sup>full for a pastor that hath a flocke, and a stipend appointed him, to receiue monie vpon constraint of strangers for preaching the worde abroad in other places, then is it not lawfull for him to take monie in his cure for preaching funerall sermons, marriage sermons, christening sermons, and the like, as many do. What say you to this?

*Amphil.* There are manie woorthie of great blame in this respect. For though they receiue fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound a yeere, of some one parish, yet will they hardly preach once a moneth, nay happily not once in a quarter of a yeere, and sometimes not once a twelue moneth, for the same. And if a

II. 2. *Preachers not to take fees for Funeral Sermons.* 85

man request them to preach at a burial, a wedding, or a christening, at Burials,  
Weddings, &c. they will not doe it vnder an angell, or a noble at the least. And therefore the papists and aduersaries to the Gospel call our Gospel, 'a polling Gospel,' our sermons 'roiall sermons, angell sermons, and noble sermons.' You call, say they, our blessed maſſe 'a polling maſſe'; but, say they, your preachings are more polling. For we ſay they would haue fold a maſſe for a grote; you will not ſell a sermon vnder a roiall, or a noble. And thus theſe fellowes are a flander to the Those that do  
are a slander to  
the Gospel Gofpel, and robbers of their fellowe brethren. If I ſhould hire a <sup>1</sup>man for fortie pound, an hundred pound, or more, or leſſe, to teach [Sig. M. 1. back] my children nurture or knowledge, if he for the execution therof ſhould aſke me more for the ſame than we agreed for, were not this man a naughtie, exacting, and fraudulent felowe? Nay, if I com-pound with him to teach them in the beſt maner he is able for ſo much, and he doth it not, and yet receiue my monie, haue not I good lawe againſt him? If he ſhould ſay vnto me, I will not doe it except you giue me more, were not this a very vnaſonable man? For, haſing his monie that was couenant, is hee not bound both by lawe and conſcience to teach them to the vttermoſt of his power? Or if he ſhall not doe it, and yet take my monie, is not he a theefe and robber? Is this true in a priuate man, & not in an eccleſiaſtically person? Is he not hired to that end & purpose to preach the word of God to his flocke? And hath hee not wages for the ſame? Shall he now denie to preach the ſame word except he haue more monie? Or is he not bound in conſcience to preach the ſame night and day without ceaſing? And if he doe not, is he not a deceiuer, a theefe, & a robber? The paſtor therefore, haſing taken vpon him the cure & charge of his flocke, and haſing his ſtipend appointed for the ſame, is bound to preach the worde of <sup>2</sup>God to all his flocke indiffer- [Sig. M. 2.] ently whether it be at buriall, wedding, christening (yea then eſpecially) or at any other time whenſoeuer, without taking or requiring of any more monie, than the ſtipend he was hired for. For if he take any more, it is plaine theft before God, and one day ſhall be anſwered for: let them be ſure of it.

*Theod.* You condemne not funerall ſermons then, ſo that they be good, doe you?

*Amphil.* No, God forbiſt. Why ſhould not godlie ſermons be as

They get their  
ſalary, and yet  
won't preach  
without more  
pay.

## 86 ii. 2. Funeral Sermons Good. Ministers should be paid.

I think godly  
Sermons at  
Funerals are  
very needful,  
and do great  
good.

[<sup>1</sup>Sig. M. 2. back]

wholsome (and as necessarie) at the burials of christians, when wee haue such liuely spectacles before our eies, of our mortality, miserie, and end, as they be at all other times? Yea truely at that present I thinke godlie sermons verie necessarie to put the people in remembrance of their mortalitie, of their great miserie, and frailtie, of their fatale end, of the immortalitie of the soule, of the generall resurrection at the last day, and of the ioie, felicitie, and beatitude of the life to come, with the like godlie instructions, that they may the better prepare themselues to the same when God shall call them hence to himselfe. And although of late some phantaſticall spirites haue taught that the vſe of them is naught, in that they <sup>1</sup>ſtand in place of popiſh diriges, and I cannot tell what, yet cannot I be eaſilie drawne to affent vnto them, for that I ſee them in that reſpect a great deale more curious than godlie wife.

*Theod.* Is it lawfull, thinke you, for minifters, and preachers of the Gofpell, to receiue ſtipends, and wages for their preaching?

*Amphil.* Why not? Otherwife how ſhould they bee able to keepe themſelues free from worldly occupations, and trauels of this life (as they ought) to applie their ſtudies for the diſcharge of their duties, to maintaine themſelues, their family, and houſhold; or how ſhould they keepe hospitalitie for the releefe of the poore <sup>2</sup> all which they are bound to doe both by Gods lawe, and good conſcience. Therefore take away liuings and wages from the preachers, and ouerthrowe preaching altogether, the ordinarie meane to ſaluation in Chriſt. This cauſed the aþoþle to enter diſputation of this point, where he prooueth by iniuincible arguments, that a preacher or minister of the Gofpell of Chriſt Iefus, may (*Salua conſcientia*, With a good conſcience) receiue wages and ſtipends for his peines ſustained in the affaires of the Gofpell, and that for the cauſes aboueſaid. Therefore faith this aþoþle: *Boui <sup>2</sup>trituranti non ligabis os*, Thou ſhalt not muſtle the mouth of the oxe that treadeth foorth the corne. Whereby is ment, that he that laboreth and taketh paines in any good exercise, ought not to be denied of his meed for his paines. Againe he faith: *Dignus eſt operarius mercede sua*, The workman is woorthie of his reward. And ſtill iñfifting in the fame argument, hee faith: *Qui euangelium p̄d̄cant, ex euangelio viuant*, They that preach the Gofpell, let them liue vpon the Gofpell. And yet further prosecuting the fame more at

Minifters  
ought to have  
Stipends, ſo as  
to be free from  
worldly business,  
and keep their  
families.

[<sup>2</sup>Sig. M. 3.]

St. Paul says  
that Minifters  
who preach the  
Gospel ſhould  
live by it.

## II. 2. *Benefist Clergy not to take Money of other Flocks.* 87

large, he saith: *Quis militat, etc.* ‘Who goeth on warfare at any time of his owne charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit? Who feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flock?’ By al which reasons and arguments it appeareth, that he who preacheth the Gospel ought to liue of the Gospeſſell. But as euerie pastor that hath a peculiar flocke affigned him, may, with the testimonie of a good conscience, receiue wages and maintenance of his flocke, for his paines taken amogſt them: ſo may he not, nor ought not, to take wages or ſalarie of any other flocke adioining, if ſo be it, that either vpon request, or his owne voluntarie good will, he preach the word of God amogſt them. To them that are thus prouided for, Christ our <sup>1</sup>fauour faith: *Gratis accepistiſſis, gratis date,* Freely you haue received, freely giue againe. But if any haue not a ſpeciall flocke or charge affigned him, then may he with good conscience receiue the beneuelencie, the friendly contributions and rewards, of the churches to whom he hath preached. And this is probable, both by the word of God, and the examples of the apostles themſelues.

But benefitſ  
Ministers may  
not take extra  
pay.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. M. 3. back]

*Theod.* What ſay you of preachers, and lecturers, that haue no peculiare flockes, nor charges appointed them; are they neceſſarie, and may they receiue wages, with a good conscience, of the flockes and charges where they preach the word of God?

*Amphil.* First you afke me whether preachers and lecturers that haue no peculiare flockes nor charges of their owne to attend vpon, be neceſſarie. Whereto I anſwere. That conſidering the ſtate & condition of the church at this day, they are moft neceſſarie. But if it were ſo, that euerie church and congregation had his preacher (as euerie one ought to preach, elſe is he not ſent by the Lord) then were they not ſo neceſſarie; but conſidering that moft churches are planted and fraught with ſingle reading minifters, they are verie behouefull to helpe to ſupplie the defect of the others, that <sup>2</sup>through the good induſtrie as well of the one, as of the other, the churches of G O D may bee inſtruceed and nouriſhed with the worde of G O D to eternall life. Then you afke mee whether theſe lecturers and preachers may receiue wages of the churches to whom they preach, with a good conſcience, whereto I anſwere, that they may. But yet I am perſuaded, that it were much better for them to haue particular flockes of their owne, to the end that they, receiuing ſufficient maintenance of them, might

Unbenefitſ  
preachers are  
now neceſſary,

as moſt  
Churches have  
only Readers.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. M. 4.]

Unbenefitſ  
clergy may  
take pay for  
Preaching.

(if they were at anie time disposed to bestowe any spirituall graces abroad) doe it *Gratis*, frankly and freely, without any charges to the poore churches of Iesus Christ.

*Theod.* But what if the pastors liuing be not maintaineable nor sufficient for him to liue vpon, may hee not take wages of other flocks abroad?

But benefist  
ores may not,  
even if their  
Livings are  
very poor.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. M 4 back]

They must be  
content with em,

and wait till  
the Lord opens  
men's hearts to  
give them more.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf M 5]  
The present  
Vagrant  
Ministers,

*Amphil.* I am perswaded no. For if his liuing be too little, then ought the church to mend it; but if the church, either for want of zeale will not, or through extreame pouertie cannot, increase his liuing, then ought the pastor to content himselfe with that little which God hath sent him, following the example of the apostle, who biddeth the children of G O D <sup>1</sup> to be content with their wages, bee it little or be it much: for if they haue meate, drinke, and cloth, it is inough, and as much as nature requireth. We brought nothing (faith he) into this world, neither shall we carrie any thing out. Againe, those that will be rich, fall into diuers temptations, and snares of the diuell, which drowne men in perdition and destruction. Therefore if it be sufficient to yeelde him meate, drinke, cloth, and other necessaries, he is bound to content himselfe with the same. Which if he doe (for the zeale he beareth to his flocke), I doubt not but the L o r d will open the harts of his flock towards him, and both make them able and willing to support his necessities. For if hee deliuier vnto them spirituall things, doubtlesse the Lord will moue them to giue vnto him temporall things. And therfore ought he to perseuere; and in his good time, without all peraduenture, the Lord will looke vpon him, as he hath promised.

*Theod.* Doe you allow of that vagrant ministerie, which is in manie countries, but most specially in *Dnalgne* sprung up of late, to the discredite of the Gospell of Iesus Christ, and offence of the brethren?

*Amphil.* Allow of it, quoth you? No, God forbid! But I rather deplore it with all my hart, <sup>2</sup>knowing that it is most directly against the word of God, the example of the primitiue age and all good reformed churches thorough the world. Is it not a pitifull case that two hundred, three hundred, five hundred, a thousand, five thousand, yea possible ten thousand, shall be called into the ministerie, in one countrie, not a quarter of them knowing where to haue any liuing or

charge? And what do they then? Runne stragling and rouing ouer countries, from towne to towne, from citie to citie, from shire to shire, and from one place to another, till they haue spent al that euer they haue, and then the most of them either become beggers, or else attempt wicked and vnlawfull meanes to liue by, to the great dis- honour of God, and slander of the word.

*Theod.* Me thinke this is a great abuse, that so manie, or any at all, should be called into the ministerie, not hauing flocks and charges prouided for them before.

*Amphil.* It is a great abuse indeed. For if pastor come of *Pasco*, to feed, if he be not a shepheard that hath no flock, and if he be not a feeder, that giueth no sustinance, nor a father that hath no childe, then are they no shepheards, nor no watchmen sent from the Lord, that haue neither flocks, nor charges to watch ouer. For he that is made a shepheard (or a minister) that hath no particular flocke readie to receiue him, is so far from being a lawfull shepheard, by reason of his former admission, that he is rather made a pastor by the church that hircth him to be their watchman and guide, than of him that first called him into that function. And therefore woulde I wish that bishops and others to whome it doth (*Ex officio*) apperteine to call, and admit pastors, and teachers in the church of G O D, to bee verie carefull heerein, and not rashly to lay their handes vpon any, before they haue had sufficient triall, as well of their life and doctrine, as also of the flock and charge where they shal be resident, that they go not like maisterlesse hounds, vp and downe the countries, to the flander of the Gospell.

*Theod.* Why? Then I perceiue you would haue none called into the ministerie, before there be a place void for him: is not that your meaning?

*Amphil.* That is my meaning indeed.

*Theod.* But are you able to prooue your assumption out of the word of God, or else I will giue but smal credit to you in such matters of controuerfie as this is?

*Amphil.* I haue not, neither doe I meane to speake anie thing vnto you touching these matters, but what I am able (I trust) to prooue by the worde of G O D. And yet I grant *Errare possum* (for *Hominis est labi, & decipi*, Man may bee deceipted and fall) but

roaming all  
over the country,  
I condemne.

Bishops  
should stop  
these men  
running about  
like masterless  
dogs.

No one should  
be ordained till  
a place is  
ready for him.

Bible examples  
prove this.  
[leaf M 6]

90 II. 2. *No one to be ordaind till he has a Cure.*

Matthias  
wasn't elected

till Judas's place  
was empty.

The Apostles  
wouldn't choose  
Deacons until  
[<sup>1</sup> leaf M 6, back]  
places were  
ready for em.

Common sense  
says, better  
wait and get one  
able man than  
have 200 unfit  
ones struggling  
about after  
places.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf M 7]  
Any congrega-  
tion wanting  
a Pastor, should  
propose 2 or 3  
tryed men to  
the Bishop,

*Hereticus effe nolo*, Erre I may, but heretike I will not be. No, so foone as I shall be conuinced by the manifest worde of God, of any of my former positions or assertions, I will willingly subscribe to the truth. But being persuaded as I am, giue me leaue, I beseech you (vnder correction) to speake what I thinke. But now to the purpose. In the first chapter of the A<sup>t</sup>tes of the apostles recorded by the Evangelist Saint Luke, wee read that *Matthias* succeding *Iudas* the traitour in the administration of the apostleship, was not chosen nor elected (notwithstanding that the apostles by the reuelation of the Spirite of G O D, knew that he should fall from the same in the end) vntill the place was voide, and emptie. In the fixt chapter of the A<sup>t</sup>tes of the apostles wee reade also of feuen deacons, which were chosen for the dailie ministring to the poore; but when, I pray you? Not before the church (destitute of their seruice) had need of them, nor before there <sup>1</sup>were places readie to receiue them, wherein they might exercise their function, and calling. Then if the apostles would not choose not so much as deacons, which is an office in the church of God farre inferiour to the office of the paftor, or preacher, before places were void and readie to receiue them, much leſſe would they, or did they choose or call any paftor into the church of God, before the church stood in need of him, and before there be a place readie to receiue him. Befides that, we read not thorough the whole euangelicall historie, that euer the apostles called any to be paftors and preachers of the word, before ſuch time as there were places void for them. Common reaſon, me thinke, and daily experience, ſhould teach us this truth ſufficiently, if we were not wilfully blinded, that when any church or congregation is deftitute of a paftor, it were better to place there one able person, than to make two or three hundred or mo vnable fellowes, and they, for want of liuing, to runne ſtrangling the countries ouer, without any liuing or maintenance at all, being glad of any thing. For as the old ſaieng is: Hungrie dogs eat fluttish puddings.

*Theod.* What order would you have obſerued in this?

*2<sup>2</sup> Amphil.* Me thinke this were a verie good order: That euerie church or congregation being deftitute of a paftor, ſhould present to the bishops, and others to whom it dooth apperteine, one or two, three or foure able persons, or mo, or leſſe, as they conueniently can,

whose liues and conuersations they haue had sufficient triall of, whose soundnesse in religion, integritie of life, and godly zeale to the truth they are not ignorant of. Then the bishops and others to whom it doth apperteine, to examine and trie them thoroughly for their sufficiencie in learning, soundnesse in doctrine, and dexteritie in teaching, and finding them furnished with sufficient gifts for such an honorable calling, to admit them, to lay their hands vpon them, and to send them foorth (the chiefeſt of them) to that congregation or church ſo deftitute. Which order, if it were ſtrictly obſerued and kept (as it ought to be) then ſhould not ſo manie run abroad in the countries to ſeeke liuings, then ſhould not churches bee pestered with insufficient minifters. Then ſhould not the bishops be ſo deceiued in manie as they be. And no maruell. For how ſhould the bishop choose but be deceiued in him, whom he neuer ſawe before, whose conuerſation he knoweth not, whose diſpoſition hee is ignorant of, and <sup>1</sup>whose qualities and properties in generall, he ſuſpecteth not? [leaf M 7, back]

Whereas if this order were eftablifhed, that euerie church deftitute of a paſtor ſhould preſent certeine able men, whose conuerſation and integritie of life in euerie reſpect they perfectly knowe (for the whole church is not likely to erre in iudging of their conuerſations, who haue been either al togither, or for the moft part conuerſant among them) then (as I ſay,) ſhould not the bishop be deceiued in any, nor yet any church ſcandalized with the wicked liues of their paſtors (or rather depaſtors) as they be. For now it is though ſufficient for the certeintie of his conuerſation, if he either haue letters dimiſſorie from one bishop to another (whereas they little or nothing knowe the conuerſation of the man) or elſe letters commendatorie from any gentleman, or other, elſpecially if they be of any reputation. If he can get theſe things, he is likely to ſpeeđe, I warrant him. Which thing is ſcarce well, in my iudgement. For you knowe one priuate man or two, or three, or foure may, peraduenture either write vpon affection, or elſe bee corrupted with bribeſ or giftſ, whereas the whole church cannot, nor would not. Therefore is the other the ſurer way.

<sup>2</sup>Theod. How prooue you that the churches that are deftitute of a paſtor, ought to preſent him whom they would haue admitted, to the bishop, and not the bishop to intrude vpon the church whom he will?

and he ſhould  
ordain the beſt  
for that Church.

Now, a Bishop  
gets but ſmall  
proof of a  
candidate's  
fitness.

[leaf M 8]  
Bishops ought  
not to intrude  
their nomineſ  
on churches,

92 II. 2. *Bishops ought not to appoint whom they like.*

for the Apostles

bade the Church  
present suc-  
cessors to Judas  
Iscariot.

They also bade  
the Church  
choose Deacons.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf M 8, back]  
So now each  
Church should  
choose its  
Pastor.

If it doesn't, it  
won't like him.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. N. 1.]

*Amphil.* In the first chapter of the Actes of the apostles before cited, we read, that after the defection of Iudas the traitour, the apostle *Peter* knowing it necessarie that one shoulde be chosen in his place, to giue testimonie and witnesse of the resurrection and ascension of Christ Iefus, commanded the church to present one or two, or mo, as they thought good, that hee with his fellowe brethren might confirme and allow them. And therewpon, saith the text, they chose two, to wit, *Matthias*, and *Ioseph*, surnamed *Bersalas*. And the church hauing presented them, they were elected, confirmed and allowed of the apostles and elders. Also in the foresaide fixt chapter of the Actes of the apostles, when the deacons (whose office was to make collections for the poore, and to see the same bestowed vpon them without fraud or deceit) were to be chosen, the text faith, that the apostles desired the church to choose foorth seuen men from amongst them, of honest report, & ful of the holie Ghoſt, which they might appoint to that businesſe. <sup>1</sup>By all which reaſons appereth, that the church ought to present him, or them, whom they would haue to be admitted, and not that the bishop ought to present, to allow, or to intrude him vpon the church at his pleasure, against the will thereof.

*Theod.* Why would you not haue paſtors to be thrust vpon the churches, whether the churches will or not?

*Amphil.* Bicause it is manifest that no church will so willingly receiue, nor yet ſo louingly imbrace, him that is intruded vpon them againſt their wiſs, as they will doe him that they like of, chooſe, and allow of themſelues. And if the churches beare not a ſingular loue, fauour, good will, and affection to their paſtor, it is vnoſſible that they ſhould heare him, or learne of him with profit to their foules. And if they heare him not *Auide & fitienter* (as we ſay) Greedily and thirſtily thereby to profit, then ſhal they periſh euerlaſtingly, in that the word of God is the ordinarie meane appointed by the diuine maiestie. And therefore in conclusion, if there be not a mutual amitie, loue, and affection betwixt the paſtor and his flocke, and if that the one loue not the other, as themſelues, it is not to be looked for that either the one ſhall teach, or the other receiue, any thing to their foules <sup>2</sup>health, but rather the cleane contrarie.

*Theod.* I pray you what is your iudgement in this? What if a

## II. 2. When a Minister may turn Layman again. 93

man be once lawfully called into the ministerie, may he euer vpon  
anie occasion whatsoeuer, leaue off the same function, and applie him-  
selfe to secular affaires?

As to a Minister giving up his office,

*Amphil.* There is a twofold calling. The one a diuine calling  
immediately from God, the other a humane calling immediately from  
and by man. Now he that hath the first diuine calling (his con-  
science suggesting the same vnto him, and the spirit of God certifieng  
his spirit of the certaintie thereof) being furnished with gifts and  
graces necessarie for such a high function and office (as God calleth  
none, but he indueth them first with gifts, and graces necessarie for  
their calling) and afterwards is lawfully called of man according to the  
prescript of Gods word, hauing a flocke appointed him wherevpon to  
attend, this man may not, nor ought not at any hand to giue ouer his  
calling, but to perseuere in the same to the end, for that he hath both  
the diuine and humane callings, being furnished with all gifts and  
graces necessarie (in some measure) for the discharge of his high  
function and calling. Yet notwithstanding, in time of extreame  
persecution, when Gods truth is persecuted, and his glorie defalced, if [Sig. N. 1. back]  
he haue not wherewithall to maintaine his estate otherwise, he may  
for the time giue himselfe to manuell occupations, and corporall  
exercises in the affaires of the worlde, as we see the apostles themselues  
did, who, after Christ Iesus was crucified, gaue themselues to their old  
occupations of fishing, making of nets, tents, pauilions, and the like.  
But vpon the other fide, if a man haue not this diuine calling, his  
conscience bearing him witnesse thereof, nor yet the graces, gifts, and  
ornaments of the minde, fit for his calling (which, whosoeuer hath  
not, it is a manifest argument that the Lorde hath not sent him, for  
thoſe that hee sendeth, hee furnisheth with all kinde of graces and  
giftes necessarie for their callings) this man, though he be called by  
humane calling neuer fo precisely, yet he may, nay, hee ought, to  
leaue his function, as vnwoorthie to occupie a roome in the church of  
God, repreſenting (as an idoll doth) that thing which hee is not.  
Befides, hee that is compelled and inforced either by friendes (as  
manie are), or by pouertie (as not a few bee), or for anie other respect  
else, to take that high function vpon him, without the testimonie of a  
good conscience, being not furnished with gifts, and graces fit for  
ſuch a calling (which argueth diſrectly that God hath not called him) [Sig. N. 2.]

if he's call'd by  
God's Spirit,

and then by man,  
and is given  
a flocke, he must  
continue a Minister  
to the end.

But if he's not  
call'd by God,  
and hasn't fit  
gifts for his  
work, he

should at once  
give up his  
office.

Men forſt by  
friends or  
poverty into the  
Ministry, and  
being unfit,

ought to leave  
their callings.

hee, I fay, is so farre from being bounde neuer to leaue his function  
and calling, that hee ought not one minute of an houre to continue in  
the same, though he bee called by man a thoufande times. Therefore  
he that is a minister, and hath charge of foules committed vnto him,  
let him if hee bee not furnished with such giffts as his high calling  
requireth, in the name of G O D make no doubt of it to giue ouer his  
function vnto others that are able for their gifftes to discharge the  
same, in the meane time giuing himselfe to godlie exercises of life, as  
God may be glorified, his conscience disburthened, and the common-  
wealth profited.

*Theod.* But I haue heard of some that, confidering the naughtinesse  
of their calling, and their owne insufficiencie to discharge the same,  
haue therefore left off their function, giuing themselues to secular  
exercises, and in the ende haue beene inforced to resume their former  
function vpon them againe, and that whether they would or not.  
How thinke you of this?

Those who would drive them back into Orders, offend grievously.

*Amphil.* I thinke truely that they who compelled them to take againe that function which they were not able to discharge, and therefore left it, haue greeuously offended therein. This is as if I, knowing a simple ignorant foole presumptuously to haue taken vpon him a great and waightie charge, yea, such a charge as all the wisedome in the world is not able thoroughly to performe, and when he, in taking a view of his owne insufficiencie, shuld be moued to leaue his charge to others better able to execute the same than hee, I should notwithstanding not onely counsell, but also compell him to resigne againe his former great charge, which I knowe he is neither woorthie, nor yet able, euer to accomplish. Thinke you not that he that compelleth him to take againe that office or calling which before he had leaft for his inabilitie, shall not answere for the same? yes truely, you may be sure of it. In conculusion, he that is sufficienly furnished with such gifts as are necessarie for his calling, & withal is found able to discharge in some sort his duty, ought not to leaue his function (for to such a on that so doth, Christ saith 'hee that laieth hande vpon the plough, and looketh backe, is not fit for the kingdome of God'). But againe, he that hath not these gifts, and graces sufficient for his calling, to the discharge of his dutie, ought not to occupie a place in the church of God, as the pastor thereof, much lesse ought he, <sup>2</sup>when

No unfit Pastors  
should be  
re-appointed.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. N. 3.]

he hath (for his inabilitie) lefft the same, to be constra[i]ned to resume againe his former function and calling, which he is not able to discharge. But hereof inough.

*Theod.* Then I perceiue that any minister or ecclesiasticall person that hath not gifts sufficient to discharge his duty, may with good conscience leave their functions, and give themselfes to live by their labors, as other temporall men doe: may they not?

*Amphil.* Yes, with a better conscience than to retaine them, being not able to discharge them in any small measure. For with what conscience can he receiue temporall things of his flocke, and is not able to giue them spirituall? With what face can a shepheheard receiue of his sheepe, the milke, the wooll, and fleece, and yet will not, or cannot giue to the same either meate or drinke sufficiently? With what conscience can he receiue fortie pound, a hundred pound, or two hundred pound, a yeere, of his poore flocke, and is not able to breake to them the breade of life, in such forme and maner as he ought? Nay, how can he euer haue quiet conscience that knowing that the blood of all those that die ghoftlie for want of instruction shal be powred vpon his head at the day of iudgment, and be demanded at his handes, will yet notwithstanding reteane the same [Sig. N. 3. back] charge and function to himselfe still, not being able to discharge the lefft iote of the same? Therefore would I wish euery man of what office, function, or calling soever he be, if he be not able to discharge his dutie in the same, to giue it ouer, and not for greedinesse of a little mucke or dung of the earth, (For monie is no better) to cast away their soules, which Iefus Christ hath bought with his most precious blood.

*Theod.* Is it lawfull for a pastor or minister that hath a flocke to departe from the same, In the time of plague, pestilence, or the like, for feare of infection?

*Amphil.* Is he a good shepheheard that, when he feeth the wolues comming, will take him to his heelles and runne away? Or is he a sure freend that, when a man hath most neede of his helpe, will then get him packing, not shewing any freendship towardes him at all? I thinke not? And truly no more is he a good pastor, or minister, (but rather a depastor, and minister) that in time of any plague, pestilence or sicknes whatsoeuer, will conuey himselfe away

*They'd better work for their bread.*

*How can a Pastor fairly take pay for what he can't give?*

*Let unfit men resign at once.*

*A minister is no Pastor, but a Depastor, who'll run away for fear of infection.*

96 ii. 2. *No good Pastor will run away in Plague time.*

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. N. 4.]

Such runaways,  
to save their  
bodies, will  
hazard a  
thousand souls.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. N. 4 back]

But God will  
follow and  
strike them.

Cannot God  
protect his  
servants now  
from death?

from his flocke, for feare of infection, at the houre of death, when the poore people haue most need of comfort aboue all other times, then is he their pastor that shoulde feede <sup>1</sup>them, the furthest from them. When they stande vpon the edge, as it were, of saluation or damnation, then permits he the wolfe to haue the rule ouer them. Our Sauiour Christ saith *Bonus pastor animulam dat pro ouibus*, A good shepheard giueth his life for his sheepe, but these felowes are so far from giuing their liues for their sheepe, that they seeke to saue their owne liues with the destruction of their whole flocke. This is the lone that they beare vnto their flocke, this is the care they haue ouer their soules health, which Christ Iesus bought so deere with the price of his blood. Out vpon those shepheards that for feare of incurring of corporall death (which is to the Godly an entraunce into parpetuall glorie) will hazard manie a thoufande to die a corporall and a spirituall death both, yea, a death of damnation both of body & soule for euer. Do they thinke that their blod shall not be asked at their handes at y<sup>e</sup> gret day of the Lord. Do they thinke that their flieng away from their flock, is a mean to preferue their liues y<sup>e</sup> longer vpon earth? Is not God able to strike them as well in the fields, as in the city, as well in the country as in the towne, in one place, as well as in another? Is not his power euerwhere? Is not his messenger death in al places? Saith he not in the booke of Deuteronom. that if we doe <sup>2</sup>not those things which he hath commanded vs in his sacred word, cursed shall wee bee at home, and cursed in the fields. And saith he not further, that the plague and pestilence, the botch, bile, blaine, or else what deadly infection foever, shall followe vs, and lay hold vpon vs, in what place foever we be, and shall never depart from vs, till it haue quite consumed vs from the face of the earth? And doe these fugitiues that ouerrun their flocks in time of infection, thinke that they shall escape the heauie wrath and vengeance of God for their tergiuersation and backsliding from their duties? Doe they thinke that God cannot saue them from corporal death but with the breach of their duties towards God? Is not the Lord as well able to defend them from any deadly infection, if it be his good pleasure, as he was to defend *Sidrach, Misaach, and Abednego* from the flaming fire? *Daniell* from the mouth of the lions, *Ionas* from the iawes of the mightie whale, with manie others that trusted

in him? Doe they thinke that his arme is shortened, or his power weakened? Is he not able to deliuere his children, that in dooing of their duties depend vpon his prouidence? And to bee plaine with them, me think that in flieng away from their flockes, they shew themselfes to thinke<sup>1</sup> that either God is not almighty, or else not [ leaf N 5] mercifull, or neither. For if they beleueed that he were almighty, and that hee were able to saue them, then they would neuer run awaie from their flocke, but depending vpon his prouidence, beleuee that he is as well able to deliuere them in one place as in another, if it bee his good pleasure. And if they beleueed that he were mercifull, then would they rest vpon the same, not doubting, but as he is almighty, and omnipotent, and therefore can doe al things, so he is most mercifull, and therfore wil preferue al those that put their trust in him. If a temporall magistrate that exerciseth but a ciuil office in the commonwealth, shuld go away from his charge for feare of infection or plague, wheras his present abode might do more good than his absence, he greatly offendeth; how much more then offendeth he, that being a paftor or feeder of soules, flieth away from his charge, wheras his presence might doe a thousand times more good than his absence? And if it please the Lord to take them away to himselfe, are they not most happie? Enter they not into eternall glorie? And haue they not an end of all miseries and paines in this life, and the perfect fruition of perpetuall ioy in the heauens? Are they not blessed, if when the Lord shal call them, he find<sup>2</sup> them so well occupied as in feeding, & breaking the bread of life to, the pore members of Christ Iefus for whose sakes he shed his hart blood?

He will preserve  
all those who  
trust in him.

And if he takes  
them to himself,  
happy are they.

[ leaf N 5, back]

Theod. But they say, we ought not to tempt God, which thing they must needs doe if they shoulde tarrie when they see death before their face. And they say further, that it is written that we must keepe the whole from the sicke, and the sicke from the whole. Befids, saie they, *Natura dedit, potestatem tuendi vitam omni animanti*, Nature hath giuen power of defending of life to euerie liuing creature. Againe, euery thing fleeth from his contrarie, but death is contrarie to nature, for it came through the corruption of nature, therfore we flee from the same by the instinct of nature. These and the like fond reasons they alledge for their excuse in flieng from their flocks and charges: what say you to them?

Cowardly  
Pastors' excuses  
for fleeing from  
infection.

These refuted:

<sup>1</sup> God has bidden  
us Pastors to  
feed his Sheep.  
[<sup>1</sup> leaf N 6]

Men with no  
duty to stay in  
danger may  
go from it.

But Ministers

[<sup>1</sup> leaf N 6, back]

are specially  
bound to be at  
the deathbeds of  
their flocks.

Many who've  
led a wicked life

*Amphil.* I can saie little to them. But onelie this, that none of all these reasons doe priuiledge them to discontinue from their flockes and charges. And whereas they saie, that their staieng were a tempting of God, it is verie vntrue, it is rather a reuerent obedience to this tripled commandement, *Pasce oves meas, pasce oves meas, pasce oves meas*, Feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe, feede my sheepe. But indeede if it were so that a priuate man who hath no <sup>1</sup>kind of function nor office, neither ecclesiasticall nor temporall, feeing himselfe if he stae stil in great danger of death, & might auoid the danger by flieng, & so by the grace of God prolong his life, and yet will not, this man, if he tarrieth, tempteth the Lord, and is a murtherer of himselfe before God. And to such it is said, ‘thou shalt keepe the whole from the sicke, & the sick from the whole.’ This is the meaning & fence of these words, and not that they do priuiledge any man for not doing of his dutie. But notwithstanding all that can be said in confutacion of this great & extreeme contempt of their duties, I haue knowne and doe know some miniters (nay, wolues in sheepe's clothing) in *Dnalgne* that in time of any plague, pestilence or infection, thogh there hath bin no gret danger at all, that haue bin so far from continuing amongst their flock, *that if any one of them were sicke, although of neuer so common or vsuall disease, yet fearing to be infected with the contagion thereof, they haue absented themselues altogether, from visitng the sick according as they ought, & as dutie doth bind them.* Yea, some of them (suppose you of mercenaries, & hirelings, but not of good pastors) are so nice, so fine & so feareful of death forsooth, *that in no case they cannot abide to visit the sicke, neither by day nor <sup>2</sup>by night.* But in my iudgement it is as incident to their office and dutie, to visite, to comfort, to instruct, and relieue the sicke, at the houre of death, as it is for them to preach the word of God to their flocke al the daies of their life. And peraduenture they may doe more good in one howre at the last gaspe, then they haue done all the daies of their life before. For he that in his life time hath had in small estimation the blessed worde of God, but following his owne humors in hope to liue long, hath lead a very wicked and impenitent life, nowe through the consideration and fight of death, which he seeth before his eies, togither with godly exhortations, admonitions, and consolations, out of the word of

## II. 2. *Sinners converted on Deathbeds. Ministers elected.* 99

God, may easilie be withdrawne from his former wicked life, and  
dieng in the faith of Iefus Christ, with true repentance for his finnes  
to-fore committed, liue for euer in ioye both of body & soule,  
whereas, if exhortations had not bin, he might (happily) haue died  
irrepentant or vtterly desperate to his euerlafting destruction for euer.  
Yea, it is commonly seene, that those who could neuer be wonne to  
Christ Iefus, all the daies of their life before, yet at the last howre  
they are soone recovered. Therefore ought not the pastors to  
neglecte their duties therein, but <sup>1</sup>warely and carefully to watche <sup>[leaf N 7]</sup>  
ouer their flocks night and day without ceasing, that when the great  
shephard of the sheepe commeth, he may rewarde them with the  
immercessible crowne of eternall glory. And thus much be it spoken  
hereof.

*Theod.* In whome doth the election of the minister or pastor con-  
fist? in the church onely, or in the bishops?

*Amphil.* I tolde you before (as I remember) that the church  
might examine the life, the conuersation, and disposition of him, or  
them, whome they would haue to be their pastor, and finding the  
same good, to present him, or them, to the bishops or elders to  
whome it apperteineth, to examine for his sufficiencie in knowledge,  
and dexteritie in teaching and handling the word of God; and finding  
him a man furnished with gifts and graces necessary for such a high  
vocation, to call him lawfullie according to the word of God, and so  
to fende him foorth into the Lords haruest, as a faithfull laborer  
therein.

*Theod.* But some are of opinion that the churches themselues of  
their owne absolute and plenarie power ought to choose their pastor,  
and not bishops.

*Amphil.* The churches haue no further <sup>2</sup>power in the election of <sup>[leaf N 7, back]</sup>  
their pastor, than as I haue told you, that is, to iudge of his conuer-  
sation & integritie of life, referring the whole action besides to the  
bishops and elders. For if the churches should elect their minister  
or pastor of themselues absolutely, besides that it would breed con-  
fusion (for some would choose one, some another, some this, and some  
that, neuer contenting themselues with any) the church should doe  
that also, which were directly contrarie to the word of God. For  
ceruite it is, the church hath no absolute power by the word of God

may easily be  
drawn to repent  
on their dying  
beds.

*The Election of  
Pastors.*

Their lives  
should be lookt  
into by the  
Church; then  
the men should  
be presented to  
the Bishop.

Churches should  
not elect their  
Ministers with-  
out the Bishop's  
approval.

100 II. 2. *No sole right in a Church to appoint its Pastor.*

Bishops represent the Apostles.

[<sup>1</sup> leaf N 8]

But a Church should have a voice in its Pastor's call.

Seigniorie or Eldership in every Church is not needful now.

[<sup>2</sup> leaf N 8, back]

A Seigniorie in every Congregation, as in the Apostles' time,

to elect their pastor, to choose him, to cal him orderly in such forme as is appointed in the word, obseruing all kinde of rites, ceremonies, & orders belonging thereto. Neither was it euer seene that any church did euer practise the same. For in the dais of the apostles, did the churches any more than choose foorth certeine persons of a tried conuersation, & presented them to the apostles? And did not the apostles then, (whom our bishops now in this action do represent) lay their hands vpon them, approue them (after triall had of their sufficiencie in knowledge) and sent them foorth into the Lords vine-yard? The churches laid not their hands vpon them, or as some call it, consecrated them not, nor vsed not any other ceremoniall rite in the <sup>1</sup>election of them, as the apostles did. But as I grant that the church for som cause, and in som respects, is not to be excluded from a consultatiue voyce (as before) or from being made priuie at al to the election of their pastor, so I denie that the church may absolutely of his owne plenarie power cal their pastor, all ceremonies and rites thereto belonging obserued, for that is to be done and executed of the bishops & elders, and not of the churches confisiting of lay men, and for the most part rude, and vnlearned.

*Theod.* What say you to a seigniorie or eldership? were it not good for the state of the church at this day that y<sup>e</sup> same were establisched in euery congregation, as it was in *the apostles daies*.

*Amphil.* The feueral estates and conditions of the apostolicall churches, and of ours (al circumstances duly considered) are diuers and much different one from another, and therefore, though a seigniorie or eldership then in euerie particular church were necessarie, yet now vnder christian princes it is not so needfull. The churches then wanted christian princes and magistrates to gouerne the same, and therefore had need of some others to rule in the church. But God be thanked, we haue most christian kings, princes, and gouernors, to rule and gouerne the church, & therfore <sup>2</sup>we stand in leſſe need of the other. And yet notwithstanding, I grant that a seigniorie in euery congregation were to be wifhed, if it could be brought to passe, yet cannot I perceiue, but that it would rather bring confusio[n], than reformation, confidering the state of the church at this day. For in the apostles times when seigniories were ordeined, we read not of any shires, dioces, or precincts, where bishops and ecclesiasticall magistrates

II. 2. *Elders not needed. Churchwardens as Deacons.* 101

might exercise their authoritie and gouernement, as now they doe, and therefore, there being neither bishops, ecclesiasticall nor ciuill magistrates (as we haue now), it was necessarie that the feignories shuld be ordeined. But now we, hauing al these things, stand not in such necessitie of them, as the churches in the apostles daies did. Befides, the institution of elders was but meere ceremoniall, and temporall, and therefore not to continue alwaies, neither ought the necessitie thereof to binde all churches. Neither doe I thinkne that all churches are bound for euer to one forme of externall gouernement, but that euery church may alter, and change the same, according to the time and present state therof, as they shal see the same to make for the glorie of God, and the comon peace of the church.

is not needed now.

Every Church  
may alter its  
form of external  
government from  
time to time.

<sup>1</sup> *Theod.* What say you to deacons? Is their office necessarie or [<sup>[1 Sig. O. 1.]</sup> not in the church of God at this day?

*Amphil.* Their office (which was to make collections for the poore, to gather the benevolences, and contributions of euerie one that were disposed to giue, and to see the same bestowed vpon the poore and needie members of the church) is very necessarie, and without doubt ought to be continued for euer. But yet is not the church tied to their names onely, but to their office. Which office is executed by honest substantiall men (called Churchwardens or the like) chosen by the consent of the whole congregation to the same end and purpose, who daily gathering the friendlye benevolencies of the churches, bestow, or see the same bestowed vpon the poore and indigent of the same church, which was the greatest part of the deacons duties in the apostles daies. So that albeit wee haue not the name, we yet hold their office in substance and effect.

The office of  
Deacon is still  
very necessary.

Now it is fill'd  
by Church-  
wardens, who  
daily gather  
alms and give  
em to the poor.

*Theod.* What is your iudgement, ought there to be any bishops in the churches of christians?

*Amphil.* To doubt whether there ought to be bishops in the churches of christians, is to doubt of the truth it selfe. For is there not <sup>2</sup>mention made of their names, dignities, functions, and callings, [<sup>[2 Sig. O. 1. back]</sup> almost in euery chapter of the new testament, in all the epistles of *Paule*, of *Peter*, of *Iohn*, of *Iude*, and of all the rest? Befides that, did not the apostles themselues constitute and ordeine bishops and elders; and doe they not wonderfully commende the excellencie of their calling, inferring that those that rule well, are worthye of double

The Apostles  
ordain'd Bishops.

The state of the Church  
couldn't be kept  
up without em.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. O. 2.]

They don't  
claim superiority  
to other Pastors  
as to their  
calling, but only  
as to the dignity  
that the prince  
has given em.

[<sup>3</sup> Sig. O. 2. back]

There must be  
superiority in  
dignity.

Familiarity  
breeds contempt.

honour? Whereby appeereth that bishops are not onlye needfull in the churches of christians, but also most needfull, as without whome I can scarcely see how the stafe of the church could well bee maintained. And therefore those that contend that they are not necessarie in a Christian Common wealth, shewe them selues either wilfull, waiwarde, or maliciousflye blinde, and striuing to catch their owne shadowes, they labour all in vaine, giuing manifest demonstration of their more than extreame follie to all the world.

*Theod.* Well. Let it bee granted (as it cannot bee denied) that they are moſte necessarie, yet in this I would verie gladlye bee abſolued, whether they maye lawfullye vendicate or challenge to themſelues ſuperioritie, and primacie aboue their fellowe <sup>1</sup>brethren of the minifterie or no? for ſome holde that there ought to be equalitie in the minifterie, and no ſuperioritie at all: how ſay you?

*Amphil.* They doe not vendicate or challenge anie ſuperioritie or primacie to themſelues ouer their brethren in reſpect of their common callings and funtions (for therein the pooreſt paſtor or ſhepherd that is, is coequall with them, they themſelues will not denie) but in reſpect of dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which the prince and church doth beſtowe vpon them. So that the ſuperioritie that they haue ouer their brethren, reſteth in dignitie, authoritie, and honour, which it hath pleaſed the prince to dignifie them withall aboue their fellowe brethren, and not in calling, function, or office, for therein they are all coequall together. But if any curious heads ſhould demand why the prince ſhould aduaunce any of the cleargie to ſuch high dignitie, authoritie, and primacie aboue his brethren, I anſwer as it is in the Gofpell: ‘Is thine eie euill, bicaufe the prince is good?’ May not the prince giue his giſts, his dignitie, and promotions to whom he will? And if the prince of his roiall clemencie be minded to beſtowe vpon his ſubiect any dignity or promotion, is it christian obedience<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup>to refufe the fame? Nay, is it not extreeme ingratitude towards his prince? Befides, who feeth not, that if there ſhould be no ſuperioritie (I meane in dignitie, & authoritie only) the fame honorable office or calling would growe into contempt? For is it not an old ſaieng, and a true, *Familiaritas, ſive æqualitas parit contemptum*, Familiaritie, or coequallitie doth euer bring contempt. And

<sup>2</sup> Orig. abedience.

therefore take awaie authoritie and honor from the magistrates either temporall or spirituall, and ouerthrowe the same altogether. If authoritie should not be dignified, as well with glorie and eternall pompe the better to grace the same, & to shew forth the maiestie thereof, would it not soone grow to be despised, vilipended, and naught set by? And therefore the more to innoble and set foorth the excellencie of this honorable calling of a bishop, hath the prince & the churches thought it good to bestow such authoritie, dignitie, and honor vpon them, and not for anie other cause whatsoeuer. And therefore, seeing it is the pleasure of the prince to bestowe such dignitie, authoritie, and honor vpon them, me thinke, any sober christians should easely tolerate the same.

*Sober Christians  
should tolerate  
Bishops.*

*Theod.* Yea, but they saie, that there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie, <sup>1</sup> bringing in the example of the apostles themselues, <sup>1<sup>st</sup> Sig. O. 31</sup> amongst whom was no superiority, inequalitie, or principallitie at all?

*Amphil.* Indede amongst the apostles there was no superioritie, I grant, neither in office, calling, authoritie, nor otherwise, but al were equall in ech respecte, one to another. But what than? The apostles were sent to preach to the churches, and not to gouerne (and therefore they choose elders to rule the same) but our bishops are as well to gouerne and to rule the churches in some respects, as to preach the worde. And therfore, though there were no superioritie amongst the apostles, yet maye there be amongst our bishops in respect of gouer[n]ment, dignitie and authoritie. And wheras they saie there ought to be no superioritie in the ministerie at all, I answere, no more there is in respect of euerie ones function, forme of calling, and office to preach the word and minister the sacraments. But in respect of gouernement, authoritie, dignitie, and honor, there is superioritie, and I am perswaded so ought to be. In which opinion, vntill they haue disprooued it, I meane, Christ willing, to perfiste.

*Bishops have  
to rule as well  
as preach.*

*Theod.* But they adde further, and say that it strengtheneth the hands of the aduersaries, <sup>2</sup> the papists. For, saie they, the papists may <sup>1<sup>st</sup> Sig. O. 3, back]</sup> as well affirme that christian emperours, kings and potentates, and euen the churches of God themselues, haue giuen to the pope that authoritie, that dignitie, and honor which he hath or claimeth aboue his fellowe brethren, as well as the bishop may say so. Besides, it confirmeth the opinion of soueraigntie ouer all the churches in the

*The Papist  
argument  
that the*

104 II. 2. *Bishops and the Archdevil Pope contrasted.*

Pope has his power from Kings, &c., as Bishops do.

But, i., Papists say that

the Pope gets his power from God.  
Not true.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. O. 4.]  
The Pope didn't get his superiority from God,

but from the Devil, whose Lieutenant-General he is.

Prince may lawfully give Prerogative in his own land.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. 4. back]

May a Bishop be called 'My Lord,' &c.?

world. For, say they, may not the pope saie that he receiued plenarie power to be head ouer all the world, from christian kings, emperours, and potentates, as well as the bishops may say, we receiued this power to be superior to our brethren from christian kings and princes. Now whether these reas ons be a like, I would gladly know.

*Amphil.* They be verie vnlike, and so vnlike as there is no equalitie, comparison, or semblance betwixt them. For, first of all, let them note, that the pope nor any of his complices and adherents doe not holde, nor pretende to holde, (no, they dare as well eate off their fingers as to say so, for then were there stafe in a wofull case) that their archdiuell, their god, the pope, I should say, doth receiue his power either of authoritie, superioritie, primacie, soueraigntie, or head ouer all the world, from any earthly creature, but immediately from God <sup>1</sup>himselfe. But whereas hee sayth that hee receiued his power of superioritie ouer all the worlde from no earthie creature, but from God himselfe, it is manifest that he receyued it neyther from God (for his vsurped power is contrarie to God, and to his worde in euerie respekte) nor from anie christian man, but from the Deuill himselfe, whos vicegerent or Liefetenant generall in his kingedome of impietie he shewes himselfe to be. Than let them note, that although hee pretended to holde his vsurped authoritie from man (as hee doth not,) yet is there no man howe mightie an Emperour, King, Prince, or Potentate soeuer, that is able *proprio iure* to giue him authoritie ouer all the worlde, without great and manifeste iniurye done to all other Princes, as to giue the soueraigntie, or chieftie of their Landes from them, to a straunger. But a Prince may lawfullye bestowe and geue to his subiectes anie prerogatiue, title, authoritie, office, function, gouernment, or superioritie of anie thing within his owne dominions and kingdomes, but no further he maye not. And therefore this reason of theirs holdeth not, that the Pope maye as well arrogate the one to himselfe, as the Byshops may the other to themselues.

*Theod.* Seeing now it cannot be denied, but that bishops are most necessarie, and that they may also lawfully hold superioritie ouer their brethren (in respect of gouernement, regiment or authoritie) being giuen them of the prince, what say you then to this? Whether may a bishop be called by the name of an archbishop, metropolitane, primate, or by the name of 'my Lord bishop, my Lords grace, the

right honourable,' and the like, or not? For, me thinke, these titles and names are rather peculiar to the temporalitie than to them, & do fauour of vainglorie, and worldly pompe, rather than of any thing else. And which is more, me thinke they are against the exprefse word of God. Wherefore I couet greatly to heare your iudgement thereof?

*Amphil.* These names and titles may seeme to fauour of vaine-glorie indeed, if they shoulde arrogate to themselues *Iure diuino*, as they doe not. But if you wil confider by whom they were giuen them, and how they doe require them, you will not thinke it much amisse, nor farre discrepant from the sincerite of the Gospell. Firſt therefore note that they were giuen them by christian princes to dignifie, to innoble, to decore, and to ſet forth the dignitie, the excellencie, and worthines of their callings. Secondly let them note [1 leaf O 5]

that they require them as due vnto them by the donation and gifture of men, and not *Iure diuino*, and therefore being giuen them for the causes aforesaid by christian kings and princes, they may in that respect hold them ſtill without any offence to the diuine goodneſſe, or his faithfull ſpouse vpon the earth. But if they ſhuld claime them as due vnto them by the lawe of God, as they doe not, then ſhould they offend. For our fauour Chrift, ſeeing his diſciples and apofles ambicioſly to affeſt the ſame vaineglorious titles and names, ſet before them the example of the heathen kings, thereby the rather to withdrawe them from their vaine humour, ſaieng: *Reges gentium dominantur eis*, &c. The kings of the gentils beare rule ouer them, and thoſe that exerciſe authoritie ouer them, be called gratiouſ Lords, but *Vos autem non sic*, You ſhall not be ſo. In the which words he vtterly denieth them (and in them, all others to the worlds end, that in the ſame office and function of life ſhould ſucceſſ them) the titles of Lords, graces, or the like. The apofte alſo biddeth them to beware that they challenge not thoſe vaine titles to themſelues by the lawe of God, when he ſaith (speaking to biſhops and paſtors) Be not Lords ouer your flockes, &c. By <sup>2</sup>theſe and manie other the like places [2 Sig. O 5, back]

of holiſe wrift, it is cleare that they cannot arrogate theſe names or titles to themſelues by y<sup>e</sup> word of God; neyther doe they, but (as I haue ſaid) by the donation, the beneuolence, and gifture of christian Princes, for the reuerent estimation they bare and ought to beare to

Yes, tho' these  
titles look  
vaineglorious.  
God doesn't  
give 'em,  
but the Prince  
does.

If Biſhops claim  
these titles by  
God's law, they  
do wrong.

Christ 'nd have  
none of this.

These titles of  
'Biſhop,' &c.,  
are not given by  
God's Word,  
but only by  
Christian  
Princes,

their high function and calling, in that they are his Liefetenants, his vicegerents in his Church, his messengers, his Ambassadors, the disclosers and proclaimers of his secretes, and his Aungels (for so are they called in the scriptures) & therfore, in respecte of the excellencie hereof, these names were giuen and attributed vnto them. And truely to speake my simple iudgement, I see not but that these names doe dignifie their callinges, shewe forth the maiestie thereof, and doe moue the Churches to haue the same high calling in more reverence, & honor, than otherwise they would, if they were called by bare & naked names onelie. But notwithstanding either this that hath beene faide, or anie thinge els that can be said herein, there are some waiward spirits lately reuiued, who hold the same names to be meere Antichristian, blasphemous and wicked, and suche as at anie hande a Minister of the Gospell ought not to bee called by. But whereas they holde them to bee Antichriſtian, I holde them to be Christian names, and geuen by Christian Princes to the innobling and garnishing of their offices, functions, and callinges, which doubtlesse is a glorie to God, denie it who will, or who can. And therefore in conclusion I say, that Byshops, though not by the lawe of God, yet by the poſitive law, donation, and gifture of Christian Princes, maye lawfully affuse the faide titles and names to them, for the causes before cited. And therefore these names and titles beeing meere indifferent, and not derogating from the glorie of God, but rather making for the same, they are not, of anye wise, sober, or faythfull Christian, neyther to bee inueighed against, nor yet to bee in anye respecte dislyked beeing vsed as before. And thus much of the names and titles of Byshops.

*Theod.* Maye Byshops exercise temporall authoritie together with Ecclesiasticall; and maye they bee Iustices of peace, Iustices of Quorum, Iustices of Affises, Ewer, Determiner, and the lyke; or maye they, as Capytall Judges, geue definytive sentence of lyfe and death vpon malefactors and others, that by the iudicall lawe of man haue deserued to dye?

F<sup>2</sup> Sig. O 6, back]

A man can only  
fulfill one calling.

*Amphil.* There is neither of the callings temporall, nor ecclesiasticall, but it requireth a whole and perfect man, to execute the fame. And if there were never founde any one man yet so perfect, as could throughly and absolutelie performe his office in either of

and they dignify  
their holders  
callings.

They are not  
Anti-christian  
but Christian,

F<sup>2</sup> Sig. O 6]

and Bishops may  
lawfully assume  
them.

## II. 2. *Bishops may not be Magistrates or Judges.* 107

the callings temporall or ecclesiasticall, much lesse can there euer one man be found, that is able to discharg them both. It is hard therefore that these two callings should concurre in one man. This is as though a man hauing an importable burthen alreadie vpon his backe, should yet haue an other almost as burthenous vrged vppon him. And therefore as it were abfurde to see a temporall magistrate mount into the pulpit, preach the worde, and minister the sacraments, so abfurde it is to see an ecclesiasticall magistrate exercise the authoritie temporall, and to giue sentence condemnatorie of life, & death, vpon any criminous person, which properlie belongeth to the temporall power.

No ecclesiastical officer

Befids, it is a great discredit to the temporall magistrate, because it may be thought that they are not wise nor politique inough to execute their office, nor discharge their duties without the aide and assistance of the other. And which is more, it hindereth them from the diisharge of their duties in their owne calling, for <sup>1</sup>it is written, no man can serue two masters but either he must betraie the one or the other. When the woman taken in adultery was apprehended, and brought vnto Christ, he refused to giue judgement of hir; and yet it was a matter in effect ecclesiasticall, & appertained to an ecclesiasticall iudge. Then what ought they to do in matters meere ciuil?

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. O 7]  
No man can  
serve 2 Masters.

Againe, our savior<sup>2</sup> Christ, when the yong man requested him to deuide the inheritance betwixt his brother, & him, refused the same, saieng, *Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos?* Who made me a iudge or a deuider betwixt you? Whereby appeareth how farre ecclesiasticall persons ought to bee from hauing to doe with temporal matters. But whereas they say the bishops of *Dnalgne* do exercise temporall authoritie, and doe it as judges capitall, giuing sentence condemnatorie of life and death, it is verie vntrue otherwise than thus, to be present at the same, & to haue a consultatiue exhortatiue, or consentatiue voice onely. Which vse me thinkes is verie good and laudable in my iudgement. For whereas the temporal magistrates not vnderstanding in euerie point the dedepth of Gods lawe, if they shoulde doe anie thing either against the same, or the lawe of a good conscience, they might informe them thereof, that <sup>3</sup>all things might bee done to the glorie of God, the conforte of the poore members of Christe Iesus, and the benefit of the common welth.

Christ refuzd to  
be a Judge.

And English  
Bishops have  
only a consula-  
tative voice in  
giving temporal  
judgments.

[<sup>2</sup> savior do *Orig.*]

[<sup>3</sup> Sig. O 7, back]

*Theod.* What fashion of apparell doe the pastors and Ministers weare vsually in their common affaires?

Pastors dress  
like other folk,

and generally  
in black.

But some are  
very fond of new  
Fashions,

and wear silks,  
&c.,  
[<sup>1</sup> Sig. O 8]

satin doublets,  
&c.

This is a foul  
blemish in them.

Christ wore but  
one poor coat,

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. O 8, back]

*Amphil.* The same fashion that others doe, for the most parte, but yet decente, and comlie, obseruing in euerie point a *decorum*. But as others weare their attire, some of this colour, some of that, some of this thinge, some of that, so they commonly weare all their apparell, at leaft the exterior part, of blacke colour, which, as you know, is a good, graue, sad, and auncient colour. And yet notwithstanding herein some of them (I speake not of all) are muche to bee blamed, in that they cannot content themselues with common, and vsuall fashions, but they must chop and chaunge euerie day with the worlde. Yea, some of them are as fonde in excogitating, deuising, and inuenting of new fashions euerie day, & in wearing the same, as the veriest Royster of them all. And as they are faultie in this respect, so are they herein to be blamed, in that they cannot contente themselues with cloth, though neuer so excellent, but they must weare filkes, veluets, satans, damaskes, gromrams, taffeties, and the like. I speake not agaynst <sup>1</sup>those that are in authoritie, for wearing of these thinges (for they both maie, and in some respectes ought to weare them for the dignifying of their offices and callings, which otherwise mighte growe into contempte), but against those that bee meane pastours and Ministers, that flaunt it out in their saten doblets, taffetie doblets, filke hosen, garded gownes, cloakes, and the like. Alas, how shoulde they rebuke pryd, and exceffe in others, who are as faultye therein as the reſte? Therefore sayde Cato verye well, *Quae culpare soles, ea tu ne feceris ipse*: for, sayeth he, *Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum*. Which is, those things which thou blameſt in others, ſee that thou thy ſelue bee not guiltye in the ſame, for it is a foule blemiſh and a great shame and discredit, what that euyll which thou reproueſt in an other, is apparent in thy ſelue. For in ſo doing, a man reprehendeth as well himſelfe as others, is a hinderance to the course of the Gospell, and what he buildest with one hand, he pulleth down with the other. Christ Iefus, the great paſtor of the ſheepe, was himſelf contented to go daily in one poore coat, beeing knit, or wouen all ouer without ſeeme, as the maner of y<sup>e</sup> Palifinians is to this day. This me think was but a ſimple cote <sup>2</sup>in the eie of the world, and yet Christ Iefus thought it pretious inough. Samuel was accuſtomed to

walke in an old gowne girded to him with a thong. *Elias* and *Elizeus* in a mantell, Iohn the baptist in camels haire, with a girdle of a skin about his loines. The apostle Paule with a poore cloake, and the like; wherby appeareth, how farre a minister of the Gospell ought to be from pride, and worldly vanitie, obseruing the rules of christian sobrietie, as well in apparell, as in al things else, knowing that he is as a citie set vpon a hill, and as a candle set vpon a candlesticke to giue light, and shiue to al the whole church of God. Therfore faith Christ: *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus*, &c. Let your light so shiue before men, that they, seeing your good works, may glorifie your father which is in heauen: which God grant we may all doe.

and Paul a poor cloak.

Let the Ministers be sober in dress.

*Theod.* Haue they no other kind of apparell different from the common sorte of men?

*Amphil.* Yes, marie, haue they. They haue other attire more proper, and peculiar vnto them (in respect of their functions and offices) as cap, tippet, surplesse, and the like. These they weare, not commonly, or altogether, but in especial when they are occupied in, or about, the execution of their offices and callings, to <sup>1</sup>this end and <sup>2</sup>[*Sig. P. 1.*] purpose, that there may be a difference betwixte them and the common sorte of people, and that the one maie be distingue from the other by this outward note or marke.

But, when officiating, they wear Cap, Tippet, Surplice, &c.

*Theodo.* Is it of necessarie than required, that the Pastors and Ministers of the worde, shoulde be distingued from other people, by anie feuerall kind of attire?

*Amphil.* It is not required as of necessarie, but thought meete and conuenient to be used for a decencie, and comlines, in the Church of God. But notwithstanding the chiefest thyng wherby a pastor or minister ought to be known from the common & vulgare sorte of people is, the preaching of the word of God, the administration of the sacraments, the execution of ecclesiastical discipline, and other censures of the Church, and withall his integrtie of lyfe, and soundnesse of conuerstation in euerie respecte. These are the true notes and markes wherby a Minister of the Gospell ought to bee knownen and distingued from the other common sorte of people. And yet though these bee the chiefest notes whereby they are distinct from others of the temporalitie and laitie, yet are they not the onelie notes,

But their chief distinction should be in Preaching and Holy Life,

110 II. 2. *Ministers may well have a distinct dress.*

or markes, for they are knownen and discerned from others also, by exterior habite, and attire, as namely by cappe, tippet, surplesse, and such like: That as the first doth distinguishe them from others, whilst they are exercized about the same, (for who is so doltishe, that seeing a man preache, minister the sacraments, & execute other ecclesiastical censures of the church, that will not iudge him to bee a Minister of the Gospell) so the other notes of apparell (the surplesse except) may make a difference, and distinguishe them from others of the laitie abroad. To this end, that the reuerence which is due to a good pastor, or minister of the Gospell may be giuen vnto them. For as the Apostle saith, those elders that rule well, are worthie of double honour.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. P. 1, back]  
As to those who  
object to a  
different dress  
for Pastors,

*Theod.* But I haue heard great disputation and reasoning pro & contra, to and fro, that the pastors and ministers of the Gospell, ought not to be differerend from the common sorte of people, by anie distincte kinde of apparell, but rather by sounding the Lordes voice on high, by ministring the sacramentes, and the like: what say you to the fame?

and try to  
justify their  
opinion by the  
Bible,

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. P. 2.]

*Amphil.* Indeede there are some, I confess, that are of that opinion, and they bring in the example of Saule, enquiring of Samuell for the feers house, inferring that the Prophet was not distinct from other common people in his attire, for than Saule shouldeaslie <sup>2</sup>haue knownen him by the same. And the example of the damosell that spake to Peter, inferring that whereas the mayde sayde, *Thy speech bewrayeth thee*, if he had bene distinct from others in attire, or outwarde apparell, shee would than haue sayd, *Thy apparel sheweth thee to bee such a fellowe.* These, with the like examples, they pretende to prooue that pastors and Ministers are not to bee discerned and knownen from the lay people, by anye kinde of apparell. But as I will not saie that they are to bee knownen and discerned from others by apparell or habite onelye, (but rather by the lifting vp of their voices like Trumpets, as saith the Prophet,) so I wyll not denye the same to bee no note or marke at all to knowe a Paftour or Minister of the Gospell by, from others of the temporaltie, and laitie. And truelye for my parte, I see no great inconuenience, if they bee by a certaine kinde of decente habite (commaunded by a Christian Prince) known and discerned from others. Yet some more curious than wise,

I can't agree  
with em.

I think a dif-  
ferent dress  
justifiable.

II. 2. *Ministers may wear Surplices, &c.* 111

before they would weare anie distinct kind of apparell from others, they haue rather chosen to render vp both liuinges, goods, families, and all, leauing their flockes to the mouth of the wolues.

<sup>1</sup>*Theod.* Is it lawfull for a minister of the Gospell to weare a <sup>p. Sig. P. 2. back</sup> surplice, a tippet or forked cappe, and the like kind of attire? <sup>If Tippets, forked Caps, &c.,</sup>

*Amphil.* As they are commaunded by the Pope, the great Anti-christ of the worlde, they ought not to weare them; but as they be commaunded, and inioyned by a Christian Prince, they maie weare them without scruple of conscience. But if they shold repose any religion, holineffe or sanctimonie in them, as the doting Papifts doe, than doe they greeuouslie offend; but wearing them as things meere indifferent (although it be controuersiall whether they bee things indifferente or not), I see no cause why they maie not vse them. <sup>I think Ministers may wear them,</sup> <sup>are ordered by a Christian Prince,</sup>

*Theod.* From whence came these garments, can you tell? from Rome, or from whence els?

*Amphil.* The most hold that they came first from Rome, the poison of all the world; & most likelie they did so; but some other searching the same more narrowlie, do hold that they came, not from Rome, but rather from Grecia, which from the beginning, for the most part, hath euer been contrarie to the Church of Rome. But from whence soever they came it skilleth not much, for beeing mere indifferent, they maie be worn or not worne without offence, according to the pleasure of the Prince, as things which of them<sup>2</sup>selues bee not <sup>p. Sig. P. 3.1</sup> euill, nor cannot hurte, excepte they be abused. <sup>even tho they first came from Rome.</sup>

*Theod.* Notwithstanding they holde this for a *maxime*, that in as much as they came first from the Papifts, and haue of them bene idolatrouslie abused, that therefore they are not, nor ought not to bee, vsed of anie true pastors, or Ministers of the Gospell. Is this their *assumption* true, or not?

*Amphil.* It is no good reason to say such a thing came from the Papifts, ergo it is naught. For we read that the Deuils confessed Iefus Christ to be the sonne of God: doth it follow therefore that the same profession is naughte, because a wicked creature vttered the same? All things are therefore to bee examined, whether the abuse consist in the things themselfes, or in others that abuse them. Which being found out, let the abuses be remoued, and the things remaine still. A wicked man maye speake good wordes, doe good <sup>Use of a good thing by Papists, doesn't make the good thing bad.</sup> <sup>If a good thing is abused,</sup>

112 II. 2. *Clear away abuses from good things abuzed.*

works before the world, (but because they want the oile of faith to couple them withall, they are not good workes before the Lord) and maie ordaine a good thing which maie serue to good ends, and purposes.

take away the  
Abuse, and let  
the Good Thing  
stay.

[¶ Sig. P. 3. back]

If everything  
that idolatrous  
Papists have used  
is to be done  
away with,

the Bible and  
most other good  
things 'll have  
to go.

[¶ Sig. P. 4. 1]

These Garments  
are a mere  
matter of  
Indifference :  
do as you like  
about em.

Put up with  
Garments : a  
man's no better  
or worse for em.

And because the same hath afterward beeene abusid, shall the thing it selfe therefore be quite taken away? No, take away the abuse, let the thinge <sup>1</sup>remaine still, as it maye very well without anie offence, except to them, *quibus omnia dantur scandalo*, to whom all thinges are offence. And further, if these preficians would haue all things remoued out of the Church which haue beeene abusid to Idolatrie, than must they pull downe Churches (for what hath bene abusid more to Idolatrie and superftition?) pulpits, belles, and what not. Than must they take away the vse of bread and wine, not onely from the church, but also from the vse of man in this life, because y<sup>e</sup> same was abusid to most shamefull idolatrie in beeing dedicate to *Ceres*, and *Bacchus*, twoo stinking Idols of the Gentiles. Than must they take away not onely the Epistles, and Gospels, but also the whole volume of the holy scriptures, because the Papistes abusid them to idolatrie. By all which reasons, with infinite the like, it manifestly appeareth, that manie things which haue beeene instituted by Idolaters, or by them abusid to Idolatrie, may be applied to good vses, and may serue to good ends, y<sup>e</sup> abuses being taken away. Yet wold I not that any thing that hath been idolatrously abusid by the papists, should be reteined in the churches of Christians, if by any meanes they might be remoued, and better put in place.

*Theod.* Is the wearing of these garments <sup>2</sup>a thing meere indifferent, or not? for some hold it is, some hold it is not?

*Amphil.* It is a thing without all controuerfy mere indifferent; for, whatsoeuer gods word neither exprefly commandeth, neither directly forbiddeth, nor which bindeþ not y<sup>e</sup> conscience of a christian man, is a thing mere indifferent to be vsed, or not to be vsed, as the present state of y<sup>e</sup> church, & time requireth. But it is certen that the wearing of this kind of attire is not exprefly commanded in the word of God, nor directly forbid by the same, & therfore is mere indifferent, and may be vsed, or not vsed, without burthen of conscience, as y<sup>e</sup> present state of time shall require. And therfore seeing they be things indifferent, I wold wish every wise christian to tollerate y<sup>e</sup> same, being certen that he is neither better nor worſe, for wearing or not wearing of them.

II. 2. *Princes to be obeyd as to Garments, &c.* 113

*Theod.* Being things, as you say, mere indifferent, may any man lawfully refuse y<sup>e</sup> wearing of them against the commandement of his prince, whom, next vnder God, he ought to obey?

*Amphil.* Euery man is bound in conscience before God to obey his prince in all things, yea in things directly contrary to true godlines hee is bound to shew his obedience (but not to commit y<sup>e</sup> euil) namely to submit himselfe life, lands, liuings or els whatsoeuer he hath, to y<sup>e</sup> wil of his<sup>1</sup> Princes, rather than to disobeie. If this obedience than be due to Princes in matters contrarie to true godlineſſe, what obedience than is due to them in matters of small waight, of small importaunce, and meere trifles as these garments be, judge you? He that disobeieth the commaundement of his Prince, disobeieth the commaundement of God; and therfore, would God all Ecclesiasticall persons that stande so muche vpon these small pointes, that they breake the common vnitie, & band of charitie in the church of God, would nowe at the last quallifie themselues, shewe obedience to Princes lawes, and fall to preaching of Christ Iefus truelie, that his kingdome might dailie bee increased, their consciences discharged, and the Church edified, which Christ Iefus hath bought with the shedding of his precious hart bloud.

*Theod.* Maie a paſtor, or a Minister of the Gospell, forsake his flocke, and refuse his charge, for the wearing of a surplesſe, a cappe, tippet, or the like, as manie haue done of late daies, who being inforced to weare these garmentes, haue giuen up their liuings, and forsaken all?

*Amphil.* Thoſe that for the wearing of these garments, being but the inuentions, the traditions, the rites, the ceremonies, the ordinances & conſtitutions of man, will leauē their flockes,<sup>2</sup> and giue ouer their charges, not caring what become of the ſame, doe shew themſelues to be no true ſhepheards, but ſuch as Christ ſpeaketh of, that when they ſee the Wolfe coming, will flie away, leauing their flocke to the slaughter of the greedie wolfe. They giue euident demonstration alſo, that they are not ſuch as the holie Ghoſt hath made ouerſeers ouer their flocke, but rather ſuch, as being poſſeffed with the ſpirite of pride and ambition, haue intruded themſelues, to the deſtruclion of their flocke. If they were ſuch good ſhepheards as they ought to be, and ſo louing to their flocke, they would rather giue their life for

Any Pastor  
who leaves his  
Flock because  
he won't wear  
a Surplice, &c.,  
[2 Sig. P 5]

shows that he's  
no good  
Shepherd.

114 II. 2. *Surplices may be worn if the Prince bids.*

their sheepe, if neede required, than to runne from them, leauing them to the bloodie teeth of the mercilesse wolues. Is hee a good shepheard that watcheth dailie vpon his flocke, or hee that runnes from them for euerie light trifles? I thinke we would count him a verie negligent shepheard. And shall wee thinke him a diligent, or a good pastor, and one that would giue his life for his sheepe, as a good pastor should doe, that for such trifles wil estrang himselfe from his flocke for euer? Therefore I beseech God to giue them grace to looke to their charges, and to let other trifles alone, being no part of our saluation or damnation.

If these Garments are ordered by a Christian Prince, no good Christian should be offended by em.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. P 5, back]

*Theod.* But they faie they refuse the wealring of these garments, because they are offendive to the godlie, a scandall to the weake brethren, a hinderance to manie in comming to the Gospel, & an induracion to the papists hardning their hearts, in hope that their trumperie will once come in again, to their singuler comfort.

*Amphil.* It is an old saying, Better a bad excuse, than none at all. And truly it seemeth they are driuen to the wall, and sore grauelled, that will ffe to these simple shifts. But whatsoeuer they say or affirme, certain it is, that offendive to the godly they cannot be, who haue already learned to distinguish betwixt the things abused, and the abuses themselfes. And who know also how to vfe things mere indifferent, to good ends and purposes. And therfore this question thus I shut vp in few words, that the wearing of these garmentes beeing commaunded by a Christian Prince, is not offendive, or scandalous to anie good Christians; and to the other, it mattereth not what it be. For they are such as the Lorde hath cast off into a reprobate fence, and preiudicte opinion, abusing all things, euen the truth it selfe, to their owne destruction for euer, excepte they repent, which I praye God they maye doe, if it bee his blessed will.

[<sup>2</sup> Sig. P 6]

*Theod.* I pray you why doe they weare white in their surplesses, rather than any other colour? and why a forked cappe rather than a rounde one? for the Papistes (if they were the authors of these garmentes) haue their misteries, their figures, & their representations in all things. Wherfore I desire to know your iudgment herein.

The Papists say that White signifies Holines;

*Amphil.* You say the truth, for the Papistes haue their misteries in all things after their maner. Therfore thus they say, that white doth signify holines, innocency, & al kind of integrity, putting them in

## II. 2. *Don't make Schisms for Trifles of Clothes.* 115

mind what they ought to be in this life, and representeth vnto them the beatitude, the felicitie, and happines of the life to come. And thys they prooue *ab exemplis apparitionum*, from the example of apparitions and visions, in that aungels, and celestial creatures haue euer appeared in the same colour of white. Therefore forsooth they must weare white apparell. The cornered cappe, say these misterious fellows, doth signifie, and represent the whole monarchy of the world, East, West, North, & South, the gouernment whereof standeth vpon them, as the cappe doth vppon their heades. The gowne, saye they, doth signifie the plenary power which they haue to doe all things. And therefore none but the Pope, or hee<sup>1</sup> with whome hee dispenceth, maie weare the same euerie where, bicause none haue *plenariam potestatem*, plenarie power, in euerie place, but (Beelzebub) the Pope. Yet the Ministers, saith he, maie weare them in their Churches, & in their owne iurisdictions, because therein they haue full power from him. Thus foollishlie do they deceiue themselues with vaine shewes, shadows, and imaginations, forged in the mint of their owne braines, to the destruction of manie. But who is he, that because these folishe Papistes haue and doe greeuouslie abuse these thinges, will therefore haue them cleane remoued? If all thinges that haue beeene abused, should be remooued because of the abuse, than should we haue nothing left to the supply of our necessities, neither meat, drinke, nor cloth for our bodies, neyther yet (which is more) y<sup>e</sup> word of God, the spirituall food of our soules, nor any thing els almost. For what thing is there in y<sup>c</sup> whole vniversall world, that eyther by one Hereticke or other hath not beeene abused? Let vs therfore take the abuses away, and the things maie well remaine still. For may not we christians vse these thinges which the wicked Papists haue abused, to good ends, vses, and purposes? I see no reason to the contrarie. And therefore in conclusion I beseech the Lorde that wee<sup>2</sup> may all agree togither in one truth, and not to deuide our selues one from another for trifles, making schismes, ruptures, breaches, and factions in the church of God, where we ought to nourish peace, vnitie, concord, brotherly loue, amitie, and frendship, one amongst another. And seeing we do all agree togither, and iump in one truth, hauing al one God our father, one Lord Iesus Christ our sauour, one holy spirit of adoption, one price of redemption, one faith, one

the Cornerd  
Cap the Mon-  
archy of the  
World,

and the  
Gown the Pope's  
plenary power:  
[I Sig. P 6, back]

all this is  
gammon.

But because  
Papists have  
abuzed these  
things,

as well as the  
Word of God,

aren't we to  
uze em?  
Surely we are.

[2 Sig. P 7]  
Do let us Re-  
formers all  
agree, and not  
make rows.

We've all one  
God and  
Saviour,

116 II. 2. *Don't quarrel about the Bone, or Shell.*

let us then  
agree about  
outward  
rites, &c.

We've got the  
Kernel. Don't  
let's wrangle  
over the Shell.

[<sup>1</sup> Sig. P 7, back]

Let us fast and  
pray, and be-  
seech God to  
keep our Queen  
Elizabeth as the  
apple of His  
eye; and grant  
us Eternal Life  
in Heaven, thro'  
Christ's Death.

hope, one baptisme, and one and the same inheritance in the kingdome of heauen, Let vs therefore agree together in these externall shadowes, ceremonies and rites. For is it not a shame to agree about the marrow, and to striue about the bone? to contend about the karnell, & to vary about the shell? to agree in the truth, and to brabble for the shadow? Let vs consider that this contention of ours among our felues, doth hinder the course of the Gospell from taking such deepe roote in the heartes of the hearers, as otherwise it would doe. And thus for this time, brother *Theodorus*, we will breake off our talke concerning this matter, vntill yt please God that we may meeet againe. Which if it please God we doe, I promise you in another woorke to discourse of the same more at large. In the mean time let vs giue our felues, <sup>1</sup>to fasting, and prayer, most humbly beseeching his excellent maiestie to blesse our noble Queen, and to keepe hir grace as the apple of his eie from all hir foes, to maintaine his word and gospell amongst vs, to plant vnity and concord within our walles, to increase our faith, to graunt vs true and vnfained repentaunce for our sins, and in the end eternall life in the kingdome of heauen, thorow y<sup>e</sup> precious death, passion, bloodshedding, and obedience of Christe Iesu our Lord, and onely sauour, to whom, with the father and the holy ghost, one true, and immortal God, be al honor, praise, power, empire, and dominion throughout all congregations for euermore. And thus, brother *Theodorus*, I bid you farewell in the Lord, till I do see you againe.

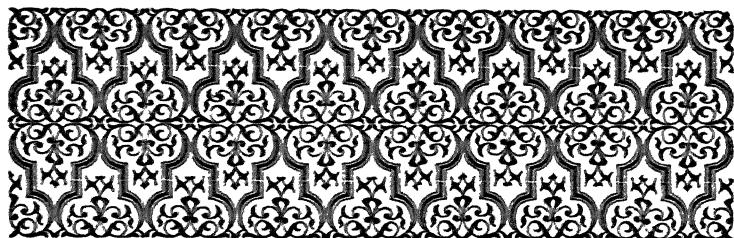
*Theodo.* And I you also good brother *Amphilogus*,  
beseeching the Lord that if we meeet not  
vpon earth, we maye meeet yet in the  
kingdome of heauen, there to rest  
in perfect felicitie  
for euer.

*Amphil.* The Lord grant it  
for his mercies sake.

Amen.

May you and I  
meet again, if  
not on Earth,  
yet to rest for  
ever in Heaven!

FINIS.



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